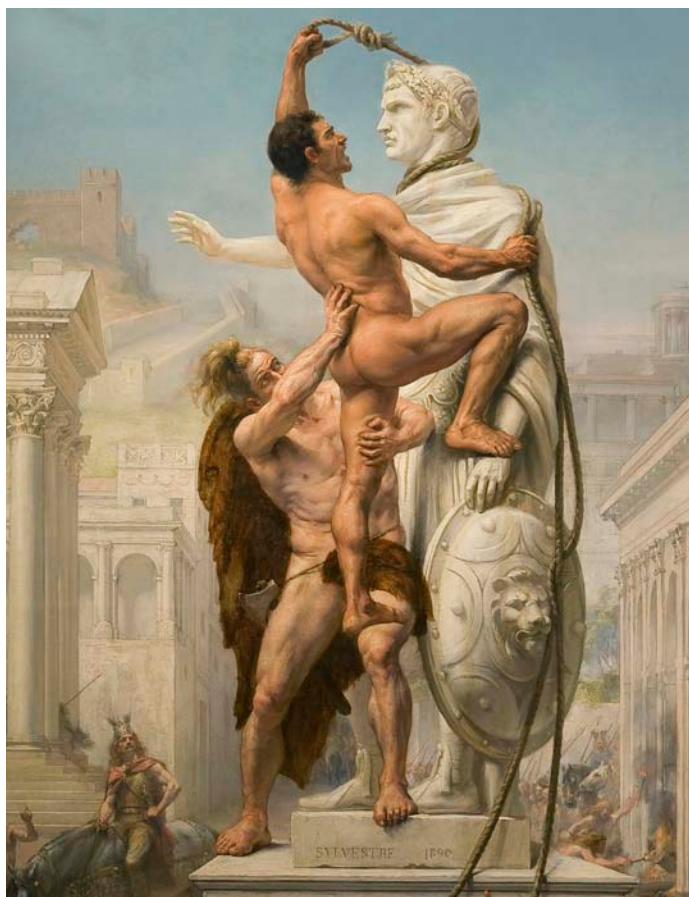


A COMPANION TO
**PERSIUS AND
JUVENAL**

EDITED BY SUSANNA BRAUND
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Abbreviations throughout are in accord with those of S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn., Oxford, 1996 (hereafter *OCD*³). The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* cited throughout as *OLD* is the edition edited by P.G.W. Glare, Oxford, 1982.

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Introduction: Persius and Juvenal as Satiric Successors

Josiah Osgood

I.1 Satirists and Poetic Succession

Satire written in the verse of heroic epic but expounding the ills of contemporary society was an original and distinctive Roman contribution to world literature. Its inventor, the high-ranking Gaius Lucilius (living perhaps 168–102 BCE), was later celebrated for his complete outspokenness, while Horace (65–8 BCE), writing as the old Republic was being subsumed by the monarchical rule of Rome's first emperor, Augustus, had to mute his tone; in his second book of *Satires* (finished around 30 BCE), he turns over much of the sermonizing to a series of often questionable interlocutors, who ostensibly criticize even Horace himself. A contemporary reader, however impressed, might have left the collection wondering what kind of future, if any, satire was to enjoy. Horace himself turned to producing his *Odes*, the lyric masterpieces of Latin literature that celebrated the new emperor; and when he did later resume writing hexameter poetry, he created the new form of philosophical verse epistles.

Yet we know that satire did go on to find at least two great practitioners in the early imperial period, Persius (34–62 CE) and Juvenal (*fl.* 110–30 CE), at work under the emperors Nero and Hadrian respectively. Both achieved great originality, Persius by adopting a tone of anger and isolation in his poetry, Juvenal by experimenting with a range of emotions including, most famously in his earlier books of satires, indignation (on Juvenal's range, going "beyond anger," see above all Braund (1988)). While Juvenal, in particular, is easily enjoyed when read on his own, the central premise of this volume is that a good deal of the energy of both Juvenal's and Persius' poetry – which we

define as “imperial satire” – emanates from a complex engagement with the work of their predecessors and the question of what it meant to be a successor to them, or whether that was even possible at all. Persius and Juvenal, in other words, do not just tacitly write more satires, in the tradition of Horace and Lucilius; they each ponder what it would mean to be a Lucilius or Horace for their own time.

To be sure, already Horace in his Satires made an important theme of poetic succession. While he can sum up his dependence on Lucilius with the simple assertion, “I follow him” (*sequor hunc*, *Sat.* 2.1.34), echoing his earlier claim that Lucilius was dependent on the writers of Greek Old Comedy (*Sat.* 1.4.6: *hosce secutus*), in these two satires, as well as in *Satires* 1.10, Horace also marks out divergences, divergences that he can enact through detailed allusions to his predecessor’s work. (The use of allusion to configure literary history in Roman poetry through simultaneous appropriation and divergence is widely studied, especially for epic poetry; Hinds (1998) is the classic discussion.) The loss of most of Lucilius’ poetry frustrates a full appreciation, but it seems clear, for example, that Horace’s account of a trip to Brundisium in *Satires* 1.5 streamlines a more prolix travelogue by his predecessor, covering much of the same ground (as it were) but at a different pace (Gowers (1993a)). Horace forever enshrined Lucilius as satire’s father figure: “I would not dare to deprive him . . . of his crown” (*neque ego illi detrahere ausim | . . . coronam*, 1.10.48–49); but he also cleverly juxtaposes the “old man” (*senis*, *Sat.* 2.1.34) with his own, more humble, father, who models a different type of satire for Horace and his readers (see especially *Sat.* 1.4.103–31 with Schlegel (2000); and in this volume Rosen, Chapter 1).

Persius establishes himself explicitly as a successor to both Lucilius and Horace towards the end of his first, programmatic satire in which he attacks contemporary fellow poets and their eagerness for praise (1.114–20):

secuit Lucilius Vrbem
te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis.
omne uafēr uitium ridenti Flaccus amico
tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit,
callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.
me muttire nefas? nec clam? nec cum scrobe? nusquam?
hic tamen infodiam.

Lucilius ripped into Rome – you, Lupus, you Mucius – and broke a molar on them. While his friend is laughing, the rascal Horace touches every fault in him and, once he’s got in, he frolics around his heart, clever at dangling the public from his cleaned-out nose. Am I forbidden a mutter? Not even in secret? Not even in a hole? Nowhere? Never mind: I’ll dig a hole for it here. (This and following translations of Persius and Juvenal are by Braund)

Worried about whether he can reveal the truth about his own society and its degenerate literary taste, Persius finds in Horace a precedent for offering probing ethical criticism but also, significantly, invokes Lucilius as an exemplar of outspokenness – signaled by the vividness of his apostrophe “you Lupus, you Mucius.” Just as he, like Horace before him, extends satire’s genealogy, Persius throughout his poetry – memorably characterized as “something rather boiled-down” (*decoctius*, 125) – also diverges from his predecessors in key ways. As scholars have shown, constant allusions to Horace, in particular, underscore Persius’ novel satiric outlook, his novel use of language, his novel tone (see especially Hooley (1997) as well as Rudd (1976) 54–83 and in this volume Kenney, Chapter 6). In Nero’s Rome, we are thus constantly reminded, Horatian satire will no longer do. Yet as Hooley remarks, unlike Horace, “Persius does not announce his differences programmatically, but demonstrates them through radical deformation of his literary father-model” (Hooley (2007b) 89). So in the lines quoted here, to give just one example, Persius revises Horace’s claim about Lucilius in *Satires* 1.10, “he scoured Rome with the great salt of his wit” (2–3, *sale multo | Urbem defricuit*); Horatian “salt” is dropped from Persius’ portrait and replaced – rather tendentiously – with a more lacerating attack that, like Persius’ own verses, cuts into Rome (see further Tzounakas (2005)).

Juvenal too ostensibly stays silent about any contest with his satiric predecessors and in his first poem does not mention Persius by name at all, and initially only Lucilius: “Yet why I charge across the same plain where the great protégé of Aurunca steered his chariot, I’ll explain, if you have the time and can listen quietly to my reasoning” (*cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo, | per quem magnus equos Aurunca flexit alumnus, | si uacat ac placidi rationem admittis, edam*, 1.19–21). By opening his first book with a scathing account of the contemporary literary scene, though, Juvenal alludes unmistakably to Persius; and yet, in giving a different verdict than Persius, he registers new priorities in satire. Persius found his poetic peers morally corrupt; Juvenal’s – whether writing epic or elegy, comedy or tragedy – are faulted rather for their inability to entertain (1–14). The allusion allows the poet to express dependence and originality at once. Further, as Woodman has shown (1983), these opening lines also cleverly invert Horace’s playful claim in *Satires* 1.10 that he wrote satire because the other genres were already claimed by good poets. Now, the satirist is pointedly claiming, there are no good poets left.

Just as Persius fashioned a Lucilius that revised Horace’s portrait and reflected his own ambitions, so too does Juvenal. More than his predecessors’, his Lucilius is an epic figure, or at least struts as one: he is identified by his birthplace in the epic-style periphrasis “the great protégé of Aurunca” and he drives a chariot, the Homeric vehicle *par excellence*. He exemplifies a grand scope and scale for satire – a satire, in other words, that can rival epic, or at least usefully borrow some of

epic's pretensions. The listener panics, Juvenal's interlocutor later points out in the same poem, "whenever Lucilius blazes and roars as if with drawn sword" (*ense uelut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens | infremuit*, 165–66). Here again characteristic epic language (*ense*, *ardens*, *infremuit*) is employed, and, as Woodman has also demonstrated, an allusion to Horace marks out Juvenal's fresh viewpoint (Woodman (1983)). Horace, when making the claim in *Satires* 1.4 that satire lacks the passion and energy of true poetry, likens it in this respect to comedy, but his own interlocutor objects that comedy has emotional moments: "But the father is in a fiery rage," the interlocutor points out, because of the misbehavior of his son (*at pater ardens | saeuit*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.48–49). In a telling and typical instance of intertextuality, Juvenal substitutes *Lucilius ardens* for Horace's *pater ardens* – aptly, since Lucilius was the "father" of the genre – and at the same time overturns Horace's claim that Lucilius was no true poet. He was, as Juvenal will be too, in this yet latest revision of literary history. Or so, anyway, Juvenal seems to be claiming.

What it meant to be a literary heir, what one could rightfully appropriate from one's predecessors, in what ways one should differ: these were all questions of great interest also to Roman epic poets, not least of the first century CE. For them, as Philip Hardie has shown in his path-breaking study *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (1993), "an obsession with the need for, and possibility of, succession" not only relates to their own anxiety at coming after Virgil's soaring masterpiece, but also maps onto the epic theme of biological succession (a part of the tradition since Homer's *Odyssey*) and the theme – more pronounced in imperial Roman epic – of political succession (quotation from Hardie (1993) 99; note also his account, pages 116–19, of the applicability of Harold Bloom's (1973) theory of the relationship between poets and predecessors, "the anxiety of influence," to Roman epic). Like epic heroes, epic poets themselves anxiously vie with, and hope they may surpass, the fame of their predecessors; they can also question whether that is possible. Already in his *Georgics* (finished around 30 BCE), Virgil, contemplating an epic on Augustus, proclaims: "I must attempt a path on which I too may be able to raise myself off the earth and fly victorious on the lips of men" (*Georg.* 3.8–9, *temptanda uia est, qua me quoque possim | tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora*). The poet competes here with Augustus for immortality, and also with his poetic predecessors – especially the earlier Roman epic poet Ennius (writing in the early second century BCE) – as well as, finally, his poetic contemporaries. (Imagery of contest is more explicitly introduced a few lines later, where Virgil vows to establish games to replace those of Greece (17–21)). While Virgil went on to write his *Aeneid*, in which he cast himself as the new Ennius of Augustan Rome, under the emperor Nero Persius' contemporary Lucan (39–65 CE), in his epic *Bellum Civile*, redeploys Virgilian language to tell of Rome's undoing. "Lucan," Hardie suggests, "takes control of his predecessors' material not as a respectful

son entering into a father's inheritance, but as a rebel" (Hardie (1993) 109). Lucan's relationship to Virgil is thus not unlike Persius' to Horace.

In Juvenal's day the *Aeneid* was more firmly entrenched as a classic than ever, and a generation of poets writing after Nero's death – in Juvenal's early years – at least ostensibly showed more reverence to Virgil. Statius, for example, concluding his epic *Thebaid*, bids his poem itself "Ever follow at a distance with adoration the *Aeneid*'s footsteps" (12.817). Perhaps not surprisingly, then, epic succession is much more crucial for Juvenal's programmatic satire, where as we saw he brings out its more contentious side. He appropriates epic language to magnify his predecessor Lucilius, and also to invest his own attempt at succession of Lucilius with a heroic coloring. His satire, he is suggesting – not of course without some irony, given its subject matter – is worthy of a more glorious past in a way that the works of other poets, writing in other genres, including the mythological epic that had recently been much in vogue, are not. Thus he meets head-on a challenge peculiar to the high imperial satiric successor: while an epic poet vies with previous (and contemporary) epic poets, the satirist vies with the achievement of satirists *and* epic poets (above all the Augustans Horace and Virgil respectively). Whereas Persius could simply remark, "This secret, this joke of mine, so insignificant, I'll not sell to you for any *Iliad*" (*hoc ego opertum, | hoc ridere meum, tam nil, nulla tibi uendo | Iliade*, 1.121–23), Juvenal seems to adopt a more polemical tone. Satire, he is claiming, is not only possible under the principate; in its new, Juvenalian form its place in the literary hierarchy is higher than ever, in part because it is so hard to pull off, unlike epic – "no one is offended by a perforated Achilles" (*nulli gravis est pertusus Achilles*, 163) – and in part because, as Rome degenerates, satire's potential increases. Satire is, in this poem, making a bid to swallow up epic. The satirist seems to be the only hero left.

I.2 Inheritance-Hunting: Satiric Succession in Practice

A number of contributors throughout this *Companion* explore ways in which Persius and Juvenal might be considered the imperial successors of Horace and Lucilius. Here, though, before providing a brief account of this volume and its relation to other work on the subject, it may be useful to offer one more developed example of "satiric succession" in action, drawn from outside the (very familiar) programmatic poems treated above. The theme I have chosen, that of inheritance-hunting, has the advantage of being a beloved one in the satiric tradition – indeed, was almost in a sense invented by it – and yet is not much discussed by any of our contributors. It also provides the challenge of bringing in Juvenal's twelfth Satire, a poem relatively unnoticed in scholarship

and one sometimes criticized (Courtney (1980) 518 finds in it “slackness” and believes it to be Juvenal’s “weakest” poem). Finally, I shall suggest, the imperial satirists’ treatment of inheritance-hunting is not, in the end, unrelated to their conception of themselves in relation to Horace and Lucilius and the literary tradition as a whole. It points up again how much they are obsessed with succession.

The inheritance-hunter (*captator*), as Roman writers saw it, was an individual who pursued inheritance of the estates of the rich, old, and childless. The more customary translation of “legacy-hunter” should be avoided, because a legacy (*legatum*), in Roman wills, was a gift specifically set aside from the primary heir’s inheritance; such legacies were worth having but could not compare in economic value, or in social prestige, to full inheritance, which carried with it the testator’s greatest compliment (see Champlin (1991) 87–102, on whom I depend here throughout). Unworthy heirs (as opposed to unworthy legatees), always coming from outside the testator’s family, upset not only the principle of biological succession; they also were perceived to be false friends, relying on flattery, gift-giving, sometimes even sexual favors to further their ends. Their quarries, though, were not necessarily judged innocent victims; they might be perceived as thriving on all the attention they could get.

Inheritance-hunters, as a hardened type, appear with some prominence in imperial Latin literature, especially in moralizing texts (Champlin (1991) 201–2 gives a useful list of references). Indeed, that is the main evidence for them – which may lead us to question just how common they actually were (see Champlin (1991) 100–101). Certainly they were a figure of fascination, and, while perhaps they did appear in a lost satire of Lucilius, the foundational text for the later literary tradition is the fifth Satire of Horace’s second book, in which the use of *captator* to mean “inheritance-hunter” is first attested. In this entertaining poem, Horace stages a dialogue between Ulysses and the seer Teiresias – supplying, as it were, a missing portion of the famous scene in Book 11 of the *Odyssey* where the Greek hero is advised, during his visit to the Underworld, on how to make it home (Rudd (1966) 224–42 and Muecke (1993) 177–80 are good introductions to the poem). The satiric Ulysses asks how he can recover the wealth he has lost during the years of fighting at Troy, and Teiresias offers a thoroughly up-to-date and quite Roman answer: inheritance-hunting. A short course ensues, with a range of possible tactics covered, ranging from praising the target’s awful poetry to pimping out Penelope.

Clearly, on one level, this sly deformation of Homeric epic corresponds to the degeneration the satirist detects in contemporary Rome. Yet there is much more at play in this poem than that. The *captator* appears, on the one hand, as the opposite of the good Lucilian satirist, who speaks frankly, and so we might expect him to figure as a foil for Horace himself. But as Oliensis ((1998) 57)

points out, since Horace himself also came back from a war (Philippi, in 42 BCE) and had to repair his fortunes, the question is delicately raised: might the satirist himself have schemed in ways similar to a *captator*? Is he another Ulysses? At the same time, though, Horace evidently has something in common with the teacher Teiresias, whose counsels to apply moderation in inheritance-hunting seem especially Horatian. Is Horace's own teaching, then, especially in the earlier satires of Book 1 (published about five years before Book 2), something of a quick fix too? One way, or another, or both, the dialogue opens up the possibility of a gap between Horace's ostensible claims as a satirist and his actual situation.

While the satire (like the others in Book 2) seemingly reflects on Horace's own career choices, it can also be read as a poem about Horace's place within the literary tradition. Already at the start, when Ulysses asks for something "beyond what's already been told" (*praeter narrata*, 1), Horace is signaling satire's generic departure from epic, since satire finds topics to treat beyond the more limited range of epic. Ulysses' question "Why do you laugh?" (*quid rides?*, 3) just a couple of lines later, then, points to the heightened role for comedy Horace sought in his own satire (see further in this volume Cucchiarelli, Chapter 8). The point is made clearer yet towards the end of the poem, when Ulysses is urged to become, literally, a character of comedy – "Be the Davus of comedy" (*Davus sis comicus*, 91) – a process that would involve forfeiting citizen status to become a slave, since Davus is a slave character in comedy. The epic values of "lineage and bravery" (*et genus et uirtus*, 8), in this poem, are trumped by money (*res*, a word used several times, e.g., 2, 8, 12) – just as Ulysses, who once vied with better men (17) now chases after the unworthy, men without ancestry at all (*sine gente*, 14). Thus the preferred epic model of father–son succession is thrown out, and this repudiation maps, programmatically, onto Horace's own rejection of epic, made very clear in this poem: the eminently worthy subject of Augustus, "descendant of high Aeneas" (*alto demissum genus Aenea*, 62–63) is introduced in lines 62–63, only then to be dropped from the rest of the poem. The inheritance-hunter Ulysses, now seeking a quick pay-off after the long Trojan War, emblemizes Horace's own relationship with his poetic predecessors. True, he may be the rightful successor to Lucilius, but like Lucilius himself (or so Horace playfully says in *Satires* 1.4), he is no true poet. Horace pursues the faster return of short and comic satires, like *Satires* 2.5 itself, a decidedly unworthy heir of the epic tradition.

I have treated Horace's poem in some detail here because – as will be shown in many other instances through this volume – it helps us to read Persius and Juvenal with greater enjoyment and understanding. In his single book of satires Persius does not actually treat the theme of inheritance-hunting as such in any extended way; but in the last poem of the collection, *Satire* 6, the theme

hovers, crucially, in the background. For here, the satirist is attacked by his own would-be heir for helping out a bankrupted friend who has lost everything at sea. The heir objects to Persius spending any of his estate at all, because he wants it kept intact for himself; Persius then lashes back, finally telling this heir – who seems more and more like a *captator* as the poem goes on – to go off and make his own money. The satire thus becomes a repudiation of a typical Roman will, and in it all traditional notions of succession break down. Horace envisions a perversion of those notions; Persius more radically imagines a world without bloodlines at all. He threatens, at one point, to disinherit the heir, “whoever you are” (*quisquis heres*, 42), in lieu of a common beggar, Manius, “a son of the soil” (*progenies terrae*, 57: the proverbial expression means somebody with no parents). Ask Persius who his own father was, some generations back, and you’ll find another son of the soil (*terrae . . . filius*, 59). The result, according to Persius’ own idiosyncratic genealogy, is that Manius is Persius’ own great-uncle, “more or less” (60).

While Horace’s treatment of inheritance-hunting in *Satires* 2.5 helps to illuminate Persius’ attitude to his heir, scholars have long pointed out that without *Epistles* 2.2 – in which Horace defends his decision to give up lyric poetry for philosophy – we could hardly understand *Satire* 6 at all. *Satire* 6 begins with an address to Caesius Bassus, a lyric poet contemporary with Persius, which carefully redeploys Horace’s language in *Epistles* 2.2 to suggest that Bassus is “Horace’s successor” (Dessen (1968) 82). The question of poetic succession – and succession to Horace in particular – is thus raised at the start, and for a while it seems as if Persius is presenting himself as the successor to the other Horace of *Epistles* 2.2, the Horace of philosophic verse. But Persius 6 is, in the end, no Horatian epistle – and, as more than one recent reader of the poem has pointed out, Persius will not simply pass on what Horace has left him, even if he has made ample use of it (see Hooley (1997) 154–74 and, building on his reading, Freudenburg (2001) 195–208 and Reckford (2009) 136–44, as well as Keane in this volume, Chapter 4). On one level, the nameless heir of the poem can be envisioned as the reader of Persius, who is to make of the “inheritance” of his poems what he can (so, e.g., Freudenburg (2001) 208). On another, the heir could also be imagined to be representative of Persius’ own contemporary poets, greedy (as we saw in *Satire* 1) for recognition in their own lifetimes, hoping for more, more, more. Persius’ true heir – whoever it will be – will certainly be one who values independence, literary and social alike.

If for Horace, on the one hand, inheritance-hunting figures contemporary society’s descent from the heroic age and satire’s descent from epic, and for Persius, on the other, it hints at the dependence he is trying to be free of, in Juvenal it will be something else again. *Satire* 12 (the final in Juvenal’s fourth book) is this satirist’s great inheritance-hunting poem (although the topic

comes up with some frequency, e.g., 1.37–41, 3.128–30). To first-time readers it can be puzzling, especially if they are unfamiliar with the figure of the inheritance-hunter and his potentially unappealing target too, both so cleverly delineated in Horace's *Satires* 2.5. Part of Juvenal's fun, though, *is* to be puzzling. Describing to his addressee Corvinus a sacrifice that he is making in thanks for the return of a friend who has barely made it through a storm at sea, Juvenal goes on to insist that he is not motivated by any hope of winning an inheritance from Catullus, since the man has three children. The poem is thus a variation on Persius' sixth Satire (which also featured a sacrifice for a shipwrecked friend). Scholars have often supposed that we are to take Corvinus himself to be an inheritance-hunter (inheritance-hunters are often compared to ravens, *corui*, and so Corvinus' could be a speaking name). Fair enough; but is Juvenal himself as innocent as he insists? Catullus is an odd friend for the satirist to have, given that the boat of his that nearly goes down is full of satiric no-no's that he only throws overboard with some effort: luxury textiles, silver dishes, even a drinking bowl big enough "for Fuscus' wife" (45). For condemnations of these or similar items elsewhere in Juvenal see, e.g., 1.27, 4.31 (purple garments); 1.75, 8.104 (silver); 2.95 (drinking vessel). Furthermore, as Courtney ((1980), 521) notes, merchants do not fare well elsewhere in Juvenal's satires (see 14.265–83). Perhaps, then, the motives for the friendship on both sides are not so pure as the speaker claims – the satirist may not be exactly an inheritance-hunter, but does he hope still to get something out of his so-called "friend," even perhaps a mere legacy?

If Juvenal is at least something of a *captator* in the dramatic scenario of this poem, he is also one vis-à-vis the literary tradition. While Horace playfully separates himself from the epic tradition, Juvenal, already in *Satire* 1 as we saw, flirts more extensively with it, going after its language, its motifs, all its special effects, to describe not the heroic past but contemporary Rome – encroaching on it illegitimately, one could almost say, inasmuch as he in the end is no real epic poet either. One possible reading of *Satire* 12 would focus on how it almost seems to unmask parts of Juvenal's earlier work as tendentious exaggeration; and his claim in *Satire* 1 to rival epic, we now see, is something of a false claim. Such a reading would focus especially on Juvenal's extraordinary account of the storm, a standard subject in epics, as he himself complained in *Satire* 1 (line 9). The storm of *Satire* 12 has many of the features of an epic storm – including the requisite length – but is unmasked, by the satirist himself, as make-believe: Catullus' experience was just as bad as a "poetic storm" (*poetica . . . tempestas*, 23–24). It is a tale "familiar to many" (*cognita multis*, 26). Elsewhere in the poem one finds smaller, but still over-the-top confections of the poem's satiric plot with epic details – Catullus' sighting of Alba is described as if it were a location in the *Aeneid* (70–74), elephants kept in Latium for the emperor's use at games are said to be "grazing in Rutulian

forests and the land of Turnus” (105) and are given a good epic pedigree as descendants of the one-time fighters of “Tyrian Hannibal” (108).

Juvenal’s twelfth Satire is, in more ways than one, a slippery poem. It is a poem about the slipperiness of inheritance-hunters, and also about his satire’s slippery relationship with epic. While he, like Persius too, may portray himself as the successor to Horace and Lucilius – though, like Persius, not *too* close a successor, especially of Horace – he uses the favorite satiric theme of inheritance-hunting as a way to explore a dynamics of appropriation different from the epic model of father–son succession. In claiming to be succeeding epic (as well as satire) by following an epic-like Lucilius, Juvenal is, in the last analysis, pulling a fast one. He is not truly succeeding epic, nor (he now suggests) is he even a successor to the real Lucilius. This reading, like that of Persius’ sixth Satire, is cursory, but I hope sufficient to establish several points we aim to make in this volume. While the relationship of Rome’s epic poets with their predecessors has been studied in some depth (as in Hardie (1993)), for Roman imperial satire the topic is fresher. Stimulating studies have started to appear, some already cited here (Hooley (1997); Freudenburg (2001); Reckford (2009); see also Keane (2006) and Jones (2007)). There is room for more, especially in relation to Juvenal, whose last two books remain underexplored. To explore Persius and Juvenal as successors – to Horace and Lucilius, but also other Greek and Roman poets – does not simply open new perspectives; it can help illuminate aspects of their poetry that might otherwise seem strange or unappealing.

A further point follows from the imperial satirists’ casting of themselves self-consciously as the successors to Lucilius and Horace and their concomitant creation of the tradition that we still call “Roman verse satire.” So pronounced a feature is this of their work, it invited later poets, and even prose writers, from late antiquity onwards, to consider themselves as the successors to Persius and Juvenal. In later chapters to this *Companion* you will see how writers of their own satires, as well as translators of Persius and Juvenal, viewed *themselves* as successors to the imperial satirists, creating yet new traditions of satire. While in the last couple of decades studies of the reception of classical antiquity in modern times have flourished (for just two guides, see Martindale and Thomas (2006) and Hardwick and Stray (2008)), with satire there is an opportunity to study how so self-conscious a tradition was received not just by later satirical poets and prose-writers, but (among others) schoolmasters and students, translators and scholars, who often themselves struggled to (re-)define what satire was, or even to insert themselves into the tradition. More recent traditions are not just important in their own right, however; they can shed light on the ancient tradition and are worth exploring too because, inevitably, they have helped to condition the way that all contemporary readers construe the tradition in the first place.

I.3 Reading Persius and Juvenal

While viewing Persius and Juvenal as “satiric successors” is a thread that holds this volume together, it is by no means the only aim here. We seek not only to stimulate new scholarship but also to provide a foundation for readers with less experience of the imperial satirists, both of whom present their difficulties, as more than one contributor will remark. Part I of this *Companion* (entitled “Persius and Juvenal: Texts and Contexts”) gives an introduction to such topics as the life and times of Persius and Juvenal; the arrangement of their poems into books; and their use of language; Part II (“Restrospectives: Persius and Juvenal as Successors”) treats particular themes in the writings of Persius and Juvenal. It should be said at once that a number of previous studies of the Roman satiric tradition as a whole are still very much worth reading (e.g., Coffey (1976); Rudd (1986); Braund (1992a)), as is also the excellent introductory volume by Dan Hooley, *Roman Satire* (2007b), which has an appealing focus on each satirist’s reinvention of (as opposed to “contribution to”) the genre. Also recommended are the essays in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (Freudenburg (2005)), which again embrace the entire Roman satiric tradition (even including the late antique writers Julian and Boethius). The narrower focus of this volume, though, allows for a more in-depth up-to-date treatment of a range of issues that face readers of Persius and Juvenal. Here follows a very brief overview of the volume contents, to facilitate its use by students and scholars of Persius and Juvenal as well as of the satiric tradition as a whole.

Ralph Rosen begins Part I with a discussion of “Satire in the Republic: From Lucilius to Horace,” exploring the formation of the Roman satiric tradition before Persius and Juvenal and also offering some fresh readings of Horace’s programmatic satires, suggesting they are more playfully open-ended than has sometimes been believed. Comic irony is a staple of Roman verse satire, we are usefully reminded at the start, and of satire more broadly defined. In the following two chapters Martin T. Dinter and David Armstrong discuss the life and times of Persius and of Juvenal respectively. Dinter pays particular attention to the extraordinary flowering of literature scholars have associated with the reign of Nero, and shows that for all his stance of alienation, Persius was a part of the contemporary literary scene, and shares many similarities with his contemporaries Lucan, Seneca, and Petronius, including an acute consciousness of the potential burdens of the literary past but also (for example) a fixation on the physical body. Less is known of the biography of Juvenal than of Persius, but Armstrong argues in his chapter that there are enough indications for the reader to believe that Juvenal, not the stereotypical “poor client,” was of equestrian rank. Armstrong contrasts the self-image of equestrians and senators, showing that equestrians, despite their wealth, often had to rely heavily on

patronage, and suggests that his analysis can shed new light on Juvenal's poetry by rereading some passages in *Satire 3*.

The remaining four chapters in Part I turn to the corpus of Persius and Juvenal's poetry itself. Of Persius we have only six satires along with a short set of lines that begin the collection in most manuscripts (usually therefore called the "Prologue"), which together comprise one book; in "Life in the Text: The Corpus of Persius' Satires", Catherine Keane shows how together these poems create a larger "poetic and moral program." Keane reveals some overlapping as well as also divergent techniques and preoccupations across the Satires, out of which emerges an "enigmatic narrative" that should inspire readers reaching the book's end to scroll back to its beginning. Keane offers an excellent introduction to Persius' poetry, as does Barbara Gold for Juvenal in her complementary chapter, "Juvenal: The Idea of the Book." Examining the five separate books of Juvenal, Gold argues against those who have perceived a decisive break in his satiric practice; "variety," she observes, was a principle of organizing poetry books, and is a principle organizing the "hodge-podge" of Juvenal's first book (*farrago*, *Sat.* 1.86) and all his books as a whole, which (she also argues) explore Roman identity through an interlocking series of vivid examples of particular types, such as those displaying deviant gender roles. E.J. Kenney in his chapter "Satiric Textures" turns to the style, meter, and rhetoric of both satirists, looking in some detail both at how the poets characterize their own style and at what some of their most notable stylistic features actually are. Persius' verse may be harsh, Kenney concludes, but is rarely actually obscure; and Juvenal did not write with any consistency in a "grand style" but wittily varied his registers. Also highlighted here is a feature Gold draws attention to, Juvenal's vivid *exempla*, which Kenney relates to the Roman rhetorical tradition. Finally, in "Manuscripts of Juvenal and Persius" Holt Parker reconstructs the transmission of each satirist's texts, which occurred under quite different circumstances; "Juvenal fell into desuetude soon after he wrote," Parker notes, whereas Persius was more steadily read throughout antiquity. Parker pays particular attention to the dramatic discovery, by an Oxford undergraduate in 1899, of verses in a Juvenal manuscript unattested elsewhere, and explores the implications of this remarkable survival for the textual transmission.

There is no "party line" amongst contributors in this book and readers will note a variety of approaches. All seven contributors to Part II, though, were asked to discuss a theme with reference to both Persius and Juvenal (as well as the earlier Horatian tradition, as appropriate), in order to suggest the benefit of reading the imperial satirists alongside one another and to see them as successor-poets. In the opening chapter of this section, in fact, Andrea Cucchiarelli in "*Venusina lucerna*" specifically explores some of the ways in which Persius and Juvenal reflect on Horace's *Satires* and Horace's own complex relationship to the literary tradition, including comedy, philosophy,

iambic poetry, and – very importantly – Callimachus. Juvenal, as much as Persius, Cucchiarelli provocatively argues, can be viewed as a Callimachean satirist. For Juvenal is not just a fighter; he holds up the “lamp of Venusia” (Horace’s hometown), an image of the satirist hard at work over his papers. “Aggressiveness and reflection,” hallmarks of Callimachean poetry as mediated by Horace, thus create a lively dialectic in imperial satire, a point that many contributors will return to, including Paul Roche, in the next chapter, “Self-Representation and Performativity,” which looks at satire’s proclivity for role-playing. From Lucilius and Horace Persius and Juvenal inherited the speaking “I,” and Roche shows throughout his chapter how the imperial satirists’ self-construction – the way they use their “I” – relates to their positioning of themselves vis-à-vis their predecessors. Ironical self-deflation is a strategy shared by Persius and Juvenal, and the introduction of a range of interlocutors – the fundamental strategy of Horace’s second book of *Satires* – far from ending the satiric tradition, is now realized as a means of further interrogating or even unmasking the satirist and the satiric role.

Satire’s complex relationship with philosophy, other genres of poetry, and rhetoric and the rhetorical tradition are treated in the next three chapters, where each author provides a fresh reassessment. In “Persius, Juvenal, and Stoicism,” Shadi Bartsch argues that Persius represents a radical departure from the satiric tradition, inasmuch as philosophy is not a butt for his criticism, but rather he endorses a Roman version of Stoicism, many features of which can be found in the writings of his contemporary Seneca (the practice of “self-shaping,” for example). The reflectiveness of Horatian satire thus takes on a new, Stoic twist. Next, Charles McNelis focuses his discussion – to be read alongside Cucchiarelli’s chapter – of Persius and Juvenal’s relationship to other genres of poetry by considering specifically Greek comedy and iambic poetry in a sort of case-study. Both of these traditions – in which the poet contends with contemporary poets (the contest in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* is the classic example) – afford the imperial satirists ways to reconceive satire’s relationship with other verse forms, as well as provide genealogies for moments of ferocity (in Persius) and of parody (in Juvenal) that pointedly stretch back *before* Horace. Christopher van den Berg, in his chapter, takes as a given the imperial satirists’ deep familiarity with formal rhetoric – a framework modern readers need to have in place to appreciate fully these poems – and argues that both Persius and Juvenal bring in rhetoric as an “authoritative discourse . . . only to challenge that authority.” Hence another of satire’s aggressions, but van den Berg also shows that Persius and Juvenal alike, as satiric successors, reflectively use allusions to “acknowledge and update their predecessors’ relationship to the art of speaking.”

A key part of the satirist’s performance is, of course, attack, and this is the focus of Matthew Roller’s chapter “Politics and Invective in Persius and

Juvenal.” Whereas Lucilius was associated with a direct attack on powerful contemporaries, Persius and Juvenal decline to follow his model; still, Roller shows, there are illuminating ways to read imperial satire “politically,” and this includes a close examination of how both the satirist and his target are represented in power plays enmeshed within the larger culture of Rome. Imperial satire is not simply a power play itself, but also reflects *on* the nature of power plays, Roller concludes (just as van den Berg suggests satire uses the political tool of rhetoric while also challenging it). Satiric violence is the subject of Paul Allen Miller’s complementary chapter “Imperial Satire as Saturnalia,” an appropriate ending for Part II as it looks at the year-end festival of inversion which is invoked with some prominence in imperial Latin literature. Miller begins with a useful review of literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin’s work on carnival, the festive dethroning of authority “that in the moment of degradation liberates a plurality of voices.” Imperial satire, Miller then argues, does not constitute such a celebration, but rather presents a dystopian vision in which Roman society has lost its *libertas* and a carnival king is, terrifyingly, actually enthroned permanently. This represents a departure from Horace’s satires on Saturnalian freedom (*Satires* 2.3 and 2.7) and the Saturnalian poems of Catullus and Martial also discussed by Miller. The irony of satire is, in Persius and Juvenal’s bleak world, the last defense left.

In Part III of this *Companion* (“Prospectives: The Successors of Persius and Juvenal”) contributors look at later engagements with Persius and Juvenal and their part in the satiric tradition. Dan Hooley’s chapter “Imperial Satire Reiterated: Late Antiquity through the Twentieth Century” gives a useful comprehensive overview of Persius and Juvenal’s afterlives – and the sense in which later generations saw themselves as continuing the Roman tradition – and so we have placed it first in this section. From the later seventeenth century onwards, Hooley shows, Juvenal along with Horace dominate the view taken of (Roman) satire, but “Persius, the perennial surprise, turns up, just as he would want it, persistently and naggingly.” But before we get to modern times in depth, Juvenal’s rediscovery in the fourth century CE needs accounting for, and this – along with a larger “second blossoming” of satire in the late Roman empire, inspired especially by Juvenal and Persius rather than Horace – is discussed in Cristiana Sogno’s chapter “Persius, Juvenal, and the Transformation of Satire in Late Antiquity.” This era witnessed the rise of a Christian satire in prose, conceived of as “satire,” but also many other innovations, for example Ammianus Marcellinus’ satirical historiography. In his chapter, “Imperial Satire in the English Renaissance,” Stuart Gillespie discusses a second key moment in the afterlives of Persius and Juvenal, the English Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which the rise of cities comparable to imperial Rome inspired new sympathy for the ancient satirists. Horace loomed large throughout this period – much larger than Persius and Juvenal for some

writers, such as Ben Jonson – but Juvenal was, from the 1590s especially, assimilated by a variety of poets, and Persius aroused greater interest too, as witnessed, for example, by the satires of John Donne, which transformed the Roman tradition into something “personal and contemporary.”

The later seventeenth century – the Restoration era – is the setting for the chapter I co-authored with Susanna Braund, which examines in detail one of the most important receptions the imperial satirists ever received, John Dryden’s *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*, which was published in 1692 along with translations by Dryden and collaborators of all of Persius’ and Juvenal’s satires. We argue not only that Dryden’s *Discourse* is an important anticipation of modern critical approaches to satire – including the approach taken in this volume – but also that at the same time it serves to illuminate his practice as a translator. Earlier, as well as later, scholarship on Persius and Juvenal – from the late antique scholiasts to A.E. Housman – is surveyed in Holt Parker’s second chapter, also co-authored with Braund. The commentaries, editions, and other scholarly work sampled in the chapter – sometimes of breathtaking ingenuity – provide a window onto larger trends in classical scholarship and the cultural *Zeitgeist* more generally, as well as the reception of Persius and Juvenal specifically.

The same is true for the next two chapters, which deal with school texts and translations of Persius and Juvenal. In “School Texts of Persius and Juvenal,” Amy Richlin provides an innovative look at editions of the poets aimed at students from around 1600 onwards. Even the organization of such a thing as a textbook series is an indication of larger cultural shifts, which Richlin brings out throughout her discussion; close reading, Richlin shows, not only of the school texts themselves but also of (archived) copies annotated by actual students opens up a fascinating vista of sometimes quite personal receptions. In “Revoicing Imperial Satire,” Gideon Nisbet turns to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English translations of Persius and Juvenal (thus complementing the chapters of Gillespie, Hooley, and Osgood and Braund). While again a great variety in attitudes to the satirists – as well as approaches to translation – can be recovered, Nisbet focuses especially on the question of how translators tackled portions of Juvenal and Persius deemed obscene – and so (sometimes anyway) transformed the satirists into moralists appropriate for a modern audience, thereby extending yet one more time the whole satiric tradition, through translations. Nisbet also recovers a divergent reception of Persius and Juvenal that saw only the latter as “the virile prototype of British satire.” That divergent reception, already adumbrated in Hooley’s chapter, recurs again in the final contribution to this *Companion*, Martin Winkler’s “Persius and Juvenal in the Media Age.” Winkler makes a spirited argument that the Roman satiric tradition is still alive, not least in the modern mass media. But of far wider appeal, he concludes, is Juvenal. Juvenal’s conception

of satire, Winkler suggests, is more familiar than Persius', which perforce leads to a larger readership for Juvenal.

If the whole of this volume can help Juvenal, and Persius too, to find new twenty-first-century readers and if it can help those readers to enjoy the art of satiric verse and to explore the nature of satire and the satiric tradition, it will have fulfilled some of its chief aims. For nearly 2,000 years, on or (sometimes) off, the imperial satirists have entertained readers and challenged them. They, and their later readers, remain challenging and entertaining today.

PART I

PERSIUS AND JUVENAL
TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

CHAPTER ONE

Satire in the Republic: From Lucilius to Horace

Ralph M. Rosen

I've existed forever; the box that I exist in has always been around ... but I'd like to know what I'm doing that's really different ...? What is different about it that makes you so perplexed?

(Jon Stewart to Chris Wallace on Fox News, June 19, 2011)

Satire is always something of a problem, and all the qualities that literary history associates with satire rely on its being problematic. Satire ridicules, attacks, takes polemical stances, challenges political hegemony, and claims moral superiority. It may do this explicitly and vehemently, or subtly and obliquely, but satire will not be satire if, in the end, the author has not drawn clear lines in the sand separating the right-minded from the misguided. This is where the trouble begins: mockery and censure are aggressive postures that invite hostile reaction from targets and their sympathizers, and the lines between literary artifice and reality become quickly and easily blurred. Satire may be crafted in accordance with literary conventions, but its targets will often exist in the real world, and verbal abuse can sting even when it is supposed to be “literary.” In turn, satirists become anxious and paranoid, driven by a commitment to frank speech and justice, but aware that there will always be limits and that transgressing these limits may well backfire on them. Or so they claim – for a different order of problems arises when we consider that satirists have chosen a literary mode that thrives on provocation, and that much, if not all, of their risk-taking serves literary, not veridical, purposes. Satirists make strong and persuasive autobiographical claims all the time, but their first order of business is to write or perform well, and this means writing in such a way as to amuse an

audience, insisting on truth-claims that may not be true, or that even if true may have no actual relevance to the success of the work *as* satire.

The history of Roman satire prior to Persius and Juvenal, which will be the concern of this chapter, can be written in a variety of ways, but at the most fundamental level it is a story of poets continually calibrating the literary demands of the genre to suit contemporary cultural and political conditions. All satirists may seek to be provocative and comical, or claim to instruct and edify, but exactly how they go about this must be tailored not only to the literary tastes of the age, but more specifically to the level of tolerance for satirical antagonism that audiences and targets can bear. Roman satirists were particularly attuned to this fact, and came to be increasingly self-conscious about the constraints and anxieties that they imagined always loomed over their chosen genre. Matters were further complicated by the fact that within the chronological boundaries of Roman verse satire – from Lucilius in the second century BCE to Juvenal in the second century CE – Rome's political system moved from Republic to Empire, from a government based on electoral representation that allowed for considerable freedom of movement and expression (at least for the literate classes who comprised, by and large, the satirist's audience) to one of imperial autocracy, where law and social policy were ultimately shaped by the will of a single ruler. For the satirist, this radical and rather abrupt political transformation towards the end of the first century BCE meant a change in attitude towards the unfettered speech on which satire relies. Suddenly the genre's commonplace trope of anxiety about the dangers of mockery and censure took on a new urgency, as open dissent, even in literary form, became increasingly problematic under a succession of volatile, often paranoid emperors (see further in this volume Roller, Chapter 13). Persius and Juvenal were creatures of this later, imperial period in Roman history, living under a line of emperors who were infamous for their sensitivity to criticism (Nero in Persius' lifetime, Domitian in Juvenal's) and often ruthless in their responses to it.

Our own conception of Roman satire is to a great degree an inheritance from antiquity, a self-consciously selective and tendentious construction begun by the poets themselves and then schematized by the early exegetical tradition. As early as the first century CE, Quintilian famously claimed (*Inst.* 10.1.93–95) satire as the one genre that Romans could call their own (*tota nostra est*), and proceeded to lay out a lineage from Lucilius to Horace to Persius, the last of whom was Quintilian's contemporary. We know from other sources (e.g., the third-century CE grammarian Porphyrio) that the early Roman poet Ennius (239–169 BCE) composed a work in four books that he called *saturae*, but only a handful of fragments has survived and these are not especially illuminating. The fragments do contain precursors to some of the elements that came to be associated with Roman satire – the poet's personal involvement in a narrative, Aesopic fable, complaint and moralizing, for example – but Ennius' actual

influence on later satirists seems to have been minimal (Coffey (1976) 32). It is surely significant, in any case, that Quintilian does not regard him as especially influential in the development of Roman satire as he understood it. Several centuries after Quintilian, the grammarian Diomedes (third to fourth century CE) likewise mentions Ennius (along with his nephew Pacuvius, about whose satires nothing substantive is known) only as an afterthought in his discussion of the Latin word *satura*:

carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum uitia archaiae comoediae caractere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius. sed olim carmen quod ex uariis poematibus constabat satura uocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuuius et Ennius. (1.485 Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*)

a type of song among the Romans which is now invective and composed in the manner of Old Comedy for the purpose of censuring the bad behavior of men, such as Lucilius and Horace and Persius wrote. But at one time satire was the name given to a kind of song composed from different bits of poems of the sort that Pacuvius and Ennius wrote.

However many other satirical poets were writing in Rome from the late Republic through the early Empire, the canon of Roman verse satire took shape around the four figures Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal (curiously, Diomedes himself does not mention Juvenal in the passage just cited; see Freudenburg (2001) 1–5 on the problems of canon inclusion in Roman satire). For Persius and Juvenal the juncture between the Republican and Imperial periods offered a further subdivision in the history of their genre, a pivot between two cultural attitudes towards satirical speech. When Persius and Juvenal looked to Lucilius and Horace as generic models, they found much to learn and assimilate, even replicate, but the deepest, most definitional core of satire as fundamentally a mode of verbal ridicule against contemporaries became problematic for them in a way that it never quite was for Lucilius and Horace. If the Republican satirists wondered what constituted good satire (as Horace, for example, often did in his *Sermones*), Persius and Juvenal had to wonder whether it was even safe for them to attempt writing satire in the first place. Our task in this chapter, then, will be to examine how the theoretical musings about satire embedded in the writing of Lucilius and Horace came to shape the contours of Persius' and Juvenal's own work.

1.1 Grandmaster Lucilius

On the numerous occasions when Persius and Juvenal invoked the Roman satirists of earlier periods, it was invariably with a kind of nostalgia for a lost

libertas, for a time when any constraints on satire, if there were any, were imagined to be largely *self-imposed*, a matter of a poet's taste and judgment rather than prescriptions of a repressive autocratic state. At the root of this nostalgia for a notionally "pure" or "authentic" form of satire lay the figure of Lucilius, the great satirical poet of second-century BCE Rome whose poetry was mythologized by subsequent Roman satirists as the benchmark of the genre – freewheeling, unbridled speech, including liberal, carefree use of obscenity, personal mockery of known individuals and stock character-types, a quasi-philosophical moralizing attitude, and a stance of unremitting indignation at the hypocrisies and assorted misbehaviors of humanity. For the subsequent history of Roman satire Lucilius was regarded as the genre's foundational patriarch, even if Ennius was, technically speaking, its "inventor." It was Lucilius who settled on the dactylic hexameter as the canonical verse form, and he who gave sanction to vituperative comic mockery as the genre's defining quality. Roman satirists after Lucilius continually measured their work against the achievements of their great originary master. Their engagement with him was not always uncritical, as we shall see, but his presence was never far below the surface, especially when they mused (as satirists always seem to enjoy doing) about what satire is supposed to accomplish in the first place, and how best to go about it within the constraints of their own historical and cultural milieux.

The exact dates of Lucilius' life are uncertain, although the evidence from his fragments shows him to be active during the last decades of the second century BCE (Coffey (1976) 35–38; Gruen (1992) 272–76; scholars have generally settled on 168–102 BCE as not unlikely). His family was aristocratic and well connected – he was, for example, great-uncle to Pompey the Great – and this background afforded him easy access to the most influential political and social figures of his day. But while he had ample wealth and opportunity for a public or political career, he never pursued one, preferring instead the freer, more disengaged life of a poet. His social position and elite network, however, were especially useful for a poet drawn to satire. Satire, after all, often challenges those in power, constantly scrutinizing them for any instance of misbehavior or hypocrisy, and Lucilius' powerful connections provided plenty of "material for his act," as we might say. Not only was Lucilius privy to information and gossip about the movers and shakers of his day, but his own elevated social status probably protected him from retaliation by targets who would have regarded him as, in some sense, one of their own. Even his famous personal relationship with the great politician Scipio Aemilianus (189–129 BCE) could withstand the satirist's occasional ribbing. As Gruen ((1992) 316) has summed up, Lucilius "mocked friends and adversaries alike, lampooned public figures . . . parodied public actions . . . [and was] a contentious critic who could laugh at his own quarrels and even taunt his own readership."

Through the surviving fragments and the ancient biographical testimony, one has the impression that Lucilius was quite at ease with his censorious mode. If we had more of the poetry itself, we would probably hear him complaining about being misunderstood by his audiences, as we later hear Horace complain that his own moralizing attacks on people and types are too often mistaken for mere *Schadenfreude*. Such complaints – often ironic or disingenuous – are part and parcel of every satirist’s bag of tricks (see Rosen (2007) 243–45), but Lucilius’ world nevertheless seems to have offered unusual scope for free speech with minimal repercussions. Whereas Persius’ and Juvenal’s anxiety about incurring imperial disfavor has at least some historical justification, it is hard to imagine Lucilius worrying much about his personal welfare as a consequence of his poetry. (It is worth noting, however, the tangled anecdotes about Naevius, the third-century BCE poet, alleging that his comic attacks on the powerful Metelli landed him in prison; the stories themselves are probably fictional, but they illustrate once again the sense of risk that always hovers around satire. See Gruen (1990) 92–106.) All the subsequent Roman satirists imagined, in any case, that Lucilius had far more freedom to say what he wanted than they ever would, and as a result came to idealize Roman satire according to a calculus of Lucilian *libertas*.

Lucilius was a prolific poet but he only survives for us in fragments, and even though there are plenty of these (almost 1,400) most consist of no more than a few lines, a phrase, or a word. Still, enough remains to form a reasonably clear impression of the character of his satire, and so to understand how he became the literary lodestone that he did for later Roman satirists. We may begin a brief overview of his work by noting that he touched upon virtually every theme that we have come to associate with the *ars satirica*, assumed all the poses and deployed all the tropes and conceits one would expect of such a poet. His poems could be crude and obscene, scatological or sexual, sophisticated and allusive, mock-philosophical, indignant, parodic, invective, learned or crass. His personal mockery sometimes takes on the tone of a playground brawl, at other times the rhetoric of political gamesmanship. The fragments are replete with jokes about food, graphic allusions to bodily functions and scenarios set in a lurid demi-monde. A stance of supercilious moral superiority pervades many of the fragments, but the pretense of *indignatio* seems as often tongue-in-cheek as it does serious and sincere. The following discussion of selected fragments will illustrate Lucilius’ range and versatility in subject matter, diction, and imagery, as well as, throughout, his superb ear for comedy.

It is only fitting to begin with invective, since this was the most celebrated component of Lucilian satire. The fragments abound with lines and phrases that are clearly intended to attack individuals, though in most cases we are missing names and contexts. But there are also fragments where targets are

named and which show Lucilius comfortable taking on the most prominent figures of the day. Fragment 805–11 Warmington (hereafter “W”; Warmington (1938)) offers a good example of political mockery, packaged with sophisticated and learned wit. The poem (in iambic senarii rather than dactylic hexameters) attacks the notoriously corrupt, but very powerful, politician L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus (consul 156, convicted of extortion 154, but *censor* in 147, and *princeps senatus* in 131), in particular his well known ruthlessness as a judge:

hoc cum feceris,
cum ceteris reus una tradetur Lupo.
non aderit; ἀρχαῖς hominem et stoechiis simul
priuabit, igni cum et aqua interdixerit.
duo habet stoechia, adfuerit anima et corpore
(γῆ corpus, anima est πνεῦμα); posterioribus
stoechiis si id maluerit priuabit tamen.

When you have done this,
The defendant will be handed over to Lupus along with the others.
He doesn’t show up in court? – Lupus will deprive the man of his “first principles”
along with his “elements,” when he forbids him his “fire” and “water.”
That leaves him two elements, still, if he shows up in court in soul and body
(“earth” is the body, and “air” the soul). Well, if he feels like it, he’ll
nevertheless take those last elements away from him too.

The fragment is an elaborate (and yes, as Horace might say, somewhat prolix) complaint that no defendant stands a chance in court with Lupus as judge. The Virgilian commentator Servius (on *Aen.* 10.104) notes that after Lupus’ death, Lucilius even composed an entire poem (some have suggested it occupied the entire first book of satires; see Michelfeit (1965)) in which a Council of the Gods (*concilium deorum*) deliberated about whether to execute Lupus for his role in corrupting Rome. Horace (2.1.67) and Persius (1.114) both regarded Lucilius’ attacks on Lupus as bold and exemplary, if too dangerous to replicate themselves in their own work.

Book 2 likewise seems to have been entirely devoted to an attack on one public figure, here the politician Quintus Mucius Scaevola. Scaevola was tried for extortion in 119 BCE and Lucilius’ poem seems to be a comic account of the proceedings. The charge was brought against him by an Epicurean philosopher named Titus Albucius, and Lucilius has a good time making fun of him as well. In fact, the fragments do not allow us to be certain what stand Lucilius himself takes against each of the two antagonists, but the subject matter allows him ample scope to mock each of them. Many of the smaller fragments seem to concern the various charges brought against

Scaevola – violence, gluttony, sexual deviance, theft, among them – and Lucilius clearly revels in their luridness.

*iniuriatum hunc in fauces inuasit animamque
elisse illi.* (54–55 W)

this malefactor went straight for his jaw and knocked the breath out of him.

homo impuratus et inpuno est rapinator. (57 W)

He's a disgusting man and a robber who gets away with it.

in bulgam penetrare pilosam (61 W)
to insert into a hairy "bag"

si natibus natricem inpressit crassam et capitatam (62 W)
if he shoved into his buttocks a thick-headed water-snake

... pedicum iam excoquit omne (63 W)
then he's cooked out all of his pederastic lust

*nam quid moestino subiectoque huic opus signo?
ut lucaretur lardum et carnaria fartim
conficeret?* (67–69 W)

For why does he need this phallic charm hanging down?

So he can devour bacon and then make short work of the meat-closet,
stuffing himself?

The most substantial fragment of Book 2 (87–93 W) mocks Albucius' hellenophilia (see also in this volume van den Berg, Chapter 12):

"Graecum te, Albuci, quam Romanum atque Sabinum
municipem Ponti, Tritani, centurionum,
praeclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque,
maluisti dici. Graece ergo praetor Athenis,
id quod maluisti, te, cum ad me accedis, saluto:
'chaere' inquam 'Tite.' Lictores, turma omnis chorusque:
'chaere Tite.' hinc hostis mi Albucius, hinc inimicus."

Albucius, you preferred to be called a Greek rather than a Roman or a Sabine, fellow townsman of the centurions Pontus and Tritanus, or one of the distinguished men and chief standard-bearers. As praetor at Athens I greet you in Greek, as you preferred, when you approach me: "Chaere, Titus," I say. "Chaere, Titus" say the lictors, along with my whole entourage and fans. That's why Albucius is my foe, that's why he's my personal enemy!

With Scaevola himself as speaker, the fragment offers a form of mockery embedded in the narrative, and thus more oblique than the more direct first-person invective we find elsewhere in Lucilius. The effect is characteristically, and deliberately, disorienting: as readers we witness a verbal brawl between two characters, but without clear indication with whom we are supposed to sympathize. No doubt, Lucilius finds both parties offensive and laughable, and enjoys holding both of them up to ridicule. In any case, even this relatively short fragment reveals several themes that continued to resonate with Persius and Juvenal. The ridicule of Greeks, for example, was popular with both of them (e.g., Persius Prol. 8, or Juvenal 3.61, 78, 6.184–99; cf. Freudenburg (2001) 152–53, and in this volume Roller, Chapter 13), and, in keeping with satire's inherent moralizing tendencies, each liked to work philosophers into their rants and narratives. The antagonism between Albucius and Scaevola in Lucilius' Book 2 evidently played out on one level as a clash between an Epicurean (Albucius) and a Stoic (Scaevola), but whether Lucilius intended to register sympathy with one philosophical school or not is impossible to say. One would assume that Book 2 is ultimately supposed to amount to an attack on Scaevola, but these lines divert us with the representation of an attack internal to the narrative, where *Scaevola* comes off as the sympathetic satirist and Albucius the target. A complete text of the poem might help clarify what Lucilius' position on each character is supposed to be, but as it stands his moral position is left up in the air. This is a stance characteristic of the best satirists, who need always to skirt that fine line between preachy homiletics and comedy. Satirists may work to persuade their audiences that they have a specific moral axe to grind, but serious, systematic philosophizing is flat and humorless (see also in this volume Bartsch, Chapter 10). And few people will actually learn anything new from the lessons that satire, stripped of all artifice and play, claims to offer – that gluttony, avarice and sexual excess are bad, for example, or that power has a way of corrupting politicians.

Persius understood this well, as for example in his *Satire* 5, where he seems to have internalized Lucilius' strategy of trying to keep his audience guessing just what *exactly* his position might be on any given moral claim. At the very end of a long, brilliant rant in a hard-core Stoic vein against the various vices of the world, Persius ends *Satire* 5 with these befuddling lines (189–91, my translation):

dixeris haec inter uaricosos centuriones,
continuo crassum ridet Pulfenius ingens
et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur.

Say these things among the centurions with their bulging veins,
and immediately enormous Pulfenius gives a coarse laugh
and offers up barely a buck for a hundred Greeks.

Persius is not exactly repudiating here the colorful Stoic moralizing he has just wrapped up (*haec*, “these things”), but he does wink at the audience, whom he knows might well respond to his ethical diatribe as the oafish centurion Pulfenius does – with laughter and jokes about the worthlessness of Greek philosophy (see Hooley (1997) 220–21; Reckford (2009) 123–24; and see also below on the final lines of Horace, *Sat.* 2.1). Persius turns out not to be the fire-and-brimstone preacher after all, and the poem’s final ironic, deflating twist confirms that the true pleasures of satire lie in comedy, not philosophy.

All the later Roman satirists took their cue from Lucilius on such matters of genre, style, and content. What they admired so much in his poetry was his linguistic exuberance, the startling and unapologetic delight he seemed to take in all registers of language, from the lowest and crudest to the most refined and literate. Lucilius himself had plenty of earlier Greek models to help him shape his own style – notably, the poets of archaic Greek iambus, Athenian Old Comedy (e.g., Aristophanes), and various Hellenistic traditions of satirical poetry and quasi-philosophical diatribe (cf. Freudenburg (1993) 215–23) – but Lucilius was the first to draw all these influences together with a sustained, uniform voice into an unmistakably *Roman* form, largely unprecedented in its combination of unfettered exuberance and contemporaneity. To the later Roman satirists, in short, Lucilius was the fountain of satirical authenticity, the father-figure whose approval they each notionally craved. In fact, one might even say that in post-Lucilian Roman satire the very idea of tapping into a Lucilian vein became a veritable poetic trope. It became *de rigueur*, that is, for Roman satirists to articulate a literary relationship with Lucilius at some point in their work, as if continually asking themselves how much of his frankness and aggression could *they* get away with?

1.2 Horace on Lucilius

1.2.1 Horace, *Satire* 1.4

At several junctures in the course of his two books of satires, Horace (65–8 BCE) is explicit about his own relationship with Lucilius, or at least about the relationship he wants to construct for his readers. For him, Lucilius was the *inuentor* of hexameter Roman satire and established the thematic parameters of the genre, its tone and style. In keeping with the etymology of the word *satura* as suggestive of an “over-stuffed” miscellany (cf. Coffey (1976) 15–18), Horace continued Lucilius’ desultory approach to subject matter, but fretted over his predecessor’s penchant for open invective, and several times criticized his compositional style. Horace’s stylistic criticisms and his own anxieties about how he might be able himself to “be” Lucilian in his own work set out well the

quirks and paradoxes that characterize satirical literature of any era, and which Persius and Juvenal likewise had to confront. In the famous programmatic opening of *Satire* 1.4, Horace gets right down to the central issues, including the purpose of satire and its literary genealogy:

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae
 atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca uirorum est,
 siquis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,
 quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
 famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.
 hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus,
 mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque, facetus,
 emunctae naris, durus componere uersus.
 nam fuit hoc uitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,
 ut magnum, uersus dictabat stans pede in uno;
 cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere uelles;
 garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
 scribendi recte.

The poets Eupolis, and Cratinus, and Aristophanes,
 and others, who are authors of the ancient comedy,
 if there was any person deserving to be distinguished as a rascal or thief,
 an adulterer or a cut-throat, or in any shape
 an infamous fellow, pointed him out with great freedom.
 Upon these [models] Lucilius entirely depends, having imitated them,
 changing only their feet and meter: a man of wit,
 of great keenness, but inelegant in the composition of verse:
 for in this respect he was faulty: he would often, as a great feat,
 dictate two hundred verses in an hour, standing in the same position.
 As he flowed muddily, there was [always] something that one would
 wish to remove;
 he was verbose, and too lazy to endure the fatigue of writing –
 of writing accurately.

These lines are rich with nuance and ambiguity, but in affiliating Lucilian satire with Greek Old Comedy – an otherwise unrelated literary form from a completely different time and place – Horace makes the larger purpose of these lines clear. Horace aims first to set forth a notion of satire as a synchronic literary mode, transcending specific, historically situated instantiations (satire “writ large,” we might say) and second, to identify Lucilius as the specifically Roman version of this mode that set the standard by which subsequent satirical poets would be judged. This is Horace’s attempt to pinpoint what it is that satire is supposed to “do,” and then to show how this helps to clarify what he himself is trying to do in his own satires – not only how he, too, is like Old

Comedy and Lucilius, but also how he is not. The key phrase in Horace's analysis occurs at line 5, *multa cum libertate notabant* ("They pointed out [malefactors] with great freedom [of speech]"). Horace's statement in the next line is emphatic: it was the *libertas* of the Greek comic poets, *their* freedom to mock anyone they thought deserving of censure, that accounts for Lucilius' notorious invective signature. Lucilius was "entirely dependent" on them (*hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*) and "followed them" (*hosce secutus*) in their vituperative style. The only real difference, Horace says with comic exaggeration, is that Lucilius used different meters from his Greek forebears (*mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque*), as if to say that "Lucilius really was doing exactly the same thing as an Aristophanes, except for the fact that he mainly wrote in Latin hexameters." Two more qualities align Lucilius with the Greeks, his wit and discernment (*facetus*, | *emunctae naris*), and with this a basic definition of satire is beginning to take shape as a literary form that must be self-righteously censorious, unrestrained in expression, clever, witty, and sophisticated.

In a brilliant stroke of generic enactment, Horace proceeds in lines 8–13 to turn Lucilius himself into his own satirical target. He "attacks" Lucilius for a variety of poetic sins and misdemeanors that account for his "harshness" of style (*durus componere uersus*) – he writes too quickly (10), he "flows like a muddy river" (11), he is verbose and too lazy to pay much attention to good style (*scribendi recte*) (12–13). Horace, it seems, is showing us satire "done right," that is to say, writing that is censorious and self-righteous but also succinct and witty. And with a final flourish, at lines 14–19, Horace contrasts his own poetic skills with Lucilius' flaws: unlike Lucilius, Horace can (or so he wants us to believe) actually exercise discipline in his writing; his goal in his own writing, unlike Lucilius', was to speak *raro et perpauca* (18). Here, as in the rest of this complex and convoluted poem, Horace is refining his own sense of what satire ought to be and do, and cataloguing the typical ways in which the genre is misread and misinterpreted. Along the way, however, in another move typical of satirists, he leads the reader down blind alleys, arguing his position with abrupt transitions and questionable logic, and in the end makes it impossible for anyone to be certain when he is serious, semi-serious, ironic, disingenuous, or simply (and genuinely) confused.

The confusion begins when he slyly shifts his focus (lines 22–23) from a critique of Lucilius' excessive, indiscriminate output to the question of whether a satirist should actively seek a wide public. Horace claims that he avoids popular recitations because he knows that satire makes people uncomfortable; but of course the reason they are uncomfortable is precisely because they know that they deserve the satirist's censure: *sunt quos genus hoc minime iuuat, utpote | pluris culpari dignos* ("there are those who get the least pleasure from this genre, in that most of them deserve to be blamed"). This is a specific response to Lucilian satire, which Horace conceptualized as

uninhibited and carefree. Horace, by contrast, felt he had to ratchet down the level of *libertas* that Lucilius allowed himself so as not to alienate his audience. When he imagines an angry crowd (35) claiming that he would not even “spare a friend” in his effort to raise a laugh (*dummodo risum | excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcat amico* [“as long as he shakes out a laugh | for himself, this one will not spare any friend”]), Horace draws attention to the central dilemma of satire: it exists to make an audience laugh at the expense of someone else, but it is an inherently antagonistic mode and as such runs the risk of angering an aggrieved party. The specific charge he anticipates is that he takes pleasure in injuring his targets, and that he does so wilfully and out of sheer malice (*laedere gaudes . . . et hoc studio prauus facis* [“you love to cause pain . . . and you do this deliberately and maliciously”], 79). Throughout much of the second half of the poem Horace bends over backwards trying to deny such a charge, but – to great comic effect – he ends up arguing in circles: of course, he says, he would never be the kind of person to attack a friend behind his back (*absentem qui rodit, | amicum qui non defendit alio culpante* [“the one who attacks someone when he’s not there | who doesn’t defend a friend when someone else is blaming him”], 81–82) or aim for the big laughs or want to be thought a wit (*solutos | qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis* [“the one who’s after the unrestrained laughter of the crowd and the reputation of being a wit”], 82–83), but by the end of the poem he comes close to implicating himself in exactly these practices in describing his own literary *modus operandi*. At line 103, for example, after promising vigorously never to betray a friend, he acknowledges that he can sometimes speak a little too frankly (*liberius*) and engage a bit too much in jesting (*iocosius*). He banteringly asks his readers to allow him these minor faults, explaining that his father’s moral tutelage was responsible for his satirical bent. In fact, the language he uses to describe his father’s practice of pointing out vice to his son aligns him pointedly with the poets of Greek comedy with whom Horace opened the poem: “My wonderful father instilled this in me, by pointing out various vices with examples, so that I might steer clear of them” (*insuevit pater optimus hoc me, | ut fugerem exemplis uitiorum quaeque notando*, 105–6; and cf. line 5, *multa cum libertate notabant*, “they pointed out many things with great freedom [of speech]”). Parallel genealogies, then, emerge by analogy: Horace is to his father as Lucilius was to the poets of Old Comedy; just as Lucilius “depended” (*pendet*) on Old Comedy as a model for satirical censure, so Horace here depends on his father (*insuevit pater optimus hoc me* [“my wonderful father instilled this in me”], 105; see Schlegel (2000), for a more detailed treatment of these connections). Horace’s concession at the end of the poem that he writes a little too “freely” (*liberius*, 103) clinches the connection he wants to make with Lucilius, the poet he had celebrated for his *libertas* at the beginning.

1.2.2 Horace, *Satire* 1.10

Horace takes up the question of Lucilian satire, and its relationship to his own work, in two other poems, *Satires* 1.10 and 2.1. In each he continues to shape his own sense of what constitutes proper satirical *libertas* in the face of the firmly entrenched standard set by Lucilius (cf. Brown (1993) 182–83). *Satire* 1.10, once again, shows Horace playfully attacking Lucilius under the guise of offering a cogent literary theory of his own. In fact – and here I would suggest, just to be clear, that this was almost certainly by design – it all ends up a little garbled, and his criticisms of Lucilius are less trenchant than his rhetoric at first might lead one to believe. The opening lines of 1.10 reiterate the points he made about Lucilius in *Sat.* 1.4, but he frames them as a counter-response from fans of Lucilius, who objected to Horace’s criticisms of him as prolix and stylistically turgid. Horace stands by this characterization as the poem opens (“Well yes, I did say that Lucilius’ verses ran along in a disorderly way” [*nempe inconposito dixi pede currere uersus* | *Lucili*, 1–2]), but reminds his reader that he had also praised Lucilius for “scouring the city with much salty wit” (*sale multo* | *urbem defricuit*, 3–4). As it happens, though, this is actually *not* quite how Horace had praised Lucilius in 1.4, as we will recall; or at least, we might say, it raises the question of what Horace means when he uses the metaphor of “rubbing salt” for satirical wit. If he means to imply that the poets of Greek comedy also “scoured the city with much salty wit” and that Lucilius, in imitating them (1.4.5), was doing the same thing, then this becomes a “good thing.” But much of 1.4 is devoted to arguing that writing less, more polished poetry, for a select few only, and avoiding a reputation for inflicting pain (1.4.78–80) is what a satirist should strive for. The laughter he claims to strive for in his own work, then, as it emerges from 1.4, would hardly seem to be characterized by its “abundance of salty wit,” and it is not clear, in 1.4 anyway, that Horace is fully comfortable with Lucilius’ Greek comic roots after all. What does he mean then, in *Satire* 1.10, when he claims to endorse Lucilius’ “salty wit” – a phrase that can only imply sharp, sometimes painful mockery? Is it just a matter of degree – some is good, but too much is not? What, then, would be the force of *multo* in the phrase *sale multo*? Horace *seems* to be saying, in other words, that Lucilius was great because he attacked the city with so *much* caustic humor. The section that immediately follows, lines 7–19, muddles things even further. It repeats some of the criticism of Lucilius by now familiar from *Satire* 1.4 – one should keep things short (*breuitas*, 9), varied, and measured – but ends with a famous, if somewhat confusing, statement (14–17):

ridiculum acri
fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.
illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca uiris est,
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi.

Humor generally
cuts through great matters better and more forcefully than sharpness.
Those men who wrote Old Comedy relied on this principle,
and in this regard they should be imitated.

This comes as a bit of a surprise: in *Satire* 1.4 Lucilius was said to “depend entirely” on the poets of Old Comedy. But these lines above are presented as a coda to a passage that is *censuring* Lucilian style, as if to say, “don’t be garrulous and monochromatically vituperative, like Lucilius; follow the example of the Greek comic poets, who used humor (*ridiculum*) to make their point.” Is the *ridiculum* of an Aristophanes here supposed to be wildly different from Lucilian *sal*? Is Horace implying that Lucilius all of a sudden should be faulted because he does not, in fact, “imitate” the Greek comic poets as Horace said Lucilius did in *Sat.* 1.4?

There can be little question that Horace is playing games here in this imaginary banter with Lucilius. In the end, the point seems to be not so much to offer anything resembling a systematic theory of satire (despite the fact that this is exactly what Horace wants to *appear* to be doing), as to offer another demonstration of satire “in action” as he, Horace, thinks it should be. The accuracy and consistency of his claims are more or less beside the point, as is the question of whether in fact Horace regarded Lucilius as an “enemy,” as satirists often want their targets to be construed. Lucilius is, as it happens, the kind of target that Horace often likes to develop in his satires: a person with flaws, but flaws that may not be especially monumental ones and are often forgivable. Mockery of such characters can come across as softer, less vitriolic than attacks on people with grave, unredeemable vices, its humor more accessible and less private. Horace essentially makes this point later in *Sat.* 1.10, when he justifies the criticism of Lucilius by pointing out that one can find lapses in even the greatest poets (he lists Homer, the Roman tragedian Accius, and Ennius at lines 51–55), so that criticism (or, since this is satire, ridicule) of great figures need not necessarily imply animosity. Horace says at 48–49 that he can write better satire than Varro of Atax (P. Terentius Varro “Atacinus,” a Roman poet who composed in various genres, including satire, 82–30s BCE; only fragments survive) but he concedes that he would still always be inferior to Lucilius, the “inventor” of Roman satire (*inuentore minor*); and he can still say, apparently without irony, that Lucilius remains at the top of the heap (“I wouldn’t dare snatch the crown that sits with great praise on his head,” 48–49). By the time we get to 64–65, where he allows that, at least for the sake of argument, we can consider Lucilius to be *comis et urbanus* (“elegant and sophisticated”), Horace seems on the verge of contradicting his earlier complaints that he was an unrefined poet.

1.2.3 Horace, *Satire 2.1*

We leave *Satire 1.10* with the sense that Horace has been struggling throughout the entire first book to find a way to chart his own path as a satirist, but always in the shadow of the great “inventor” of the genre (cf. 49) who laid out the procedures for a specifically Roman tradition. In the programmatic poems of Book 1 (4 and 10), Horace oscillates between censure and admiration of Lucilius, leaving the reader uncertain whether he is himself *unwilling* to write like Lucilius (the censorious Horace), or actually *unable* to do so (the self-effacing Horace). The first poem of Book 2 takes up both of these positions again, but spins each quite differently. Now, as we shall see, Horace fully embraces Lucilius as his model, but asks his friend, the lawyer Trebatius, whether it is prudent for him to write like Lucilius, given the unpredictability of how audiences respond to that kind of satire. Horace, he would have us believe, *can* write like Lucilius, but should he? In the course of answering this question Horace offers a striking manifesto about the aims and pleasures of satire as he construes them, once again calibrating every aspect of his own satirical writing to standards established by Lucilius. There is far less wavering here than in the programmatic poems of Book 1 – here he unquestionably admires the *libertas* for which Lucilius was famous, but if he were to write as “freely” as Lucilius, he fears the very kind of opposition from his audience that he himself had leveled against Lucilius in Book 1! In fact, although the poem opens in Horace’s own voice, what he says could have come from Lucilius complaining about Horace’s earlier characterization of him as too harsh and prolix:

sunt quibus in satura uidear nimis acer et ultra
legem tendere opus; sine neruis altera, quidquid
composui, pars esse putat similisque meorum
mille die uersus deduci posse.

Some people think that I’m too sharp in my satire, and that
my work transgresses its laws; but another group thinks whatever
I compose is anemic, and that a thousand verses like that could be
spun out in a single day.

These lines meld brilliantly the two stances of simultaneous braggadocio and abjection that we saw in *Satire 1.10*. On the one hand, the charge of Horace’s satire as fierce (*acer*), transgressive (*ultra legem*), anemic and facile (*sine neruis*) affirms an identification with Lucilius – a daring stance to begin with; on the other, people hurl these charges against him because they disapprove. Horace may be bold enough to claim the mantle of Lucilius for his own time, but, echoing the complaints of many other satirists throughout literary

history, no one ever really seems to understand what he is doing. In many ways, these opening lines emblemize the perennial inscrutability of satire, and the paradox of a genre that presents itself as straightforward and accessible, but forever remains unstable and hermeneutically volatile.

The conversation between Horace and Trebatius in 2.1 makes it clear that the central paradox of satire is this: while it purports to exist for a moral purpose (we heard plenty about this from Horace in Book 1), it yet seems driven, equally if not at times exclusively, by aesthetic concerns. The moral, self-righteous aspect is what always gets satirists into trouble. As Trebatius says at lines 21–23, a poet would be better off writing mediocre epic than attacking local miscreants with invective (*tristi . . . uersu*) for their petty vices, because this just makes everyone afraid of satirists (*sibi quisque timet*). They end up hating the satirist even when they are actually themselves unharmed by his attacks: *quamquam est intactus, et odit* (23). In a perfect world, Horace implies, only the satirist's target would legitimately hate and fear him; the problem is that satire makes everyone edgy, and everyone assumes that the poet is a threat regardless of whether or not they deserve censure. For Horace, then, as for most satirists, satire is always a thankless job.

So why, then, does Horace – or any satirist for that matter – write? This is the question that Horace takes up in the rest of the poem, as he argues against Trebatius' recommendation to give up writing satire altogether for his own safety. Horace offers a succinct explanation in lines 27–29:

quot capitum uiuunt, totidem studiorum
milia: me pedibus delectat claudere uerba
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.

as many people as are alive, so many thousands of interests
there are: my pleasure lies in putting words to meter
in the manner of Lucilius, a man better than both of us.

Horace writes, he tells us, because the pleasure (*delectat*) he gets from writing Lucilian (*Lucili ritu*) poetry compels him to. These lines describe, in other words, that point where aesthetics collide and fuse with moral pretenses. Horace told us in Book 1 that his father had taught him to recognize vice in others, but should we really believe that this alone drives him to write poetry attacking such behavior? Juvenal, too, elicits the same question in his programmatic opening satire, when, after listing various examples of bad behavior in contemporary Rome, he concludes, *difficile est saturam non scribere* (1.30); and after another even longer litany of bad behavior, he famously exclaims that if his natural talent as a poet fails him, moral indignation itself will produce his poetry (*si natura negat, facit indignatio uersum*, 1.79). Yet the same poem

opens with what seems to be his overarching complaint: he is surrounded by bad poets and is constantly forced to be a mere listener (*semper ego auditor tantum?*, 1.1) rather than himself a producer of verse. His desire, he tells us, is identical to Horace's in the passage quoted above, namely to try his hand at poetry in the style of Lucilius: "Nevertheless, why I'd rather rush across the same plain through which the great native son of Aurunca [= Lucilius, referring to his birthplace, Suessa Aurunca] steered his horses . . . I will explain" (*cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo, | per quem magnus equos Aurunca flexit alumnus | . . . edam*, 1.19–21). We note, then, that both Juvenal and Horace never actually say that they are driven to poetry because they have a burning desire to engage in public moral censure. Rather, it is the other way around: both are poets first, portraying themselves as casting about for the right style, and both end up settling on poetry *Lucili ritu* because there is plenty of material available and still room for new contributors. Other genres of poetry are either well represented already (Horace, *Sat.* 1.10.40–45 praises Fundanius, Pollio and Virgil for their work in comic drama, tragedy, and epic, respectively) or overworked and poorly executed (Horace, *Sat.* 1.10.36–38, a side-swipe at an epic poet named Furius; and Juvenal 1.1–18, a rant against the lengthy poetic recitations of his day). By contrast, as both Horace and Juvenal imply, satire can never really become an overcrowded or overworked field, since the scope of its subject matter – contemporary human affairs – is vast and its details continually changing.

This tension between the satirist's typical *claim* that he is driven to compose by an almost impulsive reaction to the world's iniquities and the fact that he is also a poet in search of material is highlighted a few lines later in 2.1, where Horace says that his poetry is only defensive, to protect himself if anyone attacks him (39–46):

sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
quemquam animantem et me ueluti custodiet ensis
uagina tectus; quem cur destringere coner
tutus ab infestis latronibus? o pater et rex
Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum,
nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! at ille,
qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo),
flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

But this pen will not of its own accord
attack any person who's alive, and it will protect me like a sword
kept in its sheath; I mean, why should I try to draw it out
as long as I'm safe from dangerous bandits? O Jupiter,
father and king, may my weapon, set aside, rot with rust,
and may no one harm me, who desire peace. But that one

who stirs me up (I shout out, it's better not to lay a hand on me!)
will weep and will be sung about, an infamous figure, through all of Rome.

How do we square this attitude with the notion that the satirist thinks he should proactively rant about the world? This was, after all, what Horace imagined Lucilius was up to in his work, and what he said in 1.10 was what he wanted to replicate in his own satire. Is it not a paradox for Horace to say that he just “wants peace” (*cupido mihi pacis*) when a few lines earlier he admitted that, as a poet, what he *really* loves (*delectat*) is to compose Lucilian verse? How, after all, would he be able to write Lucilian satire if he really was able to live in peace, his pen lying idle like a sword rusting away from disuse? Horace's claim in 44–45 that he only composes satire when he is provoked by someone else first, runs directly counter to his earlier claim that he writes for the pure pleasure of composing aggressive verse – for a quiet life with no interpersonal conflict means no material for satire, so no ability to satisfy his desire to write satire. What is more, Horace's repeated claims in Book 1 that he is really only interested in writing verse for a small group of appreciative and sophisticated friends begins to seem thoroughly disingenuous in light of line 46, above, where he threatens anyone who aggravates him with widespread public censure: “he will weep and will be sung about *throughout all of Rome*” (*flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe*).

All these paradoxes and ironic *jeux* highlight perhaps the most fundamental conundrum for nearly all satirists, namely, whom to consider their proper “audience.” Is the point of satire, in fact, to persuade its targets, through shame or humiliation, to change their behavior, or is it to play to the aesthetic tastes of people who implicitly align themselves with the poet and take more pleasure in the performance of comic *Schadenfreude* than in its moral substance? To some degree, all the Roman satirists were self-conscious about this issue, although none quite so much as Horace, who recognized keenly just how fraught a satirist's relationship with an audience can be. This topic in fact occupies the last third of *Satire* 2.1, lines 60–86, where Horace responds to Trebatius' warning (60–62) that Horace might well alienate one of his powerful friends if he insists on writing Lucilian satire (“I fear for your life, my boy, and that one of those important friends of yours might strike you with a chill”). Horace once again counters with the example of Lucilius (62–79):

quid? cum est Lucilius ausus
primus **in hunc operis** componere carmina **morem**,
detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius aut qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Karthagine nomen
ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello

famosisque Lupo **cooperto** uersibus? atqui
 primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
 scilicet uni aequus Virtuti atque eius amicis.
 quin ubi se a uolgo et scaena in secreta remorant
 uirtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
 nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
 decoqueretur holus, soliti. quidquid sum ego, quamuis
 infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
 cum magnis uixisse inuita fatebitur usque
 inuidia, et fragili quaerens inlidere dentem
 offendet solido, nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
 dissentis.

What? When Lucilius first dared to
 compose poems in this style of work, and to strip off
 the skin in which each would walk so slickly around
 in public, while inside they're corrupt, did Laelius or the one
 who took his well-deserved name from the overthrow of Carthage
 take offense at his [vituperative] nature, or were they upset when Metellus
 was attacked, or Lupus was overwhelmed by his slanderous poems?
 Yet he attacked the most famous among people, and the people tribe by tribe,
 remaining patient, to be sure, only with Virtue and with her friends.
 In fact, when the righteous Scipio and the kindly, wise Laelius
 used to take themselves away from the crowd and retire to a private place,
 they would joke around with him and, dressed casually, would play, while
 the vegetables were cooking. Whatever I am, though
 inferior to Lucilius' stature and talent, nevertheless, Envy
 will reluctantly concede that I have lived with great men all the while,
 and seeking to sink her tooth into something breakable, will
 hit something hard – unless you have some other opinion,
 learned Trebatius.

Lucilian satire is here predictably characterized as violent and moralistic. He “strips the skin” off his targets (*detrahere* ... *pellem*), exposes them as glib hypocrites who are foul at the core, and “overwhelms” (*cooperto*) them with his verses. He spares neither leaders (*primores*) nor the people themselves (*populum*). Horace wonders whether Lucilius' high-placed friends, such as Laelius and Scipio Aemilianus, might have found such harsh satire directed at others to be offensive – but evidently they did not, and Horace wants us to believe that this was because Laelius and Scipio knew that Lucilius had justice on his side (70; see Muecke (1993) 110–12). Horace, too, aims to please an inner circle of important people, and even though he knows that this is a risky business, he invokes as a kind of precedent contemporary anecdotes about how Lucilius used to joke and play around with Laelius and Scipio when they were

out of the public eye (71–74). The logic behind Horace’s train of thought here is somewhat opaque: at first glance, it seems that he brings up the image of Lucilius hanging loose with famous men simply to illustrate that they had no problem with Lucilius’ satire of people they knew. But the vocabulary of foolery and play (*nugari*, *ludere*, 73) suggests an association in Horace’s mind between Lucilius’ satire and its purely comic goals, as if to say, “Laelius and Scipio were fine with Lucilian ridicule; and in fact (*quin*, 71), the three of them used to joke around among themselves and it was all in good fun.” Horace may even imagine here that all three of them used to mock *each other*, while they waited for the vegetables to cook (73–74), and that none of them took it very seriously because everyone understood the occasion as ludic.

The Lucilian model here is crucial for Horace, since ultimately he brings it up as a defense of his own activity as a satirist. In a classic posture blending self-effacement and self-aggrandizement, he concedes his inferiority to the great Lucilius, but boasts that he too has consorted with the great (*me cum magnis uixisse*). His real audience, then – the one he needs to be most concerned about – is a small circle of “great men,” analogous to Laelius and Scipio. They will understand what satire is, they will have virtue on their side, and they will have no problem with Horace’s public abuse of people who deserve it. Their response – the proper one – will be laughter and admiration at his poetic *ingenium*, as much as, if not more than, the self-righteousness that is put forward as the point of satire. This much is clear from the final lines of the poem, where Horace says to Trebatius that a satirist only has to worry if his verses are “bad” (*mala*, 83). What happens, he asks, if the poet composes “good” (*bona*, 83) ones, and “if someone barks out at someone who deserves censure, but is himself virtuous”? (*si quis | opprobriis dignum lastrauerit integer ipse?*, 84–85)? Trebatius’ answer is revealing: the case against the satirist “will be dropped, with laughter” (*soluentur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis*, 86). “Good” satirical poetry, in other words, will always be recognized for what it is: playful, ironic, disingenuously serious (see further Freudenburg (2001) 105–9).

1.3 Conclusion: Lucilian *libertas* into the Empire

By the end of *Sat.* 2.1, then, Horace has articulated with almost textbook clarity not only the poetic principles that “ought” to govern Roman satire, but also the anxieties that these principles invariably call forth in its practitioners. Time and again in this volume, we will see Persius and Juvenal thematizing a similar roster of issues, and crafting their response in accordance with the exigencies of their own historical moment – balancing, for example, the drive to censure with the aesthetics of poetic form, remaining aware that attacking people is always a risky business (and exaggerating the risk, even, as a literary

conceit), tempering a personal voice of beleaguerment and self-righteousness with enough comic irony to keep things always a little off-balance. (We will also see later readers, including translators, editors, schoolteachers, and students, struggling with, or delighting in, these tensions.) Governing all such concerns for all the Roman satirists is, once again, the pervasive question of *libertas*. How much, in other words, can the satirist actually get away with saying? When will the trope of transgression – generically indicated and sought after by a knowing audience of satire – become *actual* transgression? Horace, as we have seen, can joke about being hauled into court by angry victims of his attacks, and he defends himself with feigned anxiety by claiming that he only attacks people who deserve it. He seems to admire the vigorous satire of the Greek comic models that informed Lucilius’ satire, but finds a more moderate style better suited to his own temperament. Any constraints on *libertas* that Horace might have experienced, in short, were largely self-imposed and more for aesthetic than political reasons.

Contrast Juvenal’s struggle with the limits of his own *libertas* in *Satire* 1 (165–71); the verses begin here with an imagined interlocutor offering advice to Juvenal:

“ense uelut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens
infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.
inde ira et lacrimae. tecum prius ergo uoluta
haec animo ante tubas: galeatum sero duelli
paenitet.” experiar quid concedatur in illos
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

“as often as blazing Lucilius roars as if with drawn sword,
the listener whose mind is cold with his crimes grows red,
and his heart sweats with silent guilt. Then come anger and tears.
And so, turn these things over in your mind before the trumpets call:
once your helmet’s on it’s too late for second thoughts about fighting.”
I will try, then, what may be allowable against those
whose ashes are buried along the Flaminian and Latin roads.

Juvenal’s metaphor of the drawn sword easily calls to mind Horace’s similar characterization of Lucilian satire in his *Satire* 2.1, but Juvenal’s fears are now different. Whereas Horace merely worried that people (not only his targets, but those he regarded as his audience) would misunderstand what he regarded as well-deserved attacks against bad people, Juvenal is quite simply afraid of his targets. Exercising the full force of satirical *libertas* could for him, he claims, have dire consequences – the guilty feel anger (*ira*), but it is the satirist who will suffer (*lacrimae*) for it. The final lines of the poem (170–71) famously state

(not altogether accurately, as is often pointed out) that as a result Juvenal will only write about the dead, who in theory anyway would pose no threat to him. Such is the lot of the poet who writes satire under the Empire. Like Horace, Juvenal feels compelled to satirize (cf. Juv. 1.30, and above) and he is likewise drawn to Lucilius as a model (1.20), but now, as we will hear often in this volume, it is less clear that any of the powerful men touched by the satirist's sword, or any of their friends and associates in high places all the way up to the emperor himself, can, as we might say, take a joke.

FURTHER READING

For general literary and theoretical discussion of satire, see Kernan (1959), Elliot (1960), Highet (1962), D. Griffin (1994), Hutcheon (1994), Connery and Combe (1995), and Bogel (2001). Useful overviews of Roman satire specifically within the history of theorizing satire can be found in Freudenburg's introductory essay in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (2005) and Hooley (2007b) 1–12.

A reliable history of Roman satire is still Coffey (1976). On Ennius and Lucilius, see Muecke (2005), which contains most of the important bibliography. For the text and English translation of Lucilius, still standard is Warmington (1938). On Horace and his relationship with Lucilius, see LaFleur (1981), Freudenburg (1993) and subsequently, from a more political perspective Freudenburg (2001). See also, Cucchiarelli (2001), which also explores Horace's self-fashioning in the light of Lucilius. More comprehensive, still essential, studies of Horace's *Satires* are Rudd (1966) and Anderson (1982).

CHAPTER TWO

The Life and Times of Persius: The Neronian Literary “Renaissance”

Martin T. Dinter

Neronian literature, more than that of any other period in Rome, demands to be read in the shadow, or rather, glare of its ruler. The sun-king always penetrates the dark studies and rural retreats that confine Neronian writing ... In short, we cannot help reading Nero into Neronian literature.

(Gowers (1994) 131–32)

Depending on which myth of Nero the reader buys into, Neronian literature is either written in interaction with Nero, the most literary of emperors, who provides context and inspiration for literary output, or in spite of Nero, under Neronian repression, as a reaction to and refuge from the emperor’s crushing weight. In any case, Nero constantly lurks in the background of any poet’s production, or so the biographers and scholiasts tell us. The question of why we categorize literature as Neronian and Augustan, rather than Claudian, Caligulean or Tiberian, for example, has as much to do with the fact that the chances of textual transmission have favored the former periods over the latter as with our tendency to group texts around the more memorable emperors. Thus although many of Seneca’s tragedies might well have been written under the reign of Claudius to while away years of exile in Corsica, they are firmly counted amongst Neronian literature. Not only do they fit better with our image of the young and arty emperor than with the lull of apparently ever so dull Claudius (but see M. Griffin (1994) and Osgood (2011) for a reappraisal of Claudius). They also go well with the rest of what we have of Neronian literature. Here, as always, periodization is inevitably a form of characterization which allows us to comprehend “a block of human experience” (Morris (1997) 96), chopping the continuum of literature into chunks small enough to grasp

and to discuss. As long as we recognize the artificial nature of this framework we will also keep in mind its provisionality. For as much as change was celebrated on the accession of Nero, succession is often (and in this case in particular) about continuity and stability. There were both practical and conceptual difficulties in cutting a sharp caesura between the reigns of Nero's adoptive father and that of the young prince. We can catch a glimpse of the hopes projected onto the new ruler from Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, a satire the title of which suggests the "pumpkinification" rather than deification of the emperor Claudius, and from the *Eclogues* of Calpurnius Siculus, where golden age imagery hails the accession of the Apollo-like figure of a young prince – Nero! (Whitton (forthcoming); Henderson (forthcoming)). Indeed even just a short excerpt will give us a taste of the rhetoric employed to usher young Nero into office.

Amid untroubled peace, the Golden Age springs to a second birth; at last kindly Themis, the goddess of justice, throwing off the dust of her mourning, returns to the earth; blissful ages attend the youthful prince who pleaded a successful case for the Iuli of Troy [in 53 CE, when Nero recommended the Senate exempt Ilium, site of Troy, from tribute]. While he, a very God, shall rule the nations, the unholy War-Goddess shall yield and have her vanquished hands bound behind her back. (Calp. *Ecl.* 1.42–47, trans. Duff)

I shall focus first on the figure of Persius and that of the young emperor whose influence, whether good or bad, can be felt echoing in Neronian literature. Then I will provide an overview of some of the *literati* at work contemporaneously with Persius and examine what makes Persius a Neronian author.

2.1 Persius and Nero, the Literary Emperor

Almost all we know about the Roman knight Aulus Persius Flaccus (34–62 CE) we owe to a brief extant *Life of Persius* that has come down to us in manuscripts of the poet and is attributed – incorrectly, as is generally thought – to the Flavian grammarian Marcus Valerius Probus. Persius grew up in Etruria and lost his father at an early age. When twelve years old he was sent to Rome to study rhetoric and at the age of sixteen he met the Stoic philosopher and teacher Annaeus Cornutus, who would become a close friend and to whom Persius' fifth Satire is addressed. At the philosopher's school he then encountered the young poet Lucan who grew into a great admirer of Persius' work. Towards the end of his life he also made the acquaintance of Lucan's uncle Seneca "but was not impressed by his talents" (*Vita Persii* 4). Whilst being described as gentle, modest, handsome, pure, and devoted to his mother and

sister, who would also inherit his large estate once he died prematurely of a stomach ailment, Persius seems to have been extremely well connected: his address book reads like a Who's Who of the Neronian intelligentsia, including the senatorial historian Servilius Nonianus, the physician Claudius Agathinus, the learned philosopher Petronius Aristocrates, and the senator, Stoic and Nero-opponent Pactus Thrasea, who both had great influence on the younger Persius. Amongst his friends were also the poet Caesius Bassus, whom Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.96) thought was the only lyric poet worth reading with the exception of Horace, and who would later edit Persius' *Satires* once they had been revised by Cornutus.

All in all, Persius' six satires plus a brief Prologue amount to an oeuvre of less than 700 verses (on the shape of the collection see in this volume Keane, Chapter 4). Not dedicated to a ruler or patron, they offer the non-conformist voice of a cantankerous poet who seeks no patronage or office, no audience except for one or two (Persius 1.3) and certainly no fame or benevolence from the literary establishment. Thus, despite all the acquaintances attested in the *Life*, in the cliquy world of Neronian literature Persius seems to offer the voice of the outsider, of the one poet who was demonstrably not part of the Neronian court. His only overt connection to Nero allegedly lay in a verse from his first Satire "King Midas has an ass's ears" which (again according to the *Life*) Cornutus revised to read "Who does not have an ass's ears?" (Persius 1.121).

As for Nero, the historians Tacitus and Cassius Dio together with the biographer Suetonius have drawn our image of the emperor through their writings and have mediated his story to future generations. None of them, however, is writing without his own agenda, and their relative hostility towards the last scion of the Julio-Claudian line has prompted attempts to unearth the historical Nero and to contextualize their slander (Griffin (1984); Barton (1994); Champlin (2003)). Thus the amazingly extravagant Nero who fiddled while Rome burned, had sex with a host of partners (including his mother of course, as "motherfucker" is the ultimate slander), and was a selfish child inappropriately obsessed with the "arts" and irresponsible when it came to governance, is at least partly a literary construct of Flavian propaganda (Hurley (forthcoming)). The only Nero we have is the Nero that was created (Martin (1990) 1558). And whilst the good emperor Nero, whose administration runs smoothly throughout the empire (Lavan (forthcoming)) and who scores military successes in the East (Braund (forthcoming)) shines through occasionally, we owe much damaging material to Dio and his Byzantine epitomators' taste for the exaggerated and the unusual (Hurley (forthcoming)); for the latter, Nero was an "exhibitionist," a "Roman curiosity," not a political figure (Gowing (1997) 2559). And if there are shades of moral corruption on display we can rely on finding the darkest black in Dio. To cite but one example, as Hurley (forthcoming) has shown, Dio states plainly that Nero

viewed the body of his dead mother and admired her beauty (61.14.2), whilst Suetonius writes cautiously that “trustworthy authorities” alleged the inappropriate viewing (*Ner.* 34.4) and Tacitus even takes account of disagreement, with “some have transmitted it; some have denied it” (*Ann.* 14.9.1).

The murder of Nero’s mother Agrippina in particular is one of the many episodes in Nero’s life as we have it where reality and staginess become intertwined. This starts with Nero’s death contraption for his mother (a self-sinking ship), which had been inspired by circus games where a ship opens on stage, discharges a load of animals and closes again (Cass. Dio 61.12.2). It ends with Agrippina borrowing dying verses (“strike the womb for that is what bore him!”) from Clytemnestra who is murdered by her son Orestes in Greek tragedy. From there must also stem the inspiration for Agrippina’s ghost which in our sources torments Nero’s guilty consciousness. This tradition then influences the pseudo-Senecan tragedy *Octavia*, written after the death of Nero and recounting the emperor’s wicked ways towards his virtuous wife Octavia, where the ghost of Agrippina enters with hellish torch in bloody hand to curse the marriage of Nero and Poppaea (*Octavia* 593–645).

Before Nero, the monstrous tyrant, was unleashed with the death of Agrippina, however, the sources concede a good *quinquennium* (a period of five years) to Nero’s reign. In those years, the promising young emperor, having succeeded to the throne at the age of only 16, still follows the guidance of his dominant mother Agrippina, his tutor Seneca, and the prefect of the praetorian guard Burrus. The latter two also take on the administration of the empire, leaving Nero time to pursue his musical and artistic ambitions (alluded to by Calpurnius and Seneca in *Apocolocyntosis*) and to hone his horse-racing skills. Suetonius actually praises the young emperor’s initial virtues as duty to family, generosity, mercy, and affability (Suet. *Ner.* 9–10). In addition, some of Seneca’s prose output, such as the treatises *On Clemency* (*De clementia*) and *On Anger* (*De ira*), has been directly related to educating the young prince in way of providing a prince’s mirror (cf. Braund (2009) 78 for the literary genre). Early on in Nero’s life we can thus establish literature that centers on the emperor both with celebratory anticipation of his reign, such as the *Apocolocyntosis* and Calpurnius’ *Eclogues*, and with educational support, such as Seneca’s treatises. In addition some of Seneca’s tragedies such as *Thyestes* have been read as providing an educational discourse on tyranny for the *princeps*. Within this first *quinquennium* Suetonius places also Nero’s good (or at least neutral) actions such as reasonable laws and public building projects (Suet. *Ner.* 9–19). For his biographers Nero’s good deeds are to be ascribed to dissimulation, for the ancients did not subscribe to character development during one’s lifetime. In the review of Nero’s ancestors that Suetonius provides

at the beginning of his biography, all their vices have been handed down to this last scion of a long and noble line. The story our sources tell is that of the unmasking of a character, in which the seeds of what Nero was about to become were planted at birth and ever present. “Although at first,” Suetonius writes, “his acts of wantonness, lust, extravagance, avarice and cruelty were gradual and secret, and might be condoned as follies of youth, even then their nature was such that no one doubted that they were defects of his character and not due to his time of life” (*Ner.* 26.1).

The various imperial dynasties at Rome usually developed an appropriate training for their princes, and an appropriate way for the young men to present themselves to their subjects. The Julio-Claudians followed the republican Roman tradition of military service for their young men, usually under their father’s or a family friend’s command at first and then moving on to higher military positions, frequently leading to their premature doom (Fantham (forthcoming)). As a result, from 23 CE onwards there were no princes who could serve as models to the young Domitius Ahenobarbus who would become the emperor Nero. According to our sources Nero was the child of an unpleasant and soon dead father and a disgraced and exiled mother and was brought up by his aunt Domitia Lepida, or – if we prefer to trust the stories of a childhood of neglect – by his aunt’s barber and dancing master (*Suet. Ner.* 6). He was twelve years old when his mother became Claudius’ last wife and was restored to power. Claudius adopted Nero (as soon as Nero reached the toga of manhood) and died soon afterwards. Rumors persisted that Agrippina had disposed of him with the help of a poisoned mushroom or a poisoned feather administered by his personal physician. Thus when he ascended to the throne, Nero had had no military training. It seems significant in this context that Suetonius starts his account of Nero’s bad characteristics, disgraces, and crimes with Nero’s training in music, and his obsessive studies with the citharode (lyre-player) Terpnus who helped Nero to master the difficult and well-regulated art of singing whilst accompanying oneself on the lyre (*Suet. Ner.* 20–21). After a short excursus on Nero’s love for and attempts at charioteering (22.1–2), an occupation slightly less scandalous than singing, acting, and performing on stage, which were *métiers* unfit for a freeborn Roman (Edwards (1993) 98–136), Suetonius returns to the subject of Nero’s unsuitable and unbefitting delight in performing. Whilst it was bad enough that the emperor appeared in front of his subjects in such a way, he also corrupted others, maybe so that the Roman audience would become accustomed to seeing members of the elite perform on stage. Tacitus in particular is outraged by Nero’s bribery that caused young noblemen from Rome’s best families to go on the stage in public. So great is the shame that Tacitus feels compelled to wrap their names in a cloak of silence (*Tac. Ann.* 14.14).

But it got worse. In the end Nero openly displayed himself singing female tragic roles on stage accompanied by a piper. Nero carefully selected Naples, a city with a Greek background and its own games, for his first performance as singer to test the waters. Assisted by his voice coach and surrounded by a cohort of soldiers (just in case), he still preferred to place a *claque* of about 5,000 soldiers, the so-called *Augustiani*, in the audience (Suet. *Ner.* 20.3; Tac. *Ann.* 14.15; Cass. Dio 62.20.4–5 and Fantham (forthcoming)). Nero's first performance was as Niobe, allowing for multiple laments for her many slaughtered children. Nero's other favorites famously included Orestes as mother-killer, a role with a whiff of autobiography for Nero, and Canace in labor with her incestuous child. The latter gave rise to the infamous joke: "What is the Emperor doing?" – "He is in labor" (Fantham (forthcoming)). Nero went on to found and sponsor a number of games (*Juvenalia* and *Neronia*) so as to create excuses for performing within Rome. These offered an opportunity to "compete" in Greek and Latin oratory, poetry, athletics, and music, with the caveat that Nero was awarded the victor's crown in some categories in advance.

This excessive love of the stage is much ridiculed and criticized by our sources. Dio does not shy away from reporting that Nero had a "slight and indistinct voice" with which "he moved the audience simultaneously to laughter and tears" (Cass. Dio 62.20). However, we can find uncharacteristic traces of almost martial discipline amongst the excess. Nero obviously took performing seriously and trained his voice daily (Suet. *Ner.* 20). Not only did Nero follow the diet and exercise regime of a professional singer, he also "observed the rules most scrupulously in competition, never daring to clear his throat and even wiping the sweat from his brow with his arm" (Suet. *Ner.* 24.1). He was so jealous of the success of past and contemporaneous singers, however, that he had removed the statues raised in honor of the former and defamed the latter (Suet. *Ner.* 23.2 and 24.2). When the emperor performed, listening was compulsory and soldiers kept watch that the audience appreciated this privilege. Stories abound of men attempting to climb over the walls of the theater or pretending to die and letting themselves be carried off for funeral in order to escape Nero's lengthy performances. Some women – "so they say," as even Suetonius has to admit (*Ner.* 23) – apparently even gave birth in theaters as the lives of those who were seen leaving (or who fell asleep, as the soon-to-be emperor Vespasian learnt the hard way) were in danger. His search for an audience that would appreciate his talent drove Nero to visit Greece, as he declared that only the cultivated Greek audience with their critical skills could do justice to (and were seen as deserving of) his performances (Suet. *Ner.* 22.3–4). He thus swiftly ordered all six important Greek games, the Olympian, Nemean, Isthmian, Pythian, Actian, and Heraian, to be moved to the same year so that he could compete at (and win) them. His return to Italy was then

staged like that of a victorious *imperator* showcasing once more the priorities of the artist emperor Nero. Unsurprisingly Dio is rather critical of this expedition: “But he crossed over into Greece, not at all as Flamininus or Mummius or as Agrippa and Augustus, his ancestors, had done, but for the purpose of driving chariots, playing the lyre, making proclamations, and acting in tragedies. Rome, it seems, was not enough for him” (Cass. Dio 62.8.2–3, trans. Cary).

There is, however, a wider cultural context that made Nero’s admiration of the Greeks and their intellectual and aesthetic achievements somewhat problematic in the eyes of the more traditional Roman. In the *Aeneid* (6.851–52) Virgil sums up the Roman attitude towards their Greek neighbors as friendly condescension toward a nation busily at work with the arts but ruled (well) by others. That Nero begged to differ and sang, made music, painted, and sculpted might partially be due to his pedigree, about the Augustan side of which Suetonius remains eerily quiet. His maternal grandfather Germanicus had produced a verse translation of Aratus’ *Phaenomena* and *Diosemeia*, two learned Hellenistic poems on star signs and weather lore, and his mother Agrippina famously authored memoirs of her mother’s life and the misfortunes that beset her family, possibly in order to win pity and favor from the public. It is no wonder then that Nero himself wrote – Martial even decorates him with the epithet *poeta doctus* (8.70.8) – nor was he the only upper-class Roman who did so. The Neronian upper classes were thoroughly engaged with literary culture, as the circles both Nero and Persius surrounded themselves with demonstrate. The anonymous *Laus Pisonis*, for example, praises its subject, the anti-Neronian conspirator Calpurnius Piso, for his poetic talent and musical performance with the *cithara*.

Nero’s philhellenic attitude to and interest in the arts are a symptom of a world about to turn Greco-Roman and which stands at the beginning of the great cultural shift of the Second Sophistic. Under Nero, politics and literature converged when teachers of rhetoric became senators and Seneca, the son of a rhetoric teacher, turned himself into the richest and most powerful man in Rome (Mratschek (forthcoming)). Ultimately, though, Nero’s own attempt to join the Greek with the Roman world failed: neither the elite of the West nor that of the East would digest the distorted combination of their most important rituals staged on Nero’s return from his tour of Greece, that of the Roman triumph and the breaching of the city walls for the victor of the Hellenic games (Mratschek (forthcoming)). “What stranger victory than one for which he received the crown of wild olive [in Olympia], bay [in Delphi], parsley [in Nemea] or pine [in Corinth] and lost the political crown?” (Cass. Dio 63.9.3, trans. Cary).

As to Nero’s literary output we can much more easily define what the emperor did not write. Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.3) laments the fact that Nero used

Seneca as his speechwriter rather than penning his own speeches, as other emperors did. This might well have been because of a lack of ability or interest, but Suetonius (*Ner.* 52) does not hesitate to blame Seneca for pushing the emperor away from the genre in which he himself excelled above all others. We know that Seneca composed Nero's eulogy for Claudius' funeral, which provoked much laughter, and that rather than speaking in the senate the emperor preferred to communicate his wishes by letter (Suet. *Ner.* 15.2). Out of fear that he might damage his voice and throat Nero also on occasion refused to address the soldiers of the Praetorian Guard (Suet. *Ner.* 25.3). There is but one speech which scholars think that Nero authored himself (helped by the fact that Seneca had died two years before its deliverance): on his tour of Greece Nero granted tax exemption and autonomy to the province of Achaia (the Peloponnese, eastern central Greece and parts of Thessaly) in a proclamation made in Greek – unusual for a Roman emperor – at the Isthmus of Corinth in November 67 CE (see Sherk (1988) no. 71 for a translation). Whilst manifesting his philhellenism Nero here styles himself in the mode of Hellenistic king as benefactor (*euergetes*) of the Greeks (Mratschek (forthcoming)).

Instead of oratory, then, the young emperor took to writing poetry, as Suetonius recounts:

He was instructed, when a boy, in the rudiments of almost all the liberal sciences; but his mother diverted him from the study of philosophy, as unsuited to one destined to be an emperor; and his preceptor Seneca discouraged him from reading the ancient orators, that he might longer secure his devotion to himself. Therefore, having a turn for poetry, he composed verses both with pleasure and ease; nor did he, as some think, publish those of other writers as his own. Several little pocketbooks and loose sheets have come into my possession, which contain some well-known verses in his own hand, and written in such a manner, that it was very evident, from the blotting and interlining, that they had not been transcribed from a copy, nor dictated by another, but were written by the composer of them. (*Ner.* 52, trans. Rolfe)

Tacitus reports how Nero incorporated this predilection into his daily life, but is highly critical of the group's poetic output:

Nero affected also a zeal for poetry and gathered a group of associates with some faculty for versification but not such as to have yet attracted remark. These, after dining, sat with him, devising a connection for the lines they had brought from home or invented on the spot, and eking out the phrases suggested, for better or worse, by their master; the method being obvious even from the general cast of the poems, which run without energy or inspiration and lack unity of style. (*Ann.* 14.16, trans. Jackson)

Lucan is the only member of that group that we can name, and he would share the deadly fate of the other two Neronian authors close to Nero's court, his uncle Seneca and Nero's *arbiter elegantiae* ("judge of taste") Petronius. Persius, who would certainly have been eligible by pedigree, was not part of this circle – a manifestation of the rejection of society and its standards on his part, one might speculate. According to an ancient commentator on Persius' work, however, the poet was well aware of the kind of output these literary circles produced and even quotes them. If this scholiast were to be believed, four lines of poetry and some snippets and half lines embedded in Persius' oeuvre (1.93–95 and 99–102) would stem from Nero directly. Unlikely to be Nero's lines, these samples might simply be a parody of the "Neronian" style that demonstrated that Persius, although reclusive, was no cultural hermit with no access to or knowledge of the literary fashion of his time.

Overall, we only have fragments of Nero's poetic output and know about some titles. Dio (62.29) reports that the emperor performed a poem on the Trojan War, a subsection of which, it has been suggested, might have been the song about the capture of Troy which Nero is said to have performed on the roof of his palace whilst Rome lay beneath him in flames (cf. also Suet. *Ner.* 38). The little of Nero's poetry that has come down to us stems from Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* 1.5.6, which quotes a line on the iridescence of doves, and from the scholia to Lucan's *Bellum Civile* 3.261, which cites three lines on the submersion of the Tigris and links them with that passage in Lucan and lines 9–10 from Seneca's tragedy *Troades* (Mayer (1978); Dewar (1991)). This connection exemplifies on a small scale that the representatives of Neronian literature all draw on the same characteristic figures and diction (see further below).

Dio also reports on another planned poetic project of Nero's and the events that are believed to have turned Lucan against Nero:

Nero was making preparations to write an epic narrating all the achievements of the Romans; and even before composing a line of it he began to consider the proper number of books, consulting among others Annaeus Cornutus, who at this time was famed for his learning. This man he came very near putting to death and did deport to an island, because, while some were urging him to write four hundred books, Cornutus said that this was too many and nobody would read them. And when someone objected, "Yet Chrysippus, whom you praise and imitate, composed many more," the other retorted: "But they are a help to the conduct of men's lives." So Cornutus incurred banishment for this. Lucan, on the other hand, was debarred from writing poetry because he was receiving high praise for his work. (Cass. Dio 62.29.2–4, trans. Cary)

What this passage exemplifies is that Nero's interaction not only with his competitors in acting and singing but also with his literary colleagues was strained. Nero's extraordinary love for and ambition in the arts created an environment in which art and literature could flourish. As the authors under Nero harked back to their Augustan predecessors and revived forms and genres practiced in this period they garnered Nero's reign the flattering epithet of the "Neronian Renaissance" (see Mayer (1982)). His eccentric (to say the least) personal conduct and capacity for ruthlessness and brutality, however, ensured that the cultural boom he facilitated would not outlast him. Suetonius cannot resist reporting popular opinion about Nero as transmitted by the mocking of his subjects. These verses provide in a nutshell the image of Nero our sources aim to convey, that of a mother-slayer, artist prince, and megalomaniac.

"Nero, Orestes, Alcmeon their mothers slew."

"A calculation new. Nero his mother slew."

"Who can deny the descent from Aeneas' great line of our Nero?

One his mother took off, the other one took off his sire."

"While our ruler twangs his lyre and the Parthian his bowstring,
Paeon-singer our prince shall be, and Far-darter our foe."

"Rome is becoming one house; off with you to Veii, Quirites!

If that house does not soon seize upon Veii as well."

(Suet. *Ner.* 39, trans. Rolfe)

Of the many facets of the emperor Nero – good ones and bad ones – what the emperor himself seems to have valued the most were his faculties as an artist as manifested by his last words "What an artist dies in me" (*Qualis artifex pereo*). As none of the Neronian authors managed to survive the reign of Nero, the emperor was arguably the last of them to go. His death thus signifies both the end of a dynasty and the end of a cultural epoch.

2.2 The Neronian Literary Triad: Seneca, Lucan, and Petronius

Leaving aside Calpurnius Siculus, Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, and philosophical writings (on which see in this volume Bartsch, Chapter 10) as well as Columella and other scientific writers, I shall concentrate my short survey of Neronian writers on Seneca's tragedies, Lucan's civil war epic, and Petronius' novel *Satyricon*. These texts have had the most profound influence on our perception of Neronian literature and are connected by common themes, motifs, and imagery all of which find their reflection in Persius' oeuvre. As Lucan and Seneca were closely related, it might come as no surprise that their literary

oeuvres feature similarities. However, since even Petronius' writing showcases similar concerns, it seems fair to proclaim as Neronian a number of characteristics which pervade these texts.

Readers of ancient literature have been primed to mine prefaces for key words and leitmotifs. These, in turn, help to form the reader's expectations of the narrative to come. When we apply this principle to the first line of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* it immediately yields three key concepts: "of wars worse than civil waged over the plains of Emathia [I sing]" (*bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos*, BC 1.1, trans. Braund (2004b) here and throughout). Firstly in this epic we will have to deal with civil wars, wars in which no glory can be won as brothers fight brothers and sons fathers: from the first line of the *Bellum Civile* onwards the Homeric concept of *kleos* ("fame" or "glory"), which Virgil happily adapted for the making of Rome in the *Aeneid*, is undermined. Secondly we will not move towards Rome as we do in the preface to the *Aeneid*, which concludes with *Romae* in line 1.7 – Rome built in/on seven lines – thus pointing the reader straight to the end of it all (and Rome will lurk in the background for the rest of that epic all along). In contrast to Virgil, Lucan makes us witness the unmaking rather than the making of Rome in the first seven lines of his epic. With him we flee Rome in ever widening geographical circles and soon she will be but a memory of a city once great. Thus the epic's direction, at least for the first seven books, is towards Pharsalus, the Emathian fields, where we will witness the showdown between two great figures, Pompey and Caesar, both dubbed *Magnus* throughout the plot. This Iliadic first part of Lucan's epic, full of battle and warfare, is then followed by books featuring an Odyssean lack of orientation and closure. Thirdly this epic announces in its first line that it will be a literary comparative, a constant "more than" (*plus quam*), outdoing its literary models and sources. Lucan commits literary parricide and provides his readers both with an anti- and an über-*Aeneid* whilst at the same time weaving the language of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into his texts (von Albrecht (1970); Narducci (2002)). Accordingly, Lucan's epic constantly strives not only to be different from but also to be "more than" what we would have imagined. This desire manifests itself not only in some scenes memorable for their über-realism – arguably the reader is supplied with rather too much information in the cases of Scaeva's near-death experience and Erichtho's magic practices – but also in an epic language characterized by paradox and hyperbole (Martindale (1976); Bartsch (1997)), a feature common to all three authors I shall discuss here.

Metatheatrical, metapoetic, or metaliterary comments signpost for the reader what the poet's aims are and what he does to achieve them as imperial Latin literature finds ways to communicate how it means to function. Often these comments help to define a poet's place in the literary tradition by illustrating his awareness of influence, his consciousness of the burden of

the past. Accordingly, the desire of the Neronian poets to outdo their literary predecessors is often written into their output. From the outset Seneca's *Thyestes* thus announces crimes worse than those previously committed (Seidensticker (1978)): "Now from my stock there is rising a crew that will outdo its own family, make me innocent and **dare the undared**" (*iam nostra subit | e stirpe turba quae suum uincat genus | ac me innocentem faciat et inausa audeat*, (*Thyestes* 18–20, trans. Fitch here and throughout). Indeed a series of comparatives has built up the reader's expectations beforehand: "Has something **worse** been devised?" (*peius inuentum est?*, 4); "**worse** than hunger" (*peius fame*, 5). In addition we are also briefed to expect something new: "**new** penalties" (*noua | supplicia*, 13–14); "if anything can be added to my punishment" (*addi si quid ad poenas potest*, 15). Taking up this motif, the tyrant Atreus then spends considerable time devising the worst-ever revenge on his brother (255–79). What is more, despite the promise to create something great and new we also witness a constant retelling, rewriting, and rephrasing of the literary tradition in Senecan tragedy, our sensitivity to which has been enhanced by the critical concept of intertextuality. Thus the initial question by the ghost of Tantalus *in quod malum transcribor?* (13) is not only meaningful in its immediate context: "To what new sufferings am I shifted?" "To what punishment am I being re-assigned?" It shifts to register as "Into what evil am I being copied? For committing what evil am I being reassigned to another writer?" When taking the metaphor of writing literally this verse also indicates that Seneca is here helping himself to a portion of the literary tradition (Schiesaro (2003) 28). Seneca thematizes this methodology of improving on previous writers at length in a letter to Lucilius (*Ep.* 79) where he concludes that only pure wisdom cannot be bettered but poetry can.

Even in Petronius' *Satyrical* the famous *Cena Trimalchionis* (*Sat.* 26–78), an eccentric and sumptuous dinner party of a parvenu freedman, can be boiled down to a line of extraordinary dishes, outdoing all others and enriched with a generous dash of spectacle. For sure, Petronius puts more extravagance on our plates here than his literary models, Horace's *Cena Nasidieni* (*Satires* 2.8) or Plato's *Symposium*. The level of the dinner conversation at Trimalchio's table, however, never comes anywhere near the philosophical heights of Plato (not for want of trying). The challenge to the guests' intellectual capacity is not to contribute to the talk but rather to be able to decipher the food. No need for philosophy here, you simply are what you eat, so better reach for your napkin (cf. *Sat.* 33). One should, however, not simply cast aside the *Satyrical* as intellectually unchallenging. In its rather special way it presents a discourse on philosophy and morals, religion and society, with a lot of sex thrown in for good measure. Consider the following example, a passage from outside the *Cena*, which provides a novel interpretation of education (Murgatroyd (forthcoming)). The poet Eumolpus stages himself as a chaste philosopher who pursues "goodness" (*bonitas*). A woman with the conspicuous name Philomela

thus entrusts him with the education of her boy and girl. “So this woman came to Eumolpus and said she was entrusting her children to his judgment and goodness” (*ea ergo ad Eumolpum uenit et commendare liberos suos prudentiae bonitatie* (*Sat.* 140.2)). What Eumolpus has to offer the girl, however, is sex education, and the “goodness” he puts on display is his phallus (140.7): “he begged the girl to sit on top of his ‘recommended goodness’” (*puellam quidem exorauit ut sederet supra commendatam bonitatem*). Petronius here reverses the example of Socratic mentoring: Plato’s Alcibiades says that Socrates looks like a Silenus on the outside, but his appearance is deceptive, because he is utterly chaste on the inside (Plato, *Symp.* 215a8); Eumolpus plays the part of chaste philosopher but is a pederastic satyr within (Murgatroyd (forthcoming) and Cameron (1969) 369).

A prominent and recurrent topos in these three Neronian authors is that of spectacle, of seeing and being seen. Just as the emperor Nero frequently put himself on display and was well aware of the powers of representation, so we find Trimalchio as well making quite an entry:

We were in the midst of these delicacies when, to the sound of music, Trimalchio himself was carried in and bolstered up in a nest of small cushions, which forced a snicker from the less wary. A shaven poll protruded from a scarlet mantle, and around his neck, already muffled with heavy clothing, he had tucked a napkin having a broad purple stripe and a fringe that hung down all around. On the little finger of his left hand he wore a massive gilt ring, and on the first joint of the next finger, a smaller one which seemed to me to be of pure gold, but as a matter of fact it had iron stars soldered on all around it. And then, for fear all of his finery would not be displayed, he bared his right arm, adorned with a golden arm-band and an ivory circlet clasped with a plate of shining metal. (*Sat.* 32, trans. Firebaugh)

There are further indications that Trimalchio is the emperor of his household: he keeps his beard in a golden casket, just like Nero (*Sat.* 29; cf. Suet. *Ner.* 12.4), and has an accident involving a falling performer similar to the incident in which Nero was almost hit by a falling Icarus in the theater (*Sat.* 54; cf. Suet. *Ner.* 12.2). Yet there are also more sordid things to watch in the *Satyricon*. For Petronius also makes us watch a character lustily gazing through a peep-hole in the wall at the deflowering of Pannychis (“Miss All Night Long”), a girl who “appeared not to be older than seven years old,” in a mock marriage ceremony (*Sat.* 25.3). Together with the narrator we thus end up joining the amorous priestess Quartilla at the peep-hole: “And Quartilla, above all, had put her inquisitive eye to a peep-hole which she had shamelessly opened up and was watching their childish play with lustful attentiveness. With a firm tug of her hand she pulled me over too to look at the same spectacle” (*Sat.* 26).

In contrast, Senecan tragedy takes a less lighthearted view of spectacle and spectatorship and makes the reader witness many a casualty. This is often achieved through a vivid and overly detailed messenger report, which in the case of *Thyestes* (lines 623–788) describes the murder of his three sons, covering every detail and employing more than 10 percent of the play’s verses in total. As the messenger sets out to tell the horrors he has witnessed he is still dumbstruck and haunted by the images he has just seen. Only when encouraged by the chorus does he muster the courage to speak:

CHORUS: Speak out and reveal this evil, whatever it is.
 MESSENGER: Once my mind slows down, once my fear-frozen body loosens its limbs. **The picture of that savage deed sticks in my eyes!**
 (Sen. *Thyestes* 633–36, trans. Fitch)

In Seneca’s tragedies revenge is not exercised on the tragic antagonists themselves but instead they are turned into spectator-victims (Littlewood (2004) 11). What is more, in *Thyestes* Atreus hopes for an even larger audience for his crimes and wishes that he could summon not only his brother, the father of the children he has murdered, but also the gods to the feast that he has prepared from their flesh. Thus just before revealing his cruel deed to his brother Atreus exults: “Indeed I wish I could stop the gods fleeing, round them up and drag them all to see this feast of vengeance! But it is enough that the father see it” (*Thyestes* 893–95, trans. Fitch).

Lucan showcases the theme of spectacle by creating scenes in his civil war epic in which “being seen” is the protagonists’ main concern. In *Bellum Civile* 4 Vulteius and his men commit communal suicide on a raft in an amphitheater-like setting whilst surrounded by Pompeius’ troops (*naumachia*, cf. Leigh (1997) 4); their dying wish is that their leader Caesar may see them. In *Bellum Civile* 8 Pompey dies whilst displaying in an inner monologue considerable concern about how the spectacle of his death will look like to his family that is looking on and the world that will be deciding on his reputation.

A further aspect that links together these three Neronian authors is use of body language and the imagery derived from it. For Lucan, Rome has become a suicidal body whose limbs turn against her very self, a concept facilitating multi-layered body imagery that permeates the entire epic and resurfaces in vital passages that he announces already in his Prologue: “we sing . . . of a mighty people attacking its own guts with victorious sword-hand” (*BC* 1.1–3). Not only does Rome dominate the world geographically, but Lucan succeeds in drawing in the entire cosmos thanks to employing the concept of *sympatheia*, a continuous application of imagery of the cosmic body’s dissolution, such as global conflagration and inundation, that mirrors the civil war on a

cosmic level (Lapidge (1979)). This concept is equally at home in Senecan tragedy: the earth is shaking, the sun darkens, and the zodiac is in disarray when Atreus celebrates his godless feast as the play's final choral ode manifests (*Thyestes* 789–884). In addition, the problematic situation of Atreus' kingdom Mycenae is signified from the tragedy's very beginning by a drought (*Thyestes* 100–121). Petronius' *Satyrical* is full of literal bodies and bodily concerns, but he too merges the physical with the metaphorical. He translates cosmic imagery into food when Trimalchio presents and explains a zodiac dish that allows him to design and interpret the universe to his taste (*Sat.* 35 and 39). It has long been observed that Trimalchio's household displays features that make him the center of that small universe; time is thus measured in relation to the master's life (*Sat.* 26 and 30), whilst his household also displays characteristics of the Underworld, such as a Cerberus at the entrance door (*Sat.* 29). Accordingly Trimalchio can be seen as a "Pluto figure," playing on the name's meaning of "rich man" (= *ploutos*) who sits in his own version of the Underworld, plotting his funeral (*Sat.* 71).

In Lucan's epic, in addition to the state body and the cosmic body, we also find the human body and the military corps in disarray. During the battle of Pharsalus the landscape is carpeted with corpses. Caesar no longer walks on the ground but wades through heaps of dead bodies, which taken together form the prostrate Roman body on whose inner organs he tramples: "Caesar, you are walking still in a lofty heap of slaughter through the guts of your fatherland" (*BC* 7.721–22) and "[Caesar] forbids the soldiers to strike the masses and indicates the Senate; well he knows which is the empire's blood, which are the guts of the state" (*BC* 7.578–79). In Senecan tragedy the poetics of the body can equally communicate the literary and conceptual agendas at stake. As Seo (forthcoming) observes, "Each play reveals its own reigning metaphor in its portrayals of violence, that is, the particular pattern of imagery associated with violence will be consistent with and even constitutive of the themes of the play itself." Tantalus' eternal hunger which is paraded in the proem of the *Thyestes* thus manifests itself in Atreus' insatiable hunger for revenge and his cannibalistic cookery and the frightening satiety that Thyestes experiences after eating his sons' flesh (Segal (1983) 183–86; Seo (forthcoming)). The play's emphasis on viscera here reinforces the physiological "embodiment" of evil. For Petronius' novel, Rimell (2002) argues that the *Satyrical* can be read as a unified whole rather than as episodic jumble, despite its fragmentation. By exploring corporeality as a metaphor rather than just as an ingredient of the genre of the novel, she finds that the surviving fragments are connected by an imagery of disintegration, expressed through the pervasive metaphor of the literary text as a human or animal body. Trimalchio's aforementioned obsession with his own death and funeral (*Sat.* 71) may well serve as an example. In addition, bodies, whether heavenly or otherwise, can serve as sources of

knowledge in the dark and erratic world of Neronian literature. In Seneca's *Oedipus* we find that Tiresias and his daughter Manto perform an extispicy, the inspection of entrails for divination, in which the graphic disarray of the sacrificial victim's organs mirrors the upheaval of the state (*Oedipus* 353–83). Lucan employs a similar technique in the first book of his epic where a sacrifice so carefully prepared by the Etruscan priest Arruns goes horribly wrong. First his actions are accompanied by gloomy murmurs (*BC* 1.607), and in the end the priest even prays that his insights may prove false (*BC* 1.636–37). Finally he seeks refuge in ambiguity and silence (*BC* 1.634 and 638). Ultimately the sacrificial body constitutes the only message communicated to the reader; all the information we gain is embodied in its disorderly features (*BC* 1.627–29).

What is more, Neronian literature displays a high degree of rhetoricization in style and content. Lucan's episodic structure and sententiousness arguably chop up the literary *corpus* and present memorable one-liners ready to be excerpted and incorporated into new literary bodies (Bonner (1966), Most (1992), and Dinter (2012), and for an example see Lucan *BC* 8.484–95). This feature can also be observed in Senecan tragedy where we find staged a discussion between Atreus and his attendant consisting predominantly of one-liners that serve to characterize the king as über-tyrant:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| ASSISTANT: | You have no fear of hostile talk among the people? |
| ATREUS: | This is the greatest value of kingship, that the people are compelled to praise as well as endure their master's actions. |
| ASSISTANT: | When fear compels them to praise, fear also turns them into enemies. But one who seeks the tribute of sincere support will want praise from the heart rather than the tongue. |
| ATREUS: | Sincere praise often comes even to a lowly man; false praise comes only to the mighty. They must want what they do not want! |
- (Seneca, *Thyestes* 204–10)

Lucan's fascination with the rhetorical potential of his chosen subject matter is on display from the very beginning, in his Prologue. Here we find memorable coinages such as "kin facing kin" (*cognatas acies*, *BC* 1.4) and Lucan's threefold milking of this very idea by literally opposing *signa* with *signis*, spelling out *pares aquilas* and lining up *pila minantia pilis* in the lines "and of **standards** ranged in enmity against **standards**, of **eagles matched** and **javelins** threatening **javelins**" (*BC* 1.6–7). Whatever a reader travelling the epic tradition might expect from Lucan's epic, we surely walk away from his poem with the strong notion that we will be in for something a little unusual.

Neronian poets also display a tendency to illustrate and enhance the meaning of their verses through word order. To cite again an example from Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, the triumvir Crassus, whose death removed the last obstacle for

war, is depicted as a living bulwark, as the personified “delay” (*mora*) that stays the war by keeping its two main parties, Caesar and Pompey, apart (“the only check to future war was Crassus in between”; *nam sola futuri | Crassus erat belli medius mora* [BC 1.99]). The Latin enhances Crassus’ in-between position through a hyperbaton, by placing him between the Latin words for **future** and **war** and delays *mora* until the very end of the sentence. That Crassus’ position is of global importance is demonstrated by the following simile, which depicts him as the isthmus that keeps apart antagonistic seas (BC 1.102). Lucan sustains this geographical imagery even further, for after his death Crassus’ blood leaves a mark; it remains a memorable blot on the Roman map (“but when in lamentable death Crassus stained Assyrian Carrhae with Latian blood”; *miserando funere Crassus | Assyrias Latio maculauit sanguine Carrhas* [1.104–5]). **Crassus** (in final position) seems to be substituted by the town **Carrhae** (in final position) whilst Lucan emphasizes the antagonism between **Romans** and **Parthians** by contrasting them twice side-by-side at the beginning of subsequent verses (*Assyrias Latio* (BC 1.105) and *Parthica Romanos* (1.106)). Petronius’ novel contributes a made-up colloquialism, a form of “mockney,” to the Latin literary language in his *Cena Trimalchionis*. That he was aware of and happy to parody the literary predilections of his contemporaries such as high epic style and sententiousness can be seen from Trimalchio’s offer of sixteen pseudo-Publilian *sententiae* (*Sat.* 55) and Petronius’ (relatively brief) version of a civil war epic that has often been read in relation to Lucan’s efforts (*Sat.* 119–24; Connors (1998)).

2.3 Conclusion

As my short discussion above demonstrates, Persius did not write his *Satires* in a cultural vacuum. He shared his life and times with an arty but aggressive emperor and his literary court and even a life as brief (and reclusive) as that of Persius will not have been left untouched by Nero. As his life was cut short by a stomach ailment and not by Nero, as was the case with most of his literary contemporaries, we have little basis for discerning any possible pro- or anti-Neronian tendency in his work which would inform the reader’s perspective. And we can but wonder whether Persius’ choice of subject matter or genre in itself would have been perceived as provocative (or at least unfortunate) by the imperial court.

Despite not being part of the court’s inner circle, Persius is indeed a Neronian writer in that his oeuvre shares many characteristics with that of his literary contemporaries, albeit on a smaller literary scale. His image-rich, allusive, and compressed style “skilled at the pointed combination” (5.15) of words shows the same rhetoricization as the other Neronian authors (Dessen

(1968)). Persius' oeuvre also teems with body imagery ranging from the ear in *Satire* 1 (Bramble (1974) 26–27) to the nude sunbather, warts and all, of *Satire* 4, whilst the false piety and Janus-faced prayers of *Satire* 2 link well with the themes of display and theatricality we have observed above. Persius' allusion-packed first *Satire* reveals his anxiety of literary influence and also fits well with Neronian literature's concern to be "more than" its poetic predecessors. The sixth and final *Satire* confirms the satirist's disillusionment with society and rejection of a morally faulty and disintegrating Rome as spelled out at length by Lucan and reflected in the tyrants of Senecan tragedy. As further chapters in this volume will show, Persius has well digested the intellectual and literary tastes of his time and serves them up in his *Satires*. Despite staging his satiric *persona* as an outside spectator of the Neronian cultural machinery, his *Satires*, thanks to their style and content, are undeniably a product of their times.

FURTHER READING

The ancient *Life of Persius* can be found in Latin in Clausen's Oxford Classical Text of Persius and Juvenal (1992); an English translation is included in the revised Loeb Classical Library edition of Suetonius. On Nero, Griffin (1984) is the most useful account, and Champlin (2003) has focused on Nero the artist. See also Bartsch (1994) on theatricality under Nero and Rudich (1997) on dissidence. Elsner and Masters (1994) provide a useful collection of essays on Neronian literature and culture and so do Buckley and Dinter (forthcoming), covering slightly more ground.

Ahl (1976) is a useful introduction to Lucan and so is the preface in Braund (1992c). Masters (1992) spells out Lucan's fractured voice whilst Bartsch (1997) sees him as an ironist. Henderson (1998b) 165–211 (now in Tesoriero (2010)) remains one of the most stimulating studies on Lucan. Tesoriero (2010) collects seventeen important articles on Lucan. Asso (2011) provides extensive and up-to-date interpretations of all aspects of the *Bellum Civile* and its reception. Dinter (2012) provides a recent study of Lucan's poetic technique.

For Petronius, Slater (1990) is an excellent starting point. Conte (1996) remains an important study. Recently Jonathan Prag and Ian Repath (2009) have provided a useful introduction. On imagery, ideology, structure, and self-representation in Senecan drama see Boyle (1997), Schiesaro (2003), and Littlewood (2004). Mayer (2002) has produced an excellent introduction to *Phaedra*, Davis (2003) on *Thyestes* is slightly less useful.

CHAPTER THREE

Juvenalis Eques: A Dissident Voice from the Lower Tier of the Roman Elite

David Armstrong

3.1 The “Real” Juvenal and His *Persona*

There are only four sources for facts about the actual life of the poet Juvenal: late antique biographical notices and scholia; the poet’s references to himself in his text; references to Juvenal in three epigrams of his older contemporary Martial; and an inscription from Aquinum, where he had family property (*CIL* 10.5382). The ancient biographies and scholiasts of Juvenal tell us nothing about his life that cannot be accounted for by pure ignorant conjecture from his poems themselves. The best modern survey is Courtney (1980) 1–10, but these fictions were refuted long before (Sellar and Postgate (1911) 610–11).

Juvenal’s own text tells us much less about himself than his predecessors Lucilius and Horace did. He gives the reader none even of his own three names, which were (probably) Decimus and (certainly) Junius Juvenalis. Certainly, because he is the addressee – as “Juvenalis” – as a younger contemporary, a friend and literary equal, of Martial’s three epigrams 7.24, 91 (92 CE) and 12.18 (101 CE); and the inscription from Aquinum, made at least a decade or two after Juvenal’s death (Courtney (1980) 3–5), shows the “Junii Juvenales” still a prosperous equestrian and “curial” (city councillor-rank) family at Aquinum, and as worshipping Ceres (Helvina), a local deity mentioned by Juvenal in 3.315–22. These lines are the only self-referential note or *sphragis* in the

earlier satires, 1–9, *c.* 110–20 CE. The poet evidently had a farm at Aquinum, and his friend “Umbricius” proposes to visit Juvenal there.

From Martial, born between 38–41 CE, we learn that the real-life Juvenal liked jokes about sex (all three epigrams) and was “eloquent” (*facundus*) (i.e. accomplished in rhetoric and oratory, 7.24.1). Though twenty years younger, aged thirty or so Juvenal was a close friend of Martial’s (7.24). A decade later he could be represented, about forty, as laboring away in a “sweaty toga” visiting the morning *salutationes* (greeting sessions) of the rich (12.18), while Martial, now back in Spain at sixty or so, enjoyed leisure, beautiful scenery, and the attentions of his handsome young slaves, all of which he offers for Juvenal’s enjoyment on a proposed visit. Making one’s handsome slaves available to brighten up a country visit was a polite gesture among well-to-do Roman hosts akin to promising a guest high-thread-count sheets nowadays, reflecting status and prosperity on Martial’s part and his addressee’s. (Horace says sexual favors from slaves owned by *amici* were strictly reckoned up as an obligation by the provider: *Epist.* 1.18.72–75 with Mayer (1994) *ad loc.*; but Martial in retirement probably had nothing to ask in return.) I do not believe this poem represents Juvenal as “a poor client in Rome” in 101 CE (Courtney (1980) 9), even given that Roman *equites* near the minimum census could be called *pauper* (Juv. 9.147). It is based, rather, on the customary contrast in upper-class poetry between *otium* and *negotium*, leisure and business, the country being the setting for *otium*, and the city the scene for *negotium* and early rising and hard pursuit of business and patronage (as for example Horace in *Sat.* 2.6 contrasts his life at the newly acquired Sabine farm with his pursuit of business and patronage in the City, 23–26).

There is only one more biographical detail to be taken into account, and it is in two later satires, 11 and 12. Juvenal tells us nothing about his father, except that he inherited a house in Rome from him, which he calls “my *limen*” (“threshold”: it was freestanding, not an apartment) (11.190), his *domus*, with his “family Jove,” *nostrum Iouem*, and his *lares paterni*, “paternal *lares*” (12.89) (so also Horace’s childhood house in Venusia was his *paternus lar et fundus*, *Epist.* 2.2.50–51). That is significant for two reasons.

One is the mere dates: Juvenal, unlike Martial, cannot ever have been an apartment-dweller with nowhere but his apartment to go, if his father had a freestanding house in Rome. If Juvenal’s father was twenty-five or thirty when Juvenal was born about 60 CE, he was himself born about 30 or 35 CE, and would have had to live to well over seventy to see even his son’s earliest satires. He was certainly dead by *Satire* 11, when Juvenal himself was a *senex* (11.201–4), a man over 60, *c.* 120 CE, and had inherited the house.

The other is the mere fact of a *domus* in Rome. Juvenal says, à propos of contentment and ease, that a man should not be avaricious: equestrian fortune should suffice him, or if he's worried about money, *sume duos equites, sume tertia quadringenta*: "be two knights at once, or get yourself, even, a third 400,000 sesterces" (14.326). Irony seems absent. Juvenal, certainly not a magnate, may well have needed to be an *eques* two and three times over to keep up a Roman house and a farm in Tibur (to be discussed below) as well as his family acres at Aquinum. Most *equites* wearing a ring and narrow purple stripe guaranteeing that they had 400,000 sesterces, what I think is more than a million dollars' net worth (in current American terms as of 2011), could not unreasonably wish they had two or three times that to secure their rank and status. The lowest rung of equestrian officialdom, the military tribunes (*tribuni militum*), were paid 20,000 sesterces a year, the usual 5 percent income expected on the minimum census. The lowest rung of the emperor's corps of salaried equestrian procurators was paid 60,000 sesterces, exactly three times the minimum income traditional for *equites*: all these were already *tres equites*, but still far below the magnate class in wealth and standing.

Martial (lest his readers take literally his jokes about being "poor") makes it explicit at one point that by diplomas from both Titus and Domitian he was *eques Romanus, tribunus militum*; holder of the coveted legal and tax privileges of a person with three children (*ius trium liberorum*), though unmarried and childless; and also that several provincials have been made Roman citizens at his personal request (3.95: all this in one short epigram against a fictional "Naevolus" who gave him no respect). He had an apartment in Rome at first (1.108). This early epigram (86 CE) describing it, and contrasting it to the *domus* of a rich patron, is echoed in a later epigram of 94 CE (9.18) describing himself as now a *domus* owner (5) with a garden or *rus minimum ... in urbe* (2). His way of proclaiming this to his readers is to ask the emperor for the privilege of a private water pipe to the aqueduct, given to private residences only by imperial grant and not inheritable (Frontin. *Aq.* 2.105). There are about 220 such residential water pipes with owner's names transcribed in *CIL* 14.7367–7587, many of them wealthy senators or imperial officials. But imagine literary men of the magnate class like Pliny the Younger or Fronto, who had these as a matter of course (both Fronto's private water pipe and his brother's survive) actually boasting about them. Or about a *rus minimum in urbe*, a "little touch of the country in town," as their garden.

By contrast, Juvenal's *domus*, his inherited house in Rome (11), is the venue of a "simple" dinner party not only made up entirely from the produce of his Tiburtine farm, rather elegant produce too, but served up, as a fun conceit, by servants imported from it specially, so that the slaves waiting table, matching

the food, are also “*alla rustica*” for the evening. And it’s even more his *domus* than Martial’s is Martial’s:

inde domum repetam graciles ubi parua coronas
accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera:
hic nostrum placabo Iouem Laribusque paternis
thura dabo atque omnes uiolae iactabo colores.
(12.87–90)

Back to my *domus* I go, where their little statues shining
with delicate wax will receive their slender garlands:
here I shall satisfy our Jove and give incense to *my father’s*
Lares and pelt them with every colour of flowers.

So Juvenal had a freestanding house in Rome which he explicitly boasts of, left him by his father (*Satires* 11–12), whose principal heir he therefore was. My colleague John Clarke (personal communication) tells me that *domi*, town-houses in the full sense, had atriums (and at least all the buildings in Rome identifiable as *domi* in the *Forma Urbis* have atriums indicated on their plan), which implies over 10,000 square feet of lot. Juvenal also had a prosperous farm in Tibur (*Satire* 11). The Republican poet Catullus (another *eques*) boasted that his own “little place” near Tibur was called “Tiburtine” by those who wanted to please him and “Sabine” by those who wished to belittle it (poem 44). Horace too had a Roman house, the scene of *Sat.* 2.7, and both a *Sabinum* and a *Tiburatinum* for country retreats (Suet., *Vita Horati* 3). None of them professes to think this level of property ownership competitive with that of the magnate class. Thus both Juvenal’s Roman house and the status of his “little place” in the country indicate the kind of security about birth, rank, and fortune that gives an independent Roman of equestrian status the *auctoritas* and *honestas*, the standing and the eligibility to win and hold place and position, to speak his mind.

3.2 Equestrian Rank and Literary Men in the Age of Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian

My topic covers only a single aspect of Juvenal’s satire, but one which does in fact coincide with his real life: the *persona* of the satirist conceived in social terms as a man of a certain rank, which the author asserts and guarantees by what he says of himself. It’s even more important to Juvenal and Martial to underline their security in rank than to the earlier satirists. From Augustus onwards “the Romans developed the highest degree of formal social

stratification, and at the same time the highest incidence of social mobility in antiquity” (Reinhold (1971) 275): and that means mobility both upward, creating ambition and thirst for patronage, and downward, creating anxiety (cf. Hopkins (1965)). Both kinds of mobility are amply reflected in Juvenal and Martial. Braund (*OCD*³ s.v. Juvenal) says that Juvenal’s satires “apparently provided reassuring entertainment for the Roman male élite” without quite admitting he belonged to it. I think it is certain that he did. The other three great Roman satirists, Lucilius, Horace, and Persius were all of the equestrian class. Lucilius was a wealthy *eques* with several country properties and a brother in the Senate. Horace was a freedman’s son but unquestionably, under Augustus’ and Maecenas’ patronage, a full *eques Romanus* and *ex-tribunus militum*. Persius was a wealthy, but not limitlessly wealthy, Italian *eques*. His tutor Cornutus had qualms about inheriting 100,000 sesterces to the prejudice of Persius’ sisters and had to be reassured, according to the *Life*.

Juvenal, born about 60 CE, was not worried about his status in life at the period of his satires. Horace, in *Epistles* 1, published in 20 BCE when Horace was only 45, refers to himself as *donatum rude* (*Epist.* 1.1.2: cf. 7.25–28, 18.104–12), a retired gladiator with the wooden sword, both as poet and as client of the great. If you hadn’t achieved what you wanted from the patronage of the elite and your own work by that age, there wasn’t any chance left. Martial derides a man of sixty who still hikes all over Rome to court patronage (4.78). From first to last the poetic voice of Juvenal is that of a man whose active career is over, who needs no personal patronage, no further attendance at the morning levees or *salutationes* of the great senators and the rest of the immensely rich (which by now included women, rich freedmen and provincial magnates as well as the Senate). Nor has his *persona* anything further to expect from jumping over the customary patronage-brokering of the magnate class to flatter the emperor or the palace bureaucracy – an intentional contrast to his older contemporaries Statius and Martial, who wrote in praise of senatorial patrons, emperors, and palace officials throughout their active careers. Besides numerous senatorial magnates, Statius writes in praise of Domitian, Martial in praise of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan; Statius and Martial both in praise of Domitian’s eunuch Earinos, Martial in praise of Domitian’s chamberlain Parthenius and his secretary Entellus, Statius in praise of another imperial secretary, Abascantus. Juvenal manifests zero or near-zero interest in any comparable sources of patronage for his poems.

In the hundred years since Horace’s days, the Senate, once almighty in Roman government, had been reformed by the emperors into a House of Lords. Its members could become proconsuls, but they mostly functioned as a legislative or debating chamber and, in their years of office as quaestors, tribunes, aediles, praetors, consuls (not to mention other senatorial posts created by the emperor, e.g., superintendent of the water supply, *curator*

aquarum), as the government of the city of Rome, with perpetual vigilance from the palace over their activities and patronage. As for the order of *equites*, freeborn Roman citizens wealthy from business or inheritance, or judged worthy of the various specifically equestrian government posts, or trusted with government contracts for taxes, buildings and ports, they too now had a *cursus honorum* of government offices, albeit one not strictly defined in law. *Equites* started with the office of *tribunus militum* which had given Horace his moment of ambiguous glory in Brutus' army at Philippi, and which the emperor could now bestow without requiring more than six months with the army. They rose through various ranks as *procuratores*, administrative deputies, of various imperial interests in Rome, Italy, and the provinces, and finally to exalted ranks within the palace like that of praetorian prefect, head of the palace guard. Senators were required to have in ratable property a million sesterces (= 250,000 silver denarii or 10,000 gold aurei) as a minimum to support their rank, and *equites* 400,000 (= 100,000 denarii or 4,000 aurei).

It's hard to translate this into modern terms. Old textbooks on Roman life from 1900 to 1930 seem to take a sesterce as a nickel, and a denarius as a quarter. To me, a sesterce seemed in the 1980s (Armstrong (1986)) more like a dollar and a denarius a five-dollar bill. Twice that in 2011 dollars would not be too much. It seems to me that even a "poor" *eques* (and since *pauper*, "poor," in Latin means something very different from *egenus*, "needy," Martial can speak of a mere marginal *eques* as *pauper*, e.g. 4.40.4) had the rank and privileges of an American of 2012 with one or two million dollars in net worth; even a "poor" senator, of an American with four to six million dollars. Many members of both classes had much, much more, and those at the minimum felt insecure in their rank. No one wanted a roller-coaster career like that of Horace's equestrian friend Tigellius, who "sometimes had two hundred slaves and sometimes was down to his last ten" (*Sat.* 1.3.9–10).

Equites, particularly those who lived in Rome, had to wear a toga, a tunic with a narrow purple stripe (the senators' tunic had a broad stripe), *calcei* or formal shoes, and a gold ring during the business day and at the morning levees of the great, and also at the frequent levees of the emperor. Formal dress was also necessary to gain admission to their privileged and envied front seats, the "fourteen rows," at games and races, where tickets were given them for food and wine better than that of the *plebs*, and where the ushers were vigilant in ejecting pretenders whom the palace had detected falling short in the latest property census. Indeed "assumption of status" by wearing these badges of rank was illegal, a crime comparable to pretending to be a Roman citizen, or to be freeborn when one was born a slave (Reinhold (1971)), and most difficult to pull off in the capital, where full dress was required in so many different contexts. I doubt that even the freedom of poetic discourse canonized in the theory of *persona* in satire allows any Roman poet to represent himself as

freeborn, or a Roman citizen, or an *eques*, without actually being these things. Horace explains at length (*Sat.* 1.6) why, though a freedman's son, he is an *eques* and might be even a marginal senator if he wanted. Law and custom required such claims to be simply true, whatever else is poetic fiction (Armstrong (1986) and 2010)).

As characters and *personae* in fiction and poetry, *equites* and senators come off very differently, though both were members of a very small elite among the perhaps sixty million subjects of the Roman Empire. There were about 600 senators, and in Rome, where the rank of *eques* counted for most, several thousand *equites* on the palace's carefully maintained list of those who were considered to have the necessary property and standing. This sounds like a coherent and compact elite, but the self-image of the two ranks is different and dissonant in literature, and no doubt was in life. There were *equites* who were high born and of ancient family, but high birth was not a requirement; business capability and practical sense were required of them, as well as their property qualification. Their fortunes were mostly not large enough to survive gentlemanly neglect, and required not just financial capability but constant interaction with peers and constant recourse to the patronage of the very rich to maintain. The emperors and their bureaucracy used the senators and other magnates as conduits of patronage to the equestrians and the business class in general. The *salutationes*, the morning levees of the magnate class (for which see now Goldbeck (2010)), were not merely a show of wealth and of Thorstein Veblen's "honorific leisure" (displaying in public oneself, one's family and as many slaves and friends as possible dressed to make actual work impracticable – in togas, in this case – and ostentatiously doing nothing). They were occasions for log-rolling at every level, for winning clients for law cases, well-born pupils for one's school, advances in one's rank in the *cursus equester*, the citizenship for business associates of provincial birth who did not have it, government contracts for maintenance of temples, buildings, streets and riverbanks. Wealth maintenance in Rome – not so much in the small towns of Italy or the quiet countryside, though similar games for smaller profits went on there too – required continual, dogged networking, personal involvement, and elbow grease.

Equestrian rank, when asserted by writers like Horace or Juvenal, is thus a ready-made appeal to personal sympathy that transcends at least partially all issues of social elitism. They contrast themselves with the magnate class, their patrons, as hardworking and relatively modest in lifestyle. All Romans in business or with inherited money who were not *equites* could at least imagine themselves at that rank or something like it, earned by their own effort. For example, every ambitious Roman citizen in Italy's small towns could at least dream of "curial" rank, i.e. the ability to be on local city councils and thus influence patronage in the town, which required 100,000 sesterces, a quarter of the census of an *eques*.

Much sympathy for the wealth-maintenance problems of an *eques* could be expected from people like the characters at Trimalchio's banquet: such as Phileros, who describes an old man who has just died as one who at least "left a solid hundred thousand and all in cash" (*reliquisse solida centum et omnia in nummis*, Petron. *Sat.* 43). Or the freedman who sold himself into slavery as a boy to a Roman on contract of eventually being freed, making him a Roman citizen himself, for forty years of work, and now has to feed his own "twenty mouths and a dog" (*uiginti uentres . . . et canem*), twice as many as Horace's Tigellius at his imaginary low point (57). To people like this the senators were unapproachable gods, but the *equites Romani* popular and approachable heroes at the limit of their own imaginable aspirations.

The propaganda of the equestrian class, a self-assertive order vigilant of their privileges in law and ceremonial, as Della Corte (1967) shows, was sharply distinguished from the senators'. They are represented both in poetry and in prose as hard-working citizens whose credit on a contract can be relied on and whose word is as good as their bond. The most famous of these are the private firms of *publicani* who collected most of the Republic's taxes and many of the Empire's, and did other contract work for highly profitable commissions. But there were also the professional groups, the lawyers, orators, teachers, and writers with whom Juvenal identifies (*Satire* 7). As White demonstrated ((1978) 87–89), most Roman poets and learned men had at least the minimum equestrian income, their 20,000 sesterces a year or more, to live on; and, one would guess, at least a dozen slaves at their dwelling in the City to support their leisure. Since the craft itself paid little without the gifts and help of patrons, they could not otherwise have devoted themselves to the immense amount of learning and labor expected of a professional poet or prose writer.

The equestrian class also sharply distinguished themselves by their conception of "modest" leisure activities and places to enjoy them, *otium equestre*, appropriate to their rank, as compared to the much grander level of display required of the senators. A Roman *eques* manifested security in his census and rank by sporting a country place – not a great villa or palace, but a place that could be described as "my little place in the country," and as modest, if only in comparison with the multiple great country and seaside villas and town palaces of the grandees. These properties might in reality be extremely grand and enviable, in comparison to whatever real estate belonged to the poorer 99 percent of the Empire's population; or actually quite modest, as no doubt were Martial's eventual Roman house (he began by living in an apartment) and his country property near Rome at Nomentum; or in between, as probably were Horace's "modest" places he used as retreats from his house in Rome, the Sabine farm and his *domus* at Tibur. Hard-nosed equestrian businessmen, like the *fenerator Alfius* of Horace's second epode, were equally eager to manifest devotion to the idea of country vacations on one's own "modest" acres. Just as the beautiful but

impractical toga was the sign of “honorific leisure” from manual labor during the business and government day in Rome, the country place where one could throw formal dress aside except for funerals was the sign of secure, equestrian “honorific leisure” outside Rome.

By contrast the luxuries of the senatorial and magnate class are always spoken of in this kind of writing as being far above equestrian “simplicity.” Pliny the Younger’s parading of his multiple country palaces and their expansive floor plans and views, his several villas, and two grand ones at Como (9.7); his villa at Laurentum (2.17); and the half-dozen more of them he is planning to build as he writes, would strike all but the richest equestrian writer as forbidden to his station. Compare Pliny’s patronizing description of the sort of “little place” near Rome that would be suitable to be bought by the merely equestrian Suetonius, a high palace official (1.24). Or to be fair, maybe Pliny is trying to drive the price down for Suetonius, as he hints at the beginning: but he is also following a literary and social convention. Statius offers another variation on the theme. He gives equally magnificent descriptions of the villas of Pollius Felix at Surrentum and Manlius Vopiscus at Tibur (*Silv.* 1.3, 2.2) but is very modest in referring to his “little place” in the country at Alba Longa (*Silv.* 3.1. 61–64), *nostra iugera*, “our acres” (*Silv.* 5.3.37). This is perhaps because, as he admits in describing his own family, their claim to the equestrian census had been challenged (*Silv.* 5.3. 116–20, with the notes of Vollmer (1898) and Gibson (2006)). Like Martial, however, Statius shoehorns in the detail (3.1.63–64) that the emperor personally granted a water supply for his modest acreage. The norm for *equites*, at any rate, is to admire and praise the villas and their owners, but relinquish all claims to be able to afford them:

nam tuta et paruula laudo
cum res deficient satis inter uilia fortis:
uerum ubi quid melius contigit et unctius, idem
uos sapere et solos aio bene uiuere, quorum
conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia uillis.

(Horace *Epist.* 1.15.42–46)

for I praise what is safe and small,
when my balance is low, brave enough to live on the cheap side:
but when things are better and richer for me, I hold
that only you are the wise men who know how to live,
whose solid funds are on show in your glorious villas.

(my trans.)

The addressee of this poem, Numonius Vala, was a senator of high birth. However, there were compensations: Horace claims that his Sabine farm gives him more sanity and rest than Maecenas’ Roman palace (*Carm.* 3.4, 29).

He also claims that it is easier and more fun to travel by oneself as a mere *eques* (he really means, with a slave or two only) than with the carriage and expensive train of wagons and guards necessary for the rich and prominent (*Sat.* 1.6.100–111, echoed *Epist.* 1.15.10–13). Equestrians looking for adventure were not afraid to take off the gold ring and Roman dress, put on a dark cloak indistinguishable from their slaves', and go out unaccompanied in Rome at night (as Horace's slave Davus disapprovingly reminds him, *Sat.* 2.7.53–56). Senators and the very rich only went out in the City at night with trains of slaves and torch-bearers to protect them (Juv. 3.283–85: cf. Knapp (1930)). Equestrian simplicity and solitude, in this literary picture, had much to recommend them – as long as you were secure in your property and rank and your right to the narrow stripe and the gold ring.

3.3 Some Passages in Juvenal 3

3.3.1 *The frustrations of Umbricius as a marginal eques* (126–72)

I have not given a complete account of the assumptions that Latin prose and poetry, written mostly by equestrians and senators, make about the comparative status of the two ranks; but enough, at any rate, to support an inquiry into this theme as it affects some passages of the third Satire of Juvenal, to illustrate how helpful thinking about class and rank in this way can be to the interpretation of his poetry. In this poem the poet's voice conjures up a friend named Umbricius, perhaps a real person (Braund (1990) 505–6) – or maybe the name means “headed for the shadows,” *umbræ*, i.e. the boondocks (or “ghost” or “shady fellow,” LaFleur (1976); Braund (1996a) 234: *umbra* can also mean a late-invited guest filling an empty place at dinner and thus a “sponger,” as Braund reminds me: the name is nothing if not suggestive). He is a native-born Roman (84–85) who can no longer afford to live in Rome. He is about to give up the City and retire to his “little place” in the countryside – at Cumae (3), where instead of participating even in small-town politics he will merely *ciuem donare Sibyllae*, “gift the Sibyl with a fellow-citizen.”

Umbricius' efforts to gain patronage have been in vain. He feels uncomfortable in the “fourteen rows” with the other equestrians because he is not sure of passing the next imperial census (if I interpret 152–59 correctly), while the sons of pimps and of mere auctioneers (*praecones* – like Horace's father!) are comfortable and secure on their cushions there. Yet his claims to rank are as little thought of by most commentators as the skeptical ushers he claims to fear. But you were not allowed at this period to appear in the fourteen rows without the toga and the narrow stripe and the gold ring.

Why should Umbricius be worried about the privileges of a rank he does not have and is forbidden by law to claim by wearing its dress? Umbricius is therefore an *eques Romanus* growing poor, trying to keep up his status in Roman life, because his patrons have not come through with anything to support it. He is almost universally seen, and rightly, as an “unreliable narrator” (Winkler (1983) 220–23; Braund (1996a) 232–35) – the simplest and most obvious irony of everything he says about the supposed horrors of Rome being that he wanted very much to succeed there and would have been glad to, if he had been capable of offering much, or anything, in return, except his own (precarious) rank and standing as an equestrian.

Let’s catalogue his complaints in the section surrounding lines 152–59.

- 1 (126–36) What’s the use of getting up when it’s still dark to put on your toga (or rather have your slaves put it on: only the poor laid this duty on their wives), when the very senators are up before you to court old rich women with no heirs? (Therefore, Umbricius would like to court inheritances from such women.)
- 2 (137–46) You can be an unimpeachably honest witness in a law case – that is, improve your standing with the person for whom you testify, a standard ploy among Roman businessmen and politicians, always ready to testify for a friend or patron provided it was duly set down in their books as an obligation. But no one wants you for the role, because your wealth in slaves and land, and your dinner parties, are equally unimpressive to your elite patrons. Of course that’s a way of saying that since you were liable for damages for false witness, ability to pay them was, not unsurprisingly, an issue.
- 3 (147–52) Not being well dressed – having a dirty toga, a hole in one *calceus* (the required formal dress-shoe (149)), patches on your clothes – makes people laugh at you. This sounds extreme if taken literally of Umbricius. Horace, whom Juvenal is intentionally parodying, complained that Maecenas was strict with his friends about ill-arranged (not dirty and patched) togas and loose (not torn) *calcei*, or a bad haircut, or a cheap wool shirt under a fine new toga (*Sat.* 1.3.30–32; *Epist.* 1.1.94–97). Umbricius pictures himself as having trouble properly keeping up the heavy and cumbersome official dress of his rank, required at *salutationes* and shows, and beginning to neglect it – however exaggerated his description of his own scruffiness may be.
- 4 (152–59) Umbricius is in danger of being ushered out or made fun of when in full dress and claiming the equestrian seats at shows, because of his suspicious *paupertas*, as we saw.
- 5 (160–62) Rich marriages are denied you because your wealth is not equal to the proposed fiancées’ (therefore Umbricius would gladly have married for money), no one puts you in his will (therefore Umbricius is looking for

legacies from childless patrons, male or female); and “no one thinks of you for the aediles’ council”: *quis pauper scribitur heres, quando in consilio est aedilibus?* (161–62). Why the *aediles’* council? It is mentioned only here in the ancient evidence; but nothing would be more natural than that the mid-career senators who supervised various buildings and markets (a portfolio much reduced from those the aediles had had under the Republic) should have had committees of advisers: magistrates all the way from the equestrian *iudices* judging private cases up to the emperor himself habitually asked advice from a *consilium* in this way. But why the aediles’ in particular? A conjecture will be offered below; but *pauper* cannot mean *egenus* here, because it is self-evident that no “needy” person would have been eligible for a senatorial advisory committee.

- 6 (164–67) A miserable apartment, food for your slaves (so he has them), a simple meal: all cost too much in Rome.
- 7 (168–70) It’s embarrassing to have only cheap fictile ware on the dinner table – but among the Marsi and Sabelli outside Rome near Reate it would be normal in any house below the villa level.
- 8 (171–79) In the country Roman citizens only have to wear a toga at their funeral. Here this expensive garment has to be donned daily.

Umbricius is cursing Rome, on the surface, and unenthusiastically praising the countryside he has to fall back on to keep up appearances, but every word he says has a double meaning for Juvenal’s contemporaries. He’s a failure in attracting patronage and networking with the magnate class. He can no longer maintain in Rome the pretense of modest opulence required of those who wear the gold ring and the narrow stripe. He would have married well or chased after legacies if he could have succeeded, but he didn’t. He’s falling back on his country property near Naples (an area which itself did not constitute the cheapest real estate in Italy: Juvenal mentions that the luxurious resort town of Baiae and all sorts of attractive places are nearby Umbricius’ place at Cumae (4–5)), to keep his expenses down and maintain his self-respect and probably his rank. That’s how “poor” he is, and no poorer.

3.3.2 *Does Umbricius have slaves still? (286–301; 1–20, 315–18; 164–67; 257–67)*

Because Umbricius does not take a train of slaves with him when he goes out at night, thus rendering himself helpless should he meet some chance mugger in the streets (286–301), some commentators have even thought he had none. This is to ignore several indications that he may indeed (like Horace’s Tigellius) be down to a mere ten slaves to support his bachelor life in his Roman apartment, but he has them nonetheless. The scenario of the poem

(1–20, 295–end) has us imagine Umbricius delivering his unflattering account of Rome to Juvenal at the Porta Capena, where his “whole household is being arranged (*componitur*) in one wagon” outside the gates, since wheeled traffic was barred in the daytime all the way out to the gates. The pathos of the whole household in one wagon (a *raeda* however was no small cart) strikes every reader, but few seem to have asked the question: being carried through the streets of Rome, and down to the gate, and put in the wagon, by whom? Umbricius is talking to Juvenal for 300 lines straight while this happens, not carrying out and arranging the goods himself. His slaves are. Given that their destination is Umbricius’ country place (however modest) near Naples, it’s quite possible that the muleteer and wagon are his also, and will be returning to the farm to stay. And there must be other slaves at the farm, however few and however mediocre in turnout, or the farm itself would have been looted and pillaged by the feral poor of the countryside long ago. Surely Umbricius is thinking of people like himself in the famous description of a pedestrian being crushed to death by a falling building-stone in the streets of Rome while his whole household of slaves (*tota domus*) is innocently working up a pre-dinner massage and bath for him at home (257–67). Had Umbricius been killed by the mugger, they would similarly have been waiting up for him. (And perhaps, as Horace’s slave claimed, he was wandering around by himself at night, without his equestrian ring, for less than respectable purposes.)

The male concubine Naevolus in *Satire* 9, himself a Rome-born *eques*, *modico contentus* (“content with little”), like Umbricius (9–10), is supposed to be down to his last slave (or two: “I must buy another”) (63–69). He too lives in lodgings (63). His “modest prayer” (140–47) (“when do I get to be just “poor”“, *quando ego pauper ero?*) is for exactly the 20,000 sesterces a year guaranteed by the minimum census, on which he thinks, probably too optimistically, that he can buy ten or more pounds of sterling silver-service and two strong litter-bearers, and also own a silversmith and a wall painter for hire. It’s easy to imagine a New Yorker striving for his or her first million dollars nowadays, on no greater talents than Umbricius’ or Naevolus’, saying something not unlike this.

3.3.3 *What will and won’t Umbricius do to succeed? A new reading of 29–40*

Umbricius claims at the very beginning of his discourse –

quando artibus (inquit) honestis
nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
res hodie minor est here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
deteret exiguis aliquid . . .

(21–24)

“since,” he said “there’s no place in this city for a gentleman’s talents, no reward for one’s labors, and my capital’s less today than yesterday, and tomorrow just the same will wear away something more from that little . . .”

– that he has the talents of a person worthy of patronage (*honestus*) and works to promote them. But what talents? What work? He lists a lot of things he *can’t* do to attract the notice of the rich: he can’t lie, buy multiple copies of their bad books, do astrology for them, plot against their parents so they can inherit, read entrails, keep rich people’s guilty secrets (41–57). But the examples he begins with are about the sort of contracting the aediles and other senatorial officials would supervise:

uiuuant Artorius istic
et Catulus, maneant qui nigrum in candida uertunt,
quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,
siccandam eluuiem, portandum ad busta cadauer,
et praebere caput domina uenale sub hasta.
quondam hi cornicines et municipalis harenae
perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae;
munera nunc edunt et uerso pollice uulgus
quem iubet occidunt populariter: inde reuersi
conducunt foricas. et cur non? omnia cum sint
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit, quotiens uoluit Fortuna iocari.

(29–40)

Let Artorius and Catulus
stay in your City who try to turn black into white,
who can easily contract for temples, rivers, the Port,
for mopping up street filth, taking corpses out to be burnt,
and putting up slaves one by one for sale at auction.
They were once trumpeters, tied to some town’s arena,
and famous through many a village for their “lip”;
now they give games themselves and with thumbs down kill
whosoever the audience bids, by popular vote; when that’s over,
they contract for the penny shitholes: why not? since in every way
they’re the kind that Fortune lifts from the lows to the ultimate
heights, whenever she decides to make a joke.

Umbricius is deliberately trying to obscure his incapacity for business management, the source of many an equestrian fortune (in Rome no one below the full rank of *equus* could give public games) – specifically, the making of money as the tax-farming syndicates of the *publicani* did, and as

many a government contractor in Rome did, by *locatio conductio operarum*, the letting out or “locating” of public works to contractors who “conducted” the contract business for the state (on this process cf. Rostovtzeff (1900); Biscardi (1964)). All the examples Umbricius mentions belong to this class, but notice his art in listing them. Artorius and Catulus are probably partners: buying government contracts often required pledging several businessmen’s assets at once for their fulfillment. Their names may be those of two famous fraudsters from the age of Tiberius (LaFleur (1974)).

Umbricius starts from the undertaking of work on the temples and rivers and the great port facilities and granaries on the Tiber, nominally managed by high-ranking senators now that the aediles’ role in the immense programs of building and upkeep in the capital was partly parceled round the whole Senate and partly pre-empted by the palace’s own contractors and slaves. Similarly, we know that supervising the upkeep and cleaning of the streets was one of the various duties offered annually to twenty junior senators who were entering the order and joining the board of the *XXuiri*, four of whom were *IVuiri uis purgandis*, the committee of four for street-cleaning. The temples and rivers and the port of Rome must indeed have been the “ultimate heights” of all the building and maintenance contracts of the Empire. But our contractors also “dry out the filth,” i.e. clean the streets (and clean up after floods and heavy rains). They “take corpses out to be burnt,” for abandoned or pauper corpses were also disposed of on state contract. The aediles of Puteoli, according to the *Lex Libitinae Puteolana*, offered about 30 sesterces as a reasonable minimum fee per cadaver, so this was or could be represented as small-time contracting (cf. Hinard and Dumont (2003) 72). It’s a common ploy in every society that affects disdain for wealth made in “trade” compared to inherited wealth to call (for example) a contractor for street cleaning “that street cleaner.” The Romans were not slow to call wealthy persons whose factors and agents contracted out mules, or whose contracts involved slave sales, “muleteers” or “slave dealers” (Syme (1958b); Bosworth (2002); Shaw (2007)) and Umbricius is very much in character doing so. In my view, his later mysterious sorrow at not being on the aediles’ council, *in consilio ... aedilibus* (162), means that Umbricius would indeed condescend to sit on committees for building contracts and push business Artorius and Catulus’ way, without much understanding of what they do and how well they do it, but with a voracious appetite for favors from them in return.

The novelty here is my interpretation of line 33, where the late antique scholiast guessed wrongly that *et praeberē caput domina uenale sub hasta* means *qui possunt a fisco uendi quasi debitores fisci* (“they can be sold up by the imperial fisc as debtors to it”). Most commentators (e.g. Mayor (1889) 1.350;

more recently Courtney (1980) 160–61; Braund (1996a) 179) follow the scholiast. That strains belief. A good reputation in business was as essential to remaining on the list of eligibles for equestrian status as the census, the toga, and the ring. Any Roman businessman who had personally been sold as a slave (how would he get free?), or had had his assets sold for bankruptcy or failure to fulfill a state contract, would have lost his equestrian rank, his freedom, and his property, and never been given another contract. Something else, in my opinion, must be meant: another contracting task, equally demeaning as street-cleaning and corpse-burning, namely auctioneering: Horace's father's road to riches and elite status for his son. Even the Roman aristocracy had to pay in hard cash now and then, on rent-days for example, more than they had in their strongboxes, so loans of cash were as much part of their networking as *salutationes* and Saturnalia presents; and the state and many private people turned property, slaves included, into cash continually at auctions, paying the auctioneers a commission. Umbricius chooses to single out slave-auctioning as especially demeaning. *praeberē caput domina uenale sub hasta* offers one of those surprise line-ends (Braund (1996a) 26, rhetorical effect D) – “to offer slaves for sale, for their mistress, *the auction*” – familiar in Juvenal's rhetorical style. I would offer this reading with less confidence if William Gifford's 1797 translation had not ignored the scholiast's idea and translated as I would,

there (in Rome) let Arturius dwell,
and Catulus; knaves who in truth's despite
can white to black transform, and black to white,
build temples, furnish funerals, *auctions hold* [my italics],
farm rivers, ports and scour the drains for gold!

But what does this have to do with the arts practiced at *salutationes*, dinner-parties, and other interactions with the senatorial magnates? The “routine business” of public works was carried on by or in the name of senatorial office-holders junior and senior (Talbert (1984) 372–75), whose morning receptions could be attended for profit like those of other magnates. It looks, from the famous incident (Suet. *Vesp.* 5.3), in which Vespasian, as aedile, was publicly disgraced by Caligula for (his contractors'?) negligence in cleaning the streets, as if the palace considered contracts “routine business” for the senatorial officials, but itself punished negligence and malfeasance. Suetonius mentions an exception in which the Senate was required by the emperor to punish a corrupt aedile (*Dom.* 8.1).

If these are not extravagant conjectures, what our “unreliable narrator” is really saying is that he had neither the census, the sureties, the ability to find partners, nor the understanding of business necessary to the larger part of the equestrian class. Thus all the avenues by which even a well-disposed

senatorial or magnate-class patron could use his influence with the palace to help Umbricius are closed. Nor does Umbricius evince interest in or talent for the professional activities of the lawyers, orators, high-class teachers, and poets with whom Juvenal sympathizes himself in *Satire* 7, and he parades his lack of talent, compared to the Greeks and Syrians he despises, for flattery, amusement, and pandering. He cannot open his mouth without adding touches to the portrait of a man who relies for patronage entirely on his Roman birth and his (diminishing) equestrian census – itself an attraction to patrons (5.132–40), provided that like Umbricius you have no children to inherit it.

3.3.4 *Umbricius redeems himself; the implications of Juvenal's sphragis (315–22)*

Umbricius is not by any means a total fool as “unreliable narrator” (to take the first example that comes to mind, he is not like Drusilla Clack in *The Moonstone*). He's not in denial, after all: he is trying to accept his fate. He wants to retire and enjoy himself while he still has his health (26–29). He appreciates that “if you can tear yourself away from the circuses” a good town house can be bought for less than the year's rent on a windowless flat in Rome, at Sora, Frusino, or Fabrateria (all not far from Aquinum: is this a threat to buy a town house near Juvenal's “little country place” there?). Also that it's something to be an owner, not a renter, even of the smallest “little place” in the country (223–51). But he achieves his best moment at the end. The slaves have finished loading the wagon, his muleteer waves with his whip:

ergo uale nostri memor, et quotiens te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino,
me quoque ad Heluinam Cererem uestramque Dianam
conuerte a Cumis. saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
auditor gelidos ueniam caligatus in agros.

(318–22)

So, farewell, remember me; as often as
Rome gives you back to Aquinum, eager for R&R,
ask me up too from Cumae to Ceres Helvina and
your local Diana: I'll come to hear you read them –
your satires – if they aren't ashamed of me,
as I tramp through your winter fields in my army boots.

Umbricius' formal shoes (*calcei*), like his toga and his *lacerna* (overcoat for winter), however much he exaggerates their dilapidated state (148–51), are

none of the best. He jokes about shaming Juvenal's leisure place, which is therefore not a humble one, and the literary satires proper to Juvenal's equestrian rank, by turning up in heavy, cheap army-boots instead ("if I have to walk there" is the implication). Evidently most of Juvenal's guests could have mustered a pair of good shoes for the indoor parts of a country visit. Umbricius is already enough of a country Italian, as he departs, to warn Juvenal he won't bother with those any longer.

Thus one can make out a fairly clear and unified picture of Umbricius' personality and social status from the details of what he says taken together. He isn't several people and points of view at once, but a unique and not unattractive portrayal of an individual precisely defined as being on the fringe of the elite without quite belonging. By contrast, the narrator (Juvenal) is not insecure and not leaving Rome. As for the place in Aquinum, where Juvenal's family undoubtedly kept up the rank of Roman *equites* for generations after him, was it so poor? My suggestion would be that Roman poets are always safe talking as if they are poorer than they actually are. It's a familiar convention to take up that *persona*, and a necessary deference to the really rich among their readers to do so. But I doubt that any of them *exaggerated* their wealth and rank, or even that of their narrative voice, in defiance of prudence, manners, intense public criticism of assumption of status, strict supervision of claims to rank by the emperor and the palace bureaucrats, and the laws.

3.4 *Juvenalis Eques*: Two Last Thoughts

In lieu of personal touches, Juvenal gives us just enough autobiographical details to see that his property and standing were never all that low throughout his life, and were very solid and secure by the time he wrote satires. That is not in itself a magic key by which we can open up his oeuvre as a whole and find new things. It helps to understand his *persona*, however, that he works out at such length the contrasts and hostilities between equestrians like himself as "honest Romans" among the upper classes, and the far loftier magnate class whose patronage they sought. This contrast is so strong that it even suggests a structural principle (cf. in this volume Gold, Chapter 5, on the Juvenalian corpus). *Satires* 2, 4, 6, and 8 are largely about the magnate class, their effeminate and degenerate senators (2); the cowards on Domitian's council (4), the extravagant women of the highest class (6), the unworthy descendants of ancient families (8). *Satires* 3, 5, 7 and 9 follow the misadventures in the world of patronage-by-magnates of (3) Umbricius, a marginal knight; (5) Trebius, not even a knight, for he has never had nearly the census for one (5.132–39); (7) poets, orators, lawyers and teachers from the equestrian class

or near it; and (9) Umbricius' dark shadow, the fading boy-toy Naevolus, another marginal knight.

Another and last thought: the one writer of Juvenal's own age who certainly read and referred to him is Lucian of Samosata (Courtney (1980) 624–29), who was Umbricius' bugbear in real life: the Greek or Syrian who rises to or toward a salaried procuratorship by the magnates' patronage, while native Italians are neglected. In fact it's no accident that Lucian's borrowings from Juvenal are all from *Satires* 3 and 5, satirizing the *salutationes* and magnates' dinner parties, and occur especially in his satire on Greeks playing up to Roman magnates as he himself had done: especially when he portrays Romans like Umbricius who complain that Greeks are taking over the patronage system from them (*On Salaried Posts in Great Houses* 17, echoing Juv. 3.60–61, 81–85, 119–25). Lucian did exactly this, attending levees and dinners in Rome and ending up in the Roman civil service in Egypt as an equestrian procurator or near it (Jones (1986) 20–21) around 180 CE. In the wake of revolutionary studies of bilingualism in the Roman empire like Adams (2003), it no longer seems right to doubt Lucian's fluency in Latin literature any more than his real or hoped-for status as a 60,000 sesterces a year (or more) procurator. He was thus *tres equites*, an *eques* three times over, Umbricius' nightmare come true. And Lucian was proud of it and of the high income of the position he won by attendance on the Roman magnate class, as he says in the brief and defiant *Apologia* ("Defense") of "*On Salaried Posts*." He was a Greco-Syrian client, but with actual talents both for business and literature.

FURTHER READING

Edward Courtney's commentary on Juvenal as a whole (1980) and Susanna Braund's commentary on Juvenal 1–5 (1996a), and her other writings on Roman satire, especially *Beyond Anger* (1988), and her Loeb of Juvenal and Persius (2004b), have been constantly in my hands in venturing for the first time to publish something on Juvenal, as they must be for all serious scholars of this poet. If I've said anything original in this essay it was based on two ideas: (A) The Roman reading public found the generic equestrian *persona* a more sympathetic type-figure of the elite than that of the senatorial or magnate class; (B) An immense amount of patronage of all kinds was deliberately mediated through the magnate class to save the emperor and his bureaucrats all but the work of supervision: thus, the central importance for equestrians, and the Roman (and Italian) stake-holding class in general, of staying on good terms with magnate-class patrons. Thus also, the interpersonal tensions which lead equestrian poets like Juvenal and Martial to lay their satiric whip so heavily on the magnates and their predatory clients. (A) About equestrians: just as I was writing this there appeared Osgood (2011), which lays out a course of reading on the equestrian

order under the Empire in a couple of densely referenced pages (305–6) that I could hardly improve on unless perhaps to mention that Nicolet (1966–74), though about the *equites* of Republican times, remains foundational to any account of their self-conception as a social group. I have myself written at length about Horace's equestrian *persona* (Armstrong (1986) and (2010)). A similar article about Martial's equestrian *persona* is Allen *et al.* (1970). (B) About patronage: a scholar of my generation would have been nowhere on this topic as it affects Roman poetry under the Empire without the writings of Peter White (e.g. White (1993)) and Richard Saller (e.g. Saller (1982)): cf. also Gold (1987). Again, it seems fortunate that Fabian Goldbeck's book on *salutationes* (2010) came out just as I was writing this, to underline firmly why these occasions were so important to the conduct of government and private business, not just to literature. An English-speaking reader might begin by consulting the *BMCR* review by Angela Kühr (2010).

I owe many thanks to Susanna Braund and Josiah Osgood for their accurate and detailed reading and comments. Also to Brent Shaw and Edward Champlin for encouraging the first version of my efforts to bring a new footnote or two to *Satire* 3, and for pointing out valuable items of bibliography from the historical side, as well as to Adam Gitner for helpful comments on the piece as a whole.

CHAPTER FOUR

Life in the Text: The Corpus of Persius' Satires

Catherine Keane

Multum et uerae gloriae quamuis uno libro Persius meruit.

Persius earned much glory, and rightfully, even with just one book.

(Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.93)

Persius' textual corpus became the successor and replacement of his biological corpus sooner than he must have wished. According to the ancient *Vita*, the poet died before he reached thirty and left his book of six hexameter poems and one short choliambic poem unfinished. One of Persius' friends, his tutor L. Annaeus Cornutus, polished up the unfinished ending, and passed the book to another, the poet Caesius Bassus, to publish it. The published product earned instant praise and cachet: "people immediately began to admire it and snatch it up" (lit. "tear it to pieces," *diripere*; *Vita Persi* 42–51; all translations mine).

This account touches on several interesting characteristics of Persius' text. First, when it came into the world it was particularly vulnerable to external circumstances and influences. Second, Persius' book was prized as a material commodity, as the colorful metaphor *diripere* suggests. Finally, the accident of Persius' death influenced the way future readers would see the book and its author. Whatever Persius' further ambitions for this text and others might have been, the corpus he did leave was subsequently polished to look as complete as its creator's completed life. Its image for posterity is thus very different from the images of the books that Lucilius and Horace left. The original thirty books of Lucilius, with their variety of subjects and styles, must have conveyed an image of an author with endless energy, leisure to experiment, and impressions to share. Horace shrank satire down to a relatively slender size, but his two books of *Sermones* may also be appreciated as a masterful early performance in a

long poetic career. Persius' corpus fits neither of these molds; it lacks both Lucilian abundance and the backdrop of a larger Horatian trajectory. Largely by accident, this short book has come to stand for the short life of its author.

We may supplement this sketch by considering Persius' own remarks about how he wants his book to be seen. Unlike Catullus, Martial, or Horace, Persius does not refer to his text's material form (saffron pages, pumiced edges, staffs with stylish bosses) but he does evoke its physical presence in imaginative metaphors. In the so-called "Prologue" in choliambic meter, when he writes "I bear my song/poem [*carmen*] to the rites of the bards/poets" (7), he endows the work not just with a kind of sacred value, but with material form. In his first Satire, when he envisions his work's failure in the metaphorical "scale" of public reception, he gives it weight (albeit not much; 5–7). Other physical characteristics can be seen in the significant programmatic passage near the end of the poem, where Persius addresses first a critic, then a potential reader (119–25):

me muttire nefas? nec clam? nec cum scrobe? nusquam?
 hic tamen infodiam. uidi, uidi ipse, libelle,
 auriculas asini quis non habet? hoc ego opertum,
 hoc ridere meum, tam nil, nulla tibi uendo
 Iliade. audaci quicumque adflate Cratino
 iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,
 aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis.

Is it a crime for *me* to mutter? Not even in secret? In a ditch? Nowhere?
 Still, I'll bury it here. Little book, I saw this myself:
 who doesn't have the ears of an ass? This secret,
 this laughing of mine, such a trifle, I won't sell to you
 for an *Iliad*. Whoever out there is inspired by bold Cratinus
 and grows pale over fired-up Eupolis and the grand old man [Aristophanes],
 take a look at this too, if you have an ear for something concentrated.

The sketch of the book in this passage is rich in imagery that cues us readers to use our own imaginations and even our senses. By playing along with the metaphorical picture, we can appreciate more of the book's material and non-material properties. It is composed of mischievous sounds (muttering, laughing) and has a strong flavor (*aliquid decoctius* in 125 denotes a reduction of grape juice or other liquid). It is the poet's secret treasure, stowed away despite his critic's warnings; it has a potential commercial value that defies economic logic (the "trifle" is worth more than an *Iliad*).

All of the qualities highlighted above, and others that become visible in the reading, make the book out to be an enigmatic and desirable item – and more important, give the impression of a coherent whole. Like many poets of the late republic and early empire (see Zetzel (1980a); cf. Anderson (1986);

Hutchinson (2008)), Persius uses his book as the compositional framework for thematic play and meaningful intratextuality, even a kind of narrative. Ironically, this enterprise is set within a wider literary climate that was evidently obsessed with dismemberment, both bodily and textual (Most (1992)), and – according to Persius – in a moral world “replete with folly, vice, and general disintegration” (Reckford (2009) 9). In the world Persius portrays it is difficult to find a corpus, biological or other, that does not exhibit some form of weakness or corruption (see also in this volume Dinter, Chapter 2). Persius’ book, however, transcends this epidemic. Despite the conditions of his “disintegrating” world, and indeed drawing on them, Persius uses imagery that ties together the book’s parts and that reflects the changing nature of the satiric genre itself. The passages highlighted above afford me a starting point for discussing several ways Persius creates an impression of narrative order and material shape – all in the process of executing his poetic and moral program.

4.1 The Space of the Book

Access and boundaries together constitute one significant theme in the construction of the book’s image. The first Satire begins with an expression of disdain for the crowd who might read, or pan, the book. To the dismay of his interlocutor, who has questioned the need for poetry about “the cares of humankind [and the] emptiness of things” (1), Persius insists that he will be perfectly unaffected if his book is read by “maybe two people, maybe none” (3). This statement of rejection is echoed and made more complex in the programmatic passage quoted above, where Persius first defies critics by “burying” his book in a symbolic ditch (119–20), then invites only worthy readers to enjoy it (123–25). His elitist attitude suggests a satiric program based on “the rejection of society” (Anderson (1966)). By speaking into a ditch Persius even pointedly rejects a satiric convention: namely, the styling of moral criticism as conversation between friends (cf. Cucchiarelli (2001) 196). Yet this rejecting poet also makes a gesture of inclusion, granting certain readers access to the book for which he has just created boundaries. In the profile of the ideal reader, Persius’ ditch is converted into a reading room – if an unconventional one – where audience can meet text.

In previous satiric poetry too, the definition and selection of an audience is a programmatic theme. Lucilius makes a show of rejecting and choosing various readers (“I don’t want Persius to read me . . . I want Laelius Decumus [to],” fragment 635 W; Lucilius was reportedly identifying readers who were neither too stupid nor too clever). Horace makes more elite choices, claiming that he is unpopular with the public (*Sat.* 1.4.22–23, 1.10.38–39, 73–80) and trotting

out a list of the readers he desires, many of them fellow poets (1.10.81–90). While such programmatic lists certainly do not limit the actual readership of the published books, they represent a poetic strategy of enhancing a book's apparent value by defining its ideal audience and thereby appealing to those who would like to see themselves as worthy (cf. Keane (2007a) 38–40).

Persius is no exception to this satiric pattern, but he develops it in unique ways through a consistently deployed language of privacy. He repeatedly creates the illusion that he is sharing his work in a private context. The poet's ostentatious rejection of public judgment helps him to construct an intimate space in which to share his satire with true followers (Reckford (2009) 15–61; cf. Relihan (1989)). Dramatic scenarios of one-on-one chat are opportunities for Persius' reader to feel included in conversations of philosophical and poetic importance. *Satire 2* starts by celebrating a private occasion, the birthday of the poet's friend Macrinus. It takes on a new aura of intimacy when Persius takes both his addressee and his external readers to observe individual acts of sacrifice and prayer, exposing the muttering and even the feverish inner thoughts of people who hunger for wealth and prestige. In the epistolary poem that ends the book, *Satire 6*, the external audience is allowed to read over the shoulder of the addressee, Persius' fellow poet Bassus. Other poems are windows into ostensibly private conversations. In *Satire 3*, a lazy student wakes up in a hangover to receive a lecture, and Persius evokes the setting right down to the harsh sunlight streaming through the window shades (1–2). In 4, a modern-day Socrates figure leads a Roman Alcibiades through a ruthless interrogation.

A similar illusion of privacy colors the poet's address to Cornutus in *Satire 5*. This poem is framed as a tribute to the poet's Stoic tutor and friend – perhaps the ultimate exercise in exclusion and inclusion. A proem that mocks over-the-top conventional poetic tributes (1–18) gives way to a quiet, solemn, and evocative account of Persius' entry into Cornutus' tutelage (19–51). “We are talking in secret,” the poet tells his tutor (*secrete loquimur*, 21). Here the conceit of orality and exchange (inherent in the literary genre sometimes called *sermo*; cf. Schlegel (2005) 16–17) is matched by a conceit of intimacy, directed simultaneously at Cornutus and at external readers. In fact, neither audience of this poem has exclusive access to Persius, or the right to respond to him. Still, the sharing of the address to Cornutus is a striking gesture from this “rejecter of society.”

In all these scenarios, readers can pretend to be eavesdropping on scenes of moral instruction or debate. At first glance, this would appear to be a most privileged position, and an ideal way to escape the glare of the satirist's criticism while enjoying his exposure of deserving targets. Readers might think that they are not associated with those people who would complainingly ask Persius “why this need to scrape tender ears with biting truth?” (1.107–8), or those who Horace says “deserve to be criticized,” and so “fear verses, and hate poets”

(*Sat.* 1.4.24–33). Careful readers should realize, however, that Persius does not make it so easy; in fact, he indicates that this kind of disinterested reading shows misunderstanding of the privacy theme and constitutes misuse of the book. For in the Satires, the language of privacy is part of a larger moral theme as well as a poetic one, and it creates a test for the reader. In addition to creating scenarios of social intimacy, Persius also – using his own example – pushes his audience toward a demanding sort of interiority. Intimate satire like Persius' is not just about the pleasures of private conversation; it is also about the discomfort of self-interrogation and self-knowledge. The book's private space is not a safe space. A fitting metaphor is the temple setting of *Satire* 2, where the satirist's work is to amplify the murmurs and inner thoughts of greedy petitioners hiding behind pious façades (5–7).

With its overarching theme of self-criticism and autonomy, the book advertises itself as a course on self-teaching (a paradox discussed in Henderson (1991)). This begins, of course, with commentary on poetic criticism and audiences: dismissing popular taste as a meaningful standard, Persius advises *nec te quaesiveris extra* (1.7). The Latin phrasing is ambiguous: it likelier means “do not seek evaluation outside yourself (*extra te*)” but could also mean “do not seek yourself (*te quaesiveris*) from the outside.” Either way, the line carries an implicit command to “look inside.” *In situ*, this idea applies to Persius' poetic project and its reception, but it foreshadows other exhortations to self-study, self-teaching, and self-sufficiency. The most striking and elaborate example may be *Satire* 4, where “Alcibiades” is urged to cease parading himself in the political and public realm, and to undertake an examination of his own character and limits. The Socrates figure laments that while people are eager to criticize others, “no one attempts the descent into himself” (*descendere in sese*, 23) that reveals important personal truths (cf. Freudenburg (2001) 189–95). This message is made more sharp and discomfiting in a conversational setting where escape is not an option for the subject.

The pretense of privacy and silence may have had consequences of a different sort for the book of Satires itself, judging from the curious reception of Persius in Juvenal's poetry. On the one hand, despite the two authors' obvious differences, the influence of Persius is visible immediately in Juvenal's first Satire (Braund (1996a) 105, 109, 117–19). Juvenal borrows from his Neronian predecessor when he colorfully describes a greedy rich man's death in his bath (Juv. 1.142–46; cf. Persius 3.88–106; see also in this volume Kenney, Chapter 6). On the other hand, while Juvenal explicitly identifies Horace (51) and Lucilius (165–67) as models for his satiric mission, he makes no mention of Persius. With this omission, Juvenal could be trying to erase Persius from satiric history so he can practice some “Neronian satire” himself (and he does attack many individuals from that era). Then again, Juvenal may be wittily honoring Persius' professed

choice to whisper his satire into a ditch, unheard – or at least unidentified – by the world at large. Along these lines, we may note one more possible echo in the quote “that’s the man” (*hic est*), which refers in Persius to public recognition of a poet (1.28), and in Juvenal to the practice of informing or satirizing (1.161). If Juvenal did derive this image of public naming from Persius, his failure to name his source would be an ironic homage to the poet who pretended to remove himself from the public sphere.

4.2 The Story of the Book

As a bounded space, Persius’ book also has a beginning, an end, and room for a story in between. The six Satires dramatize changes in the poet, his material, and his readers, creating a linear narrative through thematic and intertextual play. The original order of the poems’ composition, as with so many ancient poetry books, is difficult to determine – and, as Zetzel argues in his influential study of Horace *Sermones* 1, less important to interpretation than the “chronology of the unrolling book” that the author designs to create a “poetic reality and poetic time” (Zetzel (1980a) 64; cf. Anderson (1986)). Horace introduces his *persona* and his key satiric themes through significant transitions, groupings of poems, and metaphors. The set of stories he tells relates to various traditional satiric agendas including entertainment, aggression, and punishment (Keane (2006)). *Sermones* 1 is a model for Persius’ shorter book, although the latter poet uses a different assembly of characters and different constructions of satire’s mission.

The most important traditional programmatic theme in Persius’ self-presentation is the satirist’s claims, both implicit and explicit, to teach his audience. Like other ancient didactic poets, Persius aims to create a sense of didactic progress within his book while making this process itself captivating enough to prompt readers to return and reread (cf. Fowler (2000)). The story about teaching in the Satires acknowledges the ongoing challenges of integrating Stoic principles into daily life, and features both student and teacher figures engaged in this project (Henderson (1991); cf. Keane (2006) 121–27). The eternal need for self-teaching is conveyed by Persius’ own prominent role in this didactic plot – a role that even overshadows that of the poetry’s external beneficiaries. To this end, the poet’s pose changes from poem to poem, and often contains paradoxes. Persius begins by adopting the *persona* of a mischievous child who is nevertheless wiser than his foolish critics – and, it could be inferred, his readers (1.8–12, 112–14). In subsequent poems he seems to have “graduated” to the status of teacher and adult, although he has occasion to revive the useful dichotomy of childish insight and adult affectation (Reckford (2009) 144–50).

Satire 3 is a particularly complex example: while a clear didactic theme may be identified within (namely, the Stoic idea that foolishness is a kind of madness), the didactic content is not delivered unidirectionally or by an identifiable, stable authority. Rather, this didactic process gets under way as didactic authority shifts and creatively adapts. The poem begins with one voice speaking, directing criticisms at a snoring student, but soon the student wakes to defend himself, and parts of the ensuing “lecture” appear to be driven by his interjections. The division of speakers is unclear as it is; complicating this further, Persius’ position in the dialogue is somewhat uncertain. Either the lazy student or the lecturer, identified only as a “friend,” could conceivably be identified with the scholarly young poet; it has even been argued that the poem represents Persius’ inner didactic dialogue (Housman (1913)). Even if the lecturer is meant to be identified as Persius, however, he notably uses his familiarity with the experience of studenthood to reach his listener: not only have both had Stoic training, but both know what it is like to shirk student duties (44–47). Here, then, we have a case of intimate, uncomfortable satiric interrogation that nevertheless brings teacher and student together, challenging black-and-white notions about moral and rhetorical authority. And throughout the book, Persius’ shifting poses and lines of inquiry suggest multiple stories about the educational process: the poet’s own personal and ongoing growth, his regression to a childish mindset to contemplate the changes in him, and his experience as teacher with different kinds of students.

In *Satire 5*, Persius’ position is also strikingly ambiguous: the poet addresses his former tutor, first reminiscing about his days under Cornutus’ tutelage, but then commencing another lecture on a Stoic theme (true freedom) that could be read as a graduated student’s virtuoso performance or even an assertion of Persius’ own qualifications as a teacher. It may be right to view this poem as the climax of a didactic plot centered on Persius himself, since it is followed by the epistle to Bassus, in which the poet appears to have removed himself from society and to be confidently enjoying a kind of retirement. As *Satire 6* progresses, Persius even poses as an aging adult on his way out of the world, staging a dialogue with an heir who covets his wealth. Because the real poet was no old man, we are justified in looking for metaphorical significance in this dialogue. Several persuasive interpretations construe the “legacy” in question as a symbol of Persius’ poetry itself (Henderson (1991) 135–36; Hooley (1997) 154–74; Freudenburg (2001) 195–208). The poem seems to recognize Persius’ imminent exit from the poetic scene – although the satirist may have been imagining himself as a Horace, bound to return for a Book 2, and not as a voice about to be silenced forever.

The metapoetic reading of the legacy dialogue suggests that we pay attention to another overarching story in the book, one that becomes most relevant in this final poem: Persius’ readers have been enjoying his “wealth,” but the

period of sharing is coming to an end. In *Satire* 6, the “old” Persius declares his intention to enjoy and use what he possesses (*utare ego, utar*, 22), rejects his heir’s pleas to hoard it intact, and mimes the act of using it up as the poem nears its end. His pose recalls the satiated and contented dinner-guest, the *convivua satur*, whom Horace invokes as a model for anyone about to depart from life (*Sat.* 1.1.119). Like the guest who is able to enjoy the meal allotted to him, Persius chooses to enjoy what he possesses, which is neither too much nor too little. In the Horatian passage, the sentiment is generalized, and as relevant to poetics (for Horace must also exit his first poem gracefully) as to life itself. Persius, in contrast, applies the principle literally and personally to himself – perhaps unaware of how close he was to demonstrating it once and for all.

This miniature drama has an irony in it. Persius poses as a taker, choosing to withhold his “wealth” and direct it toward his own pleasure. At the same time, the gesture that defines this final satire is belied by the real consequences of the book-ending. The real poet’s heirs – his editors – *will* come into possession of the treasure that is Persius’ book, and will make it possible for still others to gain access to it. In this fact lies one final challenge for readers who see themselves as participating in a didactic plot: an implicit exhortation not to treat their inheritance in the way Persius’ self-centered heir would. The greedy heir, a standard unsympathetic stock character in ancient literature, is here anxious to preserve and even multiply his wealth: “there’s something missing from the total,” he complains (64), and he eagerly responds to Persius’ sarcastic order to double his capital (“done; three, four, ten times over it comes into my purse,” 78–79). Persius’ ideal reader should also see the book as an investment, but as one that must be multiplied in a very different way: although the *sermo* is over, the reader can unroll the story and examine its twists and turns all over again, growing pale with the effort (cf. 1.124).

Where does Persius go in this moment of ambiguous closure? According to Malamud (1996), he has found a way to escape from a system that he criticizes and resists throughout the entire book. For another narrative underlying the series of poems involves Rome’s culture of relentless consumption, exchange, and commodification. Against the backdrop of this world, Persius promotes a poetic and ethical code that defies the rules of commerce. Where other poets read out loud in search of praise, Persius brushes off the public and buries his work (*Satire* 1). Where the greedy calculate how to buy material blessings with lavish offerings to the gods, Persius recommends inexpensive but sincere sacrifices offered in exchange for intangible goods (*Satire* 2). To the politician who essentially sells himself for public acclaim, Persius advocates internally directed ethical work instead (*Satire* 4). Rather than summon a hundred mouths to perform adequate praise for his addressee in *Satire* 5, the satirist whittles down his expression of gratitude to simple and quiet terms, though he is giving thanks for his moral salvation. Finally, in *Satire* 6, Persius finishes

dramatizing his self-removal from Rome's "consumptive model of perpetual exchange" (Malamud (1996) 61). He poses not only as a man determined to keep his property from being passed on (to the undeserving at least), but – through his poetic allusions in the opening passage – as a new Ennius who participates in a tradition of poetic metempsychosis (cf. Hooley (1997) 161). Poetic immortality of this nature is a way of escaping commodification. Ironically, it is also a way of unraveling any closure that appears to come with the end of the book. The end is also a beginning – an idea that makes some manuscripts' placement of the choliambic "Prologue" at the end seem quite fitting.

The case of Persius underscores the particular difficulty of creating closure in the "stuffed" genre of satire (*satura*), where determining what is enough (*satis*) is a matter of both moral and aesthetic import (cf. Schlegel (2005) 19–37 on the theme in Horace). The genre's favorite subjects, human excess and discontent, make closure a special challenge: as Reckford (2009) 143 puts it, "how should one end a satire, or indeed, a collection of satires, when the stuff of satire increases exponentially together with greed itself?" As if to emphasize this potential for endless increase in satiric material and satiric discourse alike, Persius closes *Satire* 6 with two images of counting and manipulation of piles. After bidding the greedy heir to play merchant and pile up his profits until he feels satisfied, the poet compares that seemingly unending quest to that of the Stoic Chrysippus, who attempted to solve the question of how few grains it takes to make a "heap" (*aceruus*, 80). Two piles and two evidently endless missions, crammed into the last lines of the last poem of Persius' book, only intensify the sense of a premature ending, and of Persius' deliberate exclusion of what he deemed *too* much. We might imagine, going by the metaphor in the ancient *Vita* of the book's first readers eagerly "tearing it apart," that these fans hoped to find more precious items hidden in its folds.

4.3 The Stuff of the Book

The narratives of poetry books respond to and manipulate the texts' material form and limitations. In imperial poetry, textual materiality is thematized in many ways (cf. Roman (2001)). Literary texts can also be conceived as having metaphorical materiality, and one widespread programmatic theme revolves around the metaphors of literature as food and reception as consumption. Latin literary-critical language is replete with metaphors of gastronomy and related wordplay; we find references to the flavor, density, and composition of literary works (cf. Bramble (1974) 45–59; Gowers (1993b) 40–46). A few common terms are the multivalent noun *sal* ("salt/wit") and verb *sapio* ("know about/have the flavor of," cf. Martial 10.4.10), the participle *conditus*

(“seasoned/composed”), the opposed adjectives *pinguis* and *tenuis* (“fat/ponderous” and “thin/light”), and the homonyms *ius* (“sauce”) and *ius* (“law”). Terms like these are especially relevant to satire, not just because the genre already concerns itself with everyday subjects like eating, but because the genre was speculated in antiquity to have been named after a “loaded platter” (*satura lanx*, according to the often-quoted claim of the grammarian Diomedes, 1.485 Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*). Satire’s food-like qualities are advertised in Juvenal’s famous characterization of his poetic material as “fodder” (*farrago*, 1.86) and Persius’ description of his book as “something rather boiled-down” (*aliquid decoctius*, 1.125). From Gowers’ ((1993b) 180) discussion of the literal senses and metaphorical implications of the verb *decoquo*, we may understand that it evokes density, an intense – even violent – process of creation, and a strong flavor and smell.

An apt metaphor for Persius’ condensed and jarring style, *decoctius* also nicely represents the way the Satires pack such a large amount of gastronomic imagery into a small space, thereby immersing the reader in all kinds of imaginary tastes and smells. Here as elsewhere, then, Persius’ programmatic language reflects a larger pattern in the world portrayed in the Satires. Persius’ book abounds with images of food and consumption (see also in this volume Bartsch, Chapter 10). As in other satire, such images enhance both moral and aesthetic commentary. What and how people eat can illuminate their moral character and advertise their aesthetic taste. In more metaphorical senses, food that is heavy or simple or exotic can symbolize certain states of moral health or literary styles. Accordingly, though its uses and appearances are varied, food is everywhere in Persius, far more abundant than the “controlling metaphors” associated with particular poems (Dessen (1968)). It can be wasted, as in the haunting image of excessive animal sacrifice at 2.44–51 (the man who irrationally seeks prosperity by letting “the innards of so many heifers melt in the flames”). It can be morally fortifying, like the “pulse and hearty porridge” that feeds Stoics (3.55), or dangerously rich, like the big meal that a man carries undigested to his bath, and hence to his death (3.98–106). Food can also have a life of its own as poetic material, like the cannibalistic feasts of tragedy that Persius imagines actually feeding tragic actors and poets, representing their pretension (5.5–18). At the poet’s retreat on the coast, simple greens are enhanced by a liberal topping of oil (6.68–69) in a combination of two key satiric virtues: gastronomic simplicity and sensible, pleasurable expenditure. This is a handful of examples from a substantial pool of vivid and often strange images.

With its imagined unique recipe, flavor, and following, Persius’ book takes its place among other aesthetically and morally significant foodstuffs of the Satires. The programmatic phrase *aliquid decoctius* allows us to see the Satires from two food-related angles: the book is both a boiled-down reduction of the

food-filled world Persius sees around him, and a brew created for the reader's consumption. This brew marks its reader as having a refined poetic "palate," continuing the theme of separation of the enlightened from the foolish crowd. Just like the reading of moral criticism, however, consumption also has internal and private consequences. The self-selecting reader is responsible for absorbing and internalizing a text that might feel invasive, startling, nourishing, and even transforming. This is part of the experience too, and ideally will result in the pallor of intellectual excitement (1.124) rather than the pallor of overindulgence (3.94). Persius' reader needs to take from the act of consumption not a grotesque foot-and-a-half long paunch like those of pretentious literary patrons (1.57), but this perfect interior concoction: "justice and right blended together in the spirit, pure inner chambers of the mind, and a heart steeped in noble honor" (*conpositum ius fasque animo sanctosque recessus|mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto*, 2.73–74). It is a paradox of Persius' intense brew that it contains embedded within it this pure and balanced recipe; by identifying the latter as the ultimate desideratum, Persius gives his own concoction an even greater sense of power and mystery.

It is also worth considering how Persius' representation of his poetry as a potent brew may be implicated not only with food's aesthetic, poetic, and personal moral significance, but also with its significance as a centerpiece in social interactions and exchanges. Even the study-bound reader of Old Comedy who picks up Persius' book can be seen as interacting with the creator of his "feast"; the Greek texts certainly seem animated in his eyes ("bold Cratinus . . . fired-up Eupolis . . . the grand old man," 1.123–24). The intimate didactic scenario of Persius' text also indicates that metaphorical consumption has a social dimension. This is true of literal eating in Roman society and in the world of the Satires. Meals were a key part of Persius' meaningful study with Cornutus: "I remember . . . enjoying [or "plucking" for consumption, *decerpere*] early evenings in meals with you" (5.41–42). A less palatable example that is nevertheless authentically Persius comes in *Satire* 3: in the lecture to the student just shaking off his hangover, the remnants of a meal (at least, the liquid part) are still in the air ("we're snoring a snore that is enough to dispel the froth off a Falernian hangover," 3.3–4). The residue of late-night drinking contrasts starkly with the lifestyle Persius holds up as the student's true calling: the ways of the Stoic school, in which "shorn and sleepless young men stay up late, fed on beans and coarse porridge" (3.54–55). This kind of eating has moral and social import; the mundane details become part of the greater meaning.

Persius' memories and admonitions suggest that a shared meal focusing on simple fare and integrated into a program of philosophical study is a fruitful educational scenario. Persius' consuming reader, privy to the poet's treasured memories of Cornutus, should envy this, for it is not the scenario that the poet

is offering to outsiders. The feast – in this case, an entirely metaphorical one – to which the reader of the Satires is invited is more lopsided. The host and cook, Persius, serves up his concentrated satire to a reader who, though willing, is not the poet's equal in any sense. In another manifestation of the inherent inequality of satiric *sermo*, the reader necessarily dines alone even though the poet is present in the text and filling his reader's ears. Just as in the "eavesdropping" situations noted above, the reader may own the book without having full access to the private and – more important – equal gatherings briefly but evocatively described therein. This idea is driven home near the end of the book, when Persius – in his carefree retreat, metaphorical or not – boldly calls for extra dressing for his greens (6.68–69) and brushes off his greedy heir. The external reader cannot be confident of being included in the self-satisfied poet's enlightened feast. It is just as possible that Persius is shooing off the reader with the unhappy heir, fated to gloat over a pile of wealth while the happy poet enjoys his own goods unwatched. In that case, this act of exclusion may represent one more attempt to make this text defy the laws of material, consumable things and live forever.

4.4 The Sensations of the Book

The consumption metaphor suggests still other ways of conceiving the reading experience. There are other material qualities that Persius implicitly or explicitly attributes to his work and appears to prize; we may view these comprehensively as the work's sensual profile. As the recalcitrant student in *Satire 3* complains, the act of writing can have an intense – and frustrating – physicality: "a thick blob of ink hangs from the pen, but when water is added, the black cuttlefish-juice is thinned away . . . [and] the reed makes pairs of diluted drops" (*crassus calamo . . . pendeat umor, | nigra sed infusa uanescit sepia lympa, | dilutas . . . geminet . . . fistula guttas*, 3.12–14). Reading, too, can be physical and sensual. The excited reader of Old Comedy is "puffed up by" or "inflated with" the stimulating texts (*adflate*, 1.123), and – in some miraculous conflation of the senses of hearing and taste – he "has an ear for" (*audis*, 125) the *decoctius* poetry of Persius. The same material text that serves as the imagination's point of access to a quasi-private world also presents literal sensations – there is the weight and texture of the *libellus*, the warmth of the lamp, the physical effects of prolonged study (*palles*, 1.124).

The satirist endows his satire with physical powers as well, powers so diverse as to imply that the general impression of sensory effects matters more than the potential metaphorical meaning of each characteristic. Persius' poetry, though most will read it rather than hear it, "scrapes [his audience's]

tender ears with biting truth" (*teneras mordaci radere uero | auriculas*, 1.107–8). *Satire* 5 describes a similar agenda to "scrape at degenerate ways" and "stab fault" (*pallentis radere mores . . . et . . . culpam defigere*, 5.15–16). While these slightly obscure lines may actually represent Persius' description of Cornutus' teaching, as distinct from his own verse, they are clearly meant to be associated with Persius' harsh and penetrating satire. The same passage also praises the "sharp joint" or "combination," the *iunctura acris* (5.14). This phrase too, whether it applies to Persius' poetry or Cornutus' teaching, has programmatic import. It suggests force of expression achieved through unique phrasing (with some room for interpretation of what constitutes *acris*, as seen in the ancient commentary in Jahn (1843) 321–22; see Dessen (1968) vii–viii, Bellandi (1988), and Nikitinski (2002) 203). The phrase reads like a challenge to what Persius complains (1.64–65) is the current taste for the smooth *iunctura*, prized by both the neo-Alexandrian aesthetic and composition-oriented Epicurean stylistic theory. Persius sums up the modern fad as a desire to make poetry "flow with smooth rhythm, letting critical nails run over it easily." This is the very opposite of what Persius aims to achieve (for more on Persius' critical perspective, see in this volume McNelis, Chapter 11).

As part of his agenda to revitalize or demolish such tired critical metaphors (Bramble (1974) 58), Persius claims to be intensifying the sensory impact of poetry. Scholars confirm his success when they declare that Persius uses "strong, sharp words" to describe verse he admires (Dessen (1968) 35), and that he "likes the forceful verb, the noun or adjective which rasps upon our ears, the sudden image which evokes something unpleasant" (Anderson (1982) 186). Putting things in medicinal terms, Gowers (1993b) 181 writes that "instead of soothing his readers, [Persius] stings them with a biting solution of vinegary truth or purges them with hellebore." We may note that he recommends poets seek sensory experience too, by pounding the couch and chewing their fingernails (1.106). In fact, Persius' view of the literary scene is partly defined by his attribution of physical qualities to all poetry, good and bad. In *Satire* 1, producing and consuming *any* verse is a very physical business. Poetry is alternately figured as an invading scalpel that scrapes listeners' innards (*tremulo scalpuntur . . . intima uersu*, 21), as a growth that ferments and bursts from the poet's guts (24–25); as something rotten, wet, and frothy (*rancidulum*, 33; *spumosum*, 96), something strained from the tongue (*eliquat*, 35) or floating in the lips' saliva (104–105).

The characteristics of poetry depicted in *Satire* 1 are representative of many other aspects of the world as Persius goes on to describe it throughout the Satires. This world is weighed down with flesh and sickness; it is dyspeptic, putrid and runny; it is even noisy with scraping, sizzling, and

of course – starting with the dialogue that opens *Satire* 1 – carping human voices. Though his fellow satirists also explore the bodily grotesque and the seamy aspects of human experience, Persius’ poetry is especially packed with sensation-suggesting images like ejaculating eyes (1.18), melting animal flesh (2.47), and boiled buttocks (4.40). The emphasis on physicality, and particularly problematic physicality, creates rich metaphors for different kinds of moral failure: leaky orifices can symbolize inadequate self-regulation, deterioration of the flesh points to maladies of the soul, excessive self-grooming reflects inauthenticity or a kind of moral sterility, and so on (see, e.g., Dessen (1968), Reckford (1998), and Miller (1998)). At the same time, given Persius’ liking for “strong, sharp” poetry and his multifaceted description of his own work, it is reasonable to entertain the idea that these images have non-metaphorical functions. The grotesque and the curious engage readers in more than just intellectual ways, especially when they come as hard, fast, and varied as they do in Persius.

At the same time, the images in the *Satires* can be seen as playing a part in the text’s peculiar didactic program. As a Stoic, Persius would be justified in using visceral and sensory engagement to teach an audience that may be insensitive to its own failings. Stoics were traditionally fond of analogies from the body and the physical world, but they also had an interest in the material and the sensory *per se*, as components of the cognitive process (*SVF* 2.52–89). Persius caricatures Stoics as scholars who choose to endure plain food (3.55) and unpleasant sensation (one Stoic has “his ears rinsed out with biting vinegar,” *aurem mordaci lotus aceto*, 5.86). Even more important, according to Stoic thought about knowledge and learning, sensory experience plays a role in the process of comprehension: words make a kind of physical impression on the reader or listener, who is then required to “assent” to the impression and, ideally, to become more aware of the nature of the external object being accurately or falsely represented (Arthur (1983)). In their own speech, Stoics preferred a style that made especially marked impressions, employing striking imagery, odd descriptors, brevity, and onomatopoeia. This is an aesthetic that privileges “sharp joints” and “sharp words” over arrangement that leads the audience gently through unfolding ideas. This kind of thinking appears to underlie Persius’ clipped and challenging style, which invites the reader to play a constant “game of discovery” of the significance of images (Cucchiarelli (2005) 74).

Whether or not the Stoic explanation is correct and Persius’ words provoke his audience’s senses, we may say that the poet’s pictures of the afflicted and colorful world stimulate imaginary sensations. Persius also represents, chillingly, the numbness associated with lack of moral concern or engagement (3.31–34):

non pudet ad morem discincti uiuere Natti?
sed stupet hic uitio et fibris increuit opimum
pingue, caret culpa, nescit quid perdat, et alto
demersus summa rursus non bullit in unda.

Doesn't it shame you to live in the manner of unbelted Natta?
But that man is paralyzed by vice and thick fat has grown
over his guts; he lacks guilt, doesn't know what he's losing, and buried
deep down he doesn't make a bubble on the water's surface.

The participle *discinctus* that Persius applies to the dissolute Natta normally implies unrestrained sensuality or affectation. In this case, however, that sense is belied by the real problem of the man who is "paralyzed by vice." Natta's sensory deprivation, alternately figured as a physical and psychological malady, is both his symptom and his disease. One remedy, we can deduce, is a thorough scrubbing with Persius' vinegary satire.

Persius has generic as well as philosophical reasons to make his book assault readers' senses. It is traditional for a satirist both to inflict sensations and be afflicted with them, as we may infer from the warning of Persius' critic that "the thresholds of great men may grow cold on you; here sounds the canine letter" (1.108–9). Horace, too, was warned that "some friend of the great might strike you with a chill" (*Sat.* 2.1.61–62). Persius, in borrowing the Horatian passage, adds a Lucilian element with the ambiguous reference to the "letter" *rrr*, the dog's growl (cf. Lucilius fragment 3–4 W). In Persius the growl may represent metaphorical or literal dogs at "great men's thresholds" repelling the poet, or the satirist's poetry itself, which inflicts unpleasant stimuli on the world. In either case, it seems clear that Persius would face harsh sensations with bravado, further justifying his own harassment of others. Moreover, all the satirists figure their work as a kind of physical assault (cf. Keane (2006) 42–72). Satire strips off false hides; it is a brandished sword (cf. Horace *Sat.* 2.1.64–65 and Juvenal 1.165). Thus Persius spins the history of the genre as a history of attack (1.114–18): Lucilius "cut" or "bit" his victims, Horace "touched" his – a gentler image that nonetheless fits right into an overall account of satire as aggression (see in this volume Rosen, Chapter 1).

Persius' unique and most pungent sensory symbol of his iconoclastic satire appears when he imagines his censorious critics threatening him as they would naughty children: "I forbid anyone to make a stink here . . . this place is sacred, piss elsewhere" ("*hic . . . ueto quisquam faxit oletum . . . pueri, sacer est locus, extra meiite*" 1.112–14). The "sacred space," of course, is convention and decorum, which the poet aims to defy and foul. Urinary imagery is particularly appropriate to the "staining," priapic genre of satire (Richlin (1992) 187), but

it also has a place in the larger complex of Persius' representations of his corporeal, sense-assaulting work.

4.5 The Seriousness of the Book

This childlike satirist, as we have seen, has other faces, and offers up his satire in many imaginary material forms. The pissing boy is transformed into a mature student who addresses his former tutor in *Satire* 5, calling on him to “knock on” his words, to “determine what rings solid and what’s just decoration of a painted tongue” (*pulsa, dinoscere cautus | quid solidum crepet et pictae tectoria linguae*, 5.24–25). It does not take a trained Stoic to appreciate these striking analogies; other readers should be just as prepared as Cornutus to think in these terms, for they have already been made to imagine the weight, size, texture, sound, and flavor of Persius' work. The implicit promise of solidity in Persius' words also counters negative imagery of the broken, split, flabby, leaking, and dissolving bodies and objects depicted across the Satires. In a variation on the same theme, Horace admonishes one young addressee in the *Epistles* that a cracked vessel (representing the mind) will let its contents rot (*sincerum est nisi uas, quodcumque infundis acescit*, *Epist.* 1.2.54). While Persius comes across as more tolerant of, even intrigued by, a wide range of physical properties and sensations, his words to Cornutus make clear that he prizes his book as something solid and *sincerus*.

The question of whether the book of Satires can actually be judged in these terms is less important than the overall impression of enigmatic materiality that the poet successfully conjures. The book is meant to be felt and examined, and its materiality itself—even the imaginary kind, which impossibly conveys smells, tastes, and textures—offers a kind of simple pleasure. This poetic offering to the “rites of the bards,” small enough for the poet to carry (*Prol.* 6–7), is Persius' trimmed-down answer to a heavier material symbol, the ivy-licked busts of grand poets (*imagines lambunt | hederæ sequaces*, 5–6). Over a lifeless and ponderous representation of himself, Persius chooses to be represented by an object that is equally long-lasting, but unique and separate from himself.

That is not to say that the book's pleasures are not connected to its more intangible gifts. Just as the “retired” Persius is entitled to enjoy his simple feast as an accomplished student and teacher in *Satire* 6, the poet's readers may harvest the strange pleasures of the Satires even as they struggle to grasp the book's teachings. Objects can have uses, too; Persius shows a certain appreciation of functional objects and shapes, such as the sand-covered table and cones of the mathematician (1.131–32) and the visualized heap of grain that so absorbed Chrysippus and that stands as the final image of *Satire* 6 (6.80). In the lecture of *Satire* 3 he even describes, with indulgence and a hint of

nostalgia, the common equipment of childhood and the satisfying miniature dramas centered on it (3.48–51):

etenim id summum, quid dexter senio ferret,
scire erat in uoto, damnosa canicula quantum
raderet, angustae collo non fallier orcae,
neu quis callidior buxum torquere flagello.

[Back then] the highest object of my prayers was to know
what the lucky six would bring me, and how much the harmful dog-throw
would strip away; not to be tripped up as I aimed for the narrow neck of the jar;
for no one to surpass my skill at spinning the wooden top with the strap.

This vignette is meant to contrast with the serious pursuits of philosophy students (3.52–57), but we may note certain analogies between the child's play and the representation of the student's very physical (or metaphorically physical) activities: "detecting crooked morals," cropping the hair close, enduring rough food, and internalizing the image of the forked upsilon that symbolizes the paths of virtue and vice. Play could be practice for the puzzles and tests of studenthood, as both entail repetitive and skill-building use of tools. Both therefore serve as plausible models for the experience of wrestling with Persius' challenging and pleasing book.

That Persius sees value in play is also suggested in the opening programmatic declaration of *Satire* 1. There, the poet confesses that he is amused by "our white hair and severe way of living, and everything we do once we've left marbles behind and smack of wise old uncles" (*canitiem et nostrum istud uiuere triste . . . et nucibus facimus quaecumque relictis | cum sapimus patruos*, 1.9–11). Contrasted with the affected style of adulthood (figured by *sapimus* as inauthentic "taste"), the world of the child appears devoid of satire-worthy foolishness, even if it also lacks moral purpose. Marbles (literally "nuts;" cf. Catullus 61.131; Martial 14.19; Suetonius *Aug.* 83) concisely represent that world, while their abandonment heralds a kind of decline. This sheds a new light on Persius' pose as a mischievous boy toward the end of the poem. In his satire, the poet will borrow both the happy concentration of the marble-player and the rebelliousness of the naughty boy, balancing these qualities with moral and scholarly zeal to create his unique and variable satiric *persona*.

Where the satirist is at play, readers have an opportunity to join him. Persius' book, with its complex materiality and its built-in dramas, is a useful object too, a tool that combines the best aspects of play and study. The book can and should be reread for its buried truths, twisted allusions, and enigmatic narrative. Persius' ideal reader, who grows pale over the ancient texts of Old Comedy, should consider it natural to make engagement with Persius'

book a regular ritual, though the outcome of this ritual will and should vary. For external readers too, rereading can enhance the impression of the book's coherence, unity, and narrative movement. It may also gradually create the gratifying illusion that the reader is being allowed to enter the world of the book, perhaps to share in the poet's ultimate feast.

FURTHER READING

One benefit of the small size of Persius' corpus is that most modern studies of the satirist discuss the shape and coherence of whole book to some degree. A recent and comprehensive book-length study of the Satires is Reckford (2009), which covers topics including Persius' private discourse and the problem of closure.

Other works that discuss Persius' private language include Anderson (1966), reprinted in Anderson (1982), and Relihan (1989); the former work sees alienation and anger in Persius' *persona*, the latter purposeful interior communication. On private discourse as a framework for teaching see Henderson (1991), reprinted in Henderson (1999) 228–48, and Keane (2006) 121–27, where Persius' didactic style is situated within the larger satiric tradition. On the subject of Persius' idiosyncratic poetics, Italian scholars have made an extensive contribution; a book-length example is Bellandi (1988). The interiority of Persius' moral inquiry is related to his views on the commercial world, as Malamud (1996) argues. Persius' engagement with his literary "inheritance" is discussed from different angles in Hooley (1997), Freudenburg (2001) 125–208, and Tzounakas (2005).

Persius' corporeal imagery was first extensively explored and contextualized in ancient literature and philosophy in Bramble (1974) 22–66. Gowers (1993b), in a definitive study of food in Roman literature, devotes a section to Persius. Other corporeal imagery is treated in Dessen's (1968) study of the "controlling metaphors" of Persius' poems. There is little discussion in scholarship of Persius' text as a material object, though Hooley's (1997) study of Persius' fragmentation of his source-texts is metaphorically relevant. For useful parallels, Roman (2001) offers a dense and illuminating study of the representation of the material text in Martial; while he does not discuss Persius' book, Roman does consider both Horace and Juvenal in contextualizing Martial's self-presentation within "first-person poetry" of the empire.

CHAPTER FIVE

Juvenal: The Idea of the Book

Barbara K. Gold

5.1 Introduction: How Many Juvenals?

It was once thought by many readers that there were two different writers of satire named Juvenal. Indeed Otto Ribbeck said in his book *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal* (*The Real and the False Juvenal* (1865)) that only the first poems of Juvenal were genuine, but the later poems were spurious. It is true that there is a harsh declamatory note in the earlier Satires (1–6) that softens a bit into a more ironic and meditative tone in many of the later Satires (7–16 or perhaps 9–16); true also that Juvenal in later poems seems less inclined to follow the path of his illustrious predecessor Lucilius (“the mighty son of Aurunca,” who roared in a blazing trail with his sword drawn, producing horror and sweat in his guilty listeners, 1.19–21, 165–66) and more inclined toward the gentler voice of Horace (1.51). After describing Lucilius’ aggressive approach to satire and asking why he himself should choose to cover the same ground, Juvenal says, “if you have free time and can listen in a receptive way (*placidi*) to my account of how I approach satire, I’ll tell you” (1.21).

But let us not imagine that there were two satirists named Juvenal, one an angry denunciator and one an ironic, mild-mannered and good-humored old gentleman. Or imagine that Juvenal himself did an abrupt about-face someplace around *Satire 7* or *Satire 9*, giving up his harsh old ways for a kinder, gentler demeanor. No: the style, the tone, and the rhetorical techniques that we see in the first Satire of Juvenal – the very ones that made him the template and model for so much later satire (as Hooley says, Juvenal had “come to possess the genre . . . [he] came to mean satire”; Hooley (2007b) 130) – seep through in many of his later Satires, and there is a greater consistency of writing

style than many critics would have us believe, even amidst the lively variety of tones and voices we see throughout the sixteen Satires. Henderson nicely encapsulates Juvenal's dance between consistency and variation in tone when he says "on a flying visit, *this* guide would try out for size the idea that the frenzy of Juvenal persists through convulsive sketches where quasi-Horatian attempts to anchor the gaze to irenic catalysts founder on our declaimer, who can't help but lapse into backsliding rodomontade to spare his ulcer" (Henderson (2005) 314–15).

Although Juvenal is not like Persius, a miniaturist whose oeuvre is small and easier to characterize as a whole entity, but is rather a writer whose work is marked by its length, range of subjects, and wealth of different tonal registers, he nonetheless exhibits certain consistencies in theme and tone that will lead us to contemplate his internal consistency and intratextuality (see in this volume Keane, Chapter 4, on Persius' Satires, and Roche, Chapter 9, for further perspectives on Juvenal).

But there is another important point to consider before we try to argue that there is just one *echte* Juvenal. Satire is, by its very nature, a *farrago*, a hodge-podge, as Juvenal calls it in *Satire* 1 (1.85–86), and Juvenal certainly of all the Roman satirists takes the lead in creating a literary *farrago*. The word will be of interest to us for several reasons. It is a programmatic word in Juvenal's important first Satire, which lays the groundwork for all that is to come. It means literally a "mixed animal feed" and so points to the essential mixed nature of satire as a genre (this essential feature dates back to one of its founders, Ennius). It may also be linked to one of the meanings of the Latin word *satura*, which comes from the word for "full" (*satur*) and can refer to a *lanx satura*, a plate of mixed first fruits sometimes offered to a god (Cloud and Braund (1982) 78; Coffey (1976) 12–17). In addition to defining the very nature of the genre, it also points in a self-reflexive way to the materiality of Juvenal's Satires. Unlike many poets who focus obviously on the material nature of their poetry (Catullus, Horace, Martial), or Persius who uses metaphorical language to allude to the materiality of his work (see Keane in this volume, Chapter 4), Juvenal is much less interested in describing the external materiality of his poetry books (their shape, color, or wrapping). Rather he foregrounds their connection to a lowly form of comestible material; thus he marks his satire as a low, not lofty form of literary output while at the same time linking it to one of his favorite topics, food and dining (a theme found throughout his Satires, especially 4, 5, and 11). The Satires are composed of what they describe, food, but food presented in a decidedly low-class manner.

Thus the term *farrago* defines both the subject matter and material of satire, and its mixed, incoherent nature. As Barr says, one of satire's charms is "the very desultoriness of its nature" (Barr (1991) xviii). Juvenal's Satires are

defined by their messiness, their exuberance, their stuffed-fulledness. Many readers and critics have been prevented from seeing any coherence in him because there is a feeling that, unlike many of his predecessors, he cannot be easily or comfortably summarized, explained, or put into a neat grid.

One problem with trying to summarize Juvenal's Satires is that Juvenal's force and charm lie in his vivid exempla, in his eye for specificity and visual details, and in his ability to knock us off our feet with his instinct for finding just the right way of saying something. We are bound by the details in his verse and cannot enervate him, nullifying such pictorially realistic touches by submitting them to a dulling summarizing scholarly analysis. This would be a bit like trying to analyze a joke: the drive towards logical definition and analysis takes the sting out of the humor and deflates the point of the joke. How can we read Juvenal in such a way that his sharp-tongued humor and vivid depiction stay alive while we poke, prod and dissect him?

I argue here for an approach to reading Juvenal that allows for (in fact, revels in) the messy, vibrant, full character of his satire while discerning in Juvenal's sixteen Satires a continuing thread of themes, tones, and words that evolve and act as an intertextual and intratextual ongoing commentary on their earlier counterparts in previous Satires of Juvenal (of course these evolving Satires also act as an intertextual comment on the Satires of Juvenal's predecessors like Lucilius, Horace, and Persius, but this will not be a topic for our conversation).

Two further terms need to be defined: intertextuality and intratextuality. Normally we would apply the term "intertextuality" to references an author makes to the works of other authors, and "intratextuality" to internal references an author makes to other parts of his or her own work. In the case of Juvenal, the use of these terms is less clear, for Juvenal composed not one unified work but five separate books of Satires (see Cloud and Braund (1982); Anderson (1986); Hutchinson (2008)). Recent scholars have tended to look at books of poetry (as well as letters, e.g., Henderson (2002)) as cohesive wholes, as many individual units that interact and develop to create a larger, more meaningful unit, and not as many subunits that exist in a vacuum, unconnected to their neighbors and to earlier poems. So, as Cloud and Braund point out, early grammarians often refer to the book of poems rather than to a particular poem, a fact that indicates to us that the book and not the individual poem was the "significant conceptual unit" (Cloud and Braund (1982) 77). It is clear that many poets planned their poems to be part of a book and that each individual poem is "affected by, and itself affects, the growing sense of design . . . as the poems accumulate, their themes and images intersect" (Anderson (1986) 47). Meanings multiply (Hutchinson (2008) 2). But this need not mean that we should anticipate a complete consistency of themes, ideas, and characters. Another principle of organization in Roman poetry books was *uariatio*, "variety" (Anderson (1986) 46). Thus we should expect to find,

within a developing book of poems, themes, tones, and characters that repeat but in interesting, unexpected ways and not in predictable patterns, to find a “progressive variation” (Van Sickle (1980) 31).

We might then anticipate that Juvenal would compose in the larger unit of books rather than individual poems, introducing themes important to his mission as he builds his corpus, expanding on these themes by using them with varying scenarios and exempla, and constructing finally a picture of Rome that becomes whole only as it finally reflects on and succeeds its many earlier parts. The picture can be read forwards, as we progress through Book 1, and backwards, as we come to Book 5 (*Satires* 13–16). Many themes and characters make up this rich *farrago*, but the basis of the *farrago* is *Romanitas*, or what it means to identify as Roman. Every idea in Juvenal’s five books ultimately defines *Romanitas* by exemplifying an aspect of it or by occupying the position of its opposite. In the remainder of this essay, I will explore the way Juvenal builds his nexus of connections by looking at particular major topics and examples of interconnected passages that reveal this progressive variation (and when I refer to “Juvenal,” I mean the narrator or speaker in any given Satire or passage and not the particular historical individual).

5.2 Sex and Deviant Bodies in Rome

One of Juvenal’s primary fascinations – perhaps his greatest obsession – is the way that deviant gender roles and the use of bodies define the behavior of the Roman citizen. Juvenal’s Satires are littered with sexual deviants, males acting like females, and females playing male roles; in short, littered with characters who step out of their boundaries and confound the comfortable sexual dimorphism that the satirist thinks should mark a well-ordered society. The satirist seems to wish for men who look and act like men and women who look and act like women. There should be no slippage between external and internal traits, behaviors, and styles; the outer appearance should match internal qualities. So in *Satire* 11.154, Juvenal says *ingenui uultus puer ingenuique pudoris* (“a boy with a well-bred face and a well-bred sense of decency”).

But there are precious few such uniform figures in the Satires. We are much more likely to hear about *cinaedi* (a hard-to-translate Greek word that can refer to any male sexually deviant figure, but often denotes male cross-dressers, men who behave like women, men who dance in a flirtatious and lascivious way, men who are “effeminate,” and men who like to be sexually penetrated by other men), sodomites, eunuchs who marry, women who aspire to be gladiators, male lawyers who argue cases in court dressed in see-through outfits, and male cross-dressers who invade an all-female religious ceremony, the Bona Dea (this is satire, after all, a place not usually inhabited by normal characters).

Such character types are introduced in the programmatic *Satire* 1 where Juvenal runs quickly through a rogue's gallery of undesirables of all sorts (1.22–30), although many of the misfits he rails at in *Satire* 1 have contravened rules of social status rather than sexual or gender boundaries. *Satire* 1 reads as a startlingly crowded summary of everything and everyone that has ever annoyed the speaker; too irritated to pause for long on any one of them or to give much detail, he hurtles through at breakneck speed to summarize what he will linger over in later Satires.

In *Satire* 2, the satirist immediately homes in on two of his targeted character types rolled into one: “hypocritical perverts” (as Rudd terms it). *frontis nulla fides*, Juvenal says (2.8): “You can’t trust the way people look.” First he focuses on hypocrites, but largely in a sexual setting, and then on varying forms of sexual deviants: Creticus, an aristocrat who wears gauzy dresses to plead cases in court (2.65–81); transvestites who dress as women and crash the rites of the Bona Dea, which are reserved only for women (2.82–116); the noble Gracchus, who plays a “bride” reclining in the lap of “her” new husband (2.117–48). This Gracchus disgraces himself even further by not only playing a deviant in sexual terms but also by appearing in the arena as a *retiarius*, a gladiator and a particularly low-life gladiator (2.142–48; cf. *Sat.* 6.O 9–13 from the Oxford fragment, discussed by Parker in this volume).

Juvenal’s violent stigmatizing of socially deviant behavior in *Satire* 2 is accomplished with vivid, pictorial detail describing some of the transvestites who invaded the Bona Dea rituals:

ille supercilium madida fuligine tinctum
 obliqua producit acu pingitque trementis
 attollens oculos; uitreo bibit ille priapo
 reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet
 caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa
 et per Iunonem domini iurante ministro;
 ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis,
 Actoris Aurunci spolium, quo se ille uidebat
 armatum, cum iam tolli uexilla iuberet

(2.93–101, my translation)

This one, darkening his eyebrow with damp dusky dye, draws them out with a slanted point, and he applies the makeup looking up with his fluttering eyes. Another one drinks from a priapic glass, and he fills up his golden hairnet with his luxuriant locks, dressed in a patchwork of blue or green satin as his slave swears a woman’s oath; a third one holds a mirror, the accompaniment of the deviant emperor Otho, won in battle from the Auruncan Actor, in which he would admire himself in his armor when he would give orders for the battle flag to be raised.

The affective language that Juvenal uses here makes these feminized males come alive for us: the eyelids flutter (*tremētis*, 94), the hair is luxuriant (*ingentibus*, 96), the clothes they wear are in brilliant hues of deep blue (*caerulea*, 97) and bright green (*galbina*, 97). Juvenal's disdain for these men is animated by the vivid descriptions, and the disdain is deepened by the exact quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* (12.94) in line 100 (*Actoris Aurunci spoliū*, used in Virgil of the spear of the mighty Turnus), which casts these deviant males in an even less heroic light. In line 99 (*pathici gestamen Othonis*), Juvenal parodies Virgil's *Aeneid* 3.286 (*magni gestamen Abantis*), where *gestamen* refers to a shield, thus showing us an Otho (who briefly held the emperor's position in 69 CE and took his own life after a military loss) as anti-hero, who carries a mirror instead of a shield. Otho is called *pathici* here (2.99) because he was purportedly the lover of Nero (Suet. *Otho* 2.2; cf. Martial, who calls Otho *mollis*, "effeminate," in 6.32.2, and Suet. *Otho* 12.1, where Otho is said to apply moist bread poultices to his face to keep it soft and youthful); this counters the picture of the resolute Otho that we find in Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.47.2).

In this poem, we meet a more finely etched figure, Creticus, the lawyer who wears his gauzy dress (*multicia*, 2.66, 76) to plead his cases against adulteresses in court and who sets the bar for out-of-bounds behavior and hypocrisy with his outrageous transvestism. Creticus tries to cover up his suspect gender identity and hypocrisy by playing the stern moralist. But to no avail, the speaker of this part of the Satire thunders: "you, Creticus, fierce and unbowed, champion of free expression" (*acer et indomitus libertatisque magister*, 77), your true colors and character "shine right through!" (*perluces*, 78). The diseased display of un-manhood that Creticus performs resembles an outbreak of mange (*scabies*, *porrigo*, 80) that spreads among a whole herd of pigs.

Juvenal is at his thundering best in this Satire, his first of several on the topic of sexual perversion that is affecting the whole of Rome. He employs high rhetorical skills, intertextual references to epic poetry (2.100, a reference to Virgil's *Aeneid*; 2.79–80, a reference to Virgil's *Georgics* 3.440–566); different speakers (even a woman, Laronia, perhaps an adulteress; she effectively lambasts all the hypocritical homosexuals in Rome who themselves pretend to uphold high standards of Roman virtue while secretly practicing such vile behaviors themselves [2.36–63; cf. Braund (1995)]); high indignation and angry invective; irony; vivid detail; pointed oxymora (2.3, 8–9, 10, 20–21; cf. Braund (1995) 216, n. 6); countless and named examples; dramatic effect and hyperbole; arresting and disgusting details (the depraved eunuch crew of the goddess Cybele who "cut off the useless lump of meat with knives," 116); thematic words hammered home (e.g., *turpis*, "disgusting," or "foul," one of Juvenal's key words in *Satire* 2: 2.9, 71, 83, 111; and cf. 6.O 3: *turpes similesque cinaedis*); and memorable, pointed maxims (*nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, 2.83: "no one becomes totally *turpis* [depraved] all of a sudden").

All these tricks of Juvenal's trade will certainly be deployed in the later Satires, but here, in the first Satire after his introduction, they are heaped up together to give us an indelible impression of male deviance, of "the other," of what it means to be an un-Roman (see further on *Satire 2*, Gold (1998)).

Juvenal takes up sexual deviance again in Book 3, *Satire 9*, a dialogue (his only one) with one Naevolus, who is the "husband" of a man, a pathic aristocrat named Virro. Juvenal opens with "Naevolus, I'd like to know why, whenever you bump into me, you look grim and scowling." The word used for "scowling," *tristis*, links us back to Book 1, *Satire 2*, where *tristis* is used, in opposition with *turpis*, as a key term to refer to the grim, solemn, and moralizing Stoics whom Laronia addresses (2.9, 62). *Satire 9* forms an interesting counterpart to *Satire 2*. The theme is roughly the same, a portrait of sexual deviance – of the other side of what it means to be Roman – and of the hypocritical behavior of those who pretend to uphold Roman values while playing the deviant. The main character, Naevolus, is "a self-reflexive commentary on Juvenal's own *persona* in Books 1 and 2" (Hooley (2007b) 122), a repetitive figure of the aggrieved citizen who, despite doing his best, is luckless and can't make a decent living except by being a male prostitute. Like the speaker at the beginning of *Satire 2* ("I long to escape from here to beyond Sarmatia and the icy North whenever those [hypocritical perverts] dare to talk about morality") and Umbricius in *Satire 3*, he yearns for the good old days.

Apart from the strikingly similar theme, two passages seem to make specific references back to Book 1, *Satire 2*. There, in *Satire 2*, Juvenal says:

hispidamembra quidem et durae per brachia saetae
promittunt atrocem animum, sed **podice leui**
caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae.

(2.11–13)

Hairy limbs and hard bristles on your arms give the promise of a manly spirit but you have swollen "figs" [hemorrhoids] cut out by a smiling doctor from a smooth ass.

In *Satire 9*, the same telling adjective, *levis* ("smooth"), is used as well as the image of a depilated homosexual with a body smoothed by a pumice stone: *nam res mortifera est inimicus pumice levis*, 95 ("for an enemy who is smoothed by a pumice stone is a deadly thing"; note here that *podice leui*, 2.12, and *pumice levis*, 9.95, occupy the same place in the line). In *Satire 2*, the distinction is sharply drawn between the hairy limbs and arms of the real Roman male versus the depilated anus or body of the effeminate male, who is, as Naevolus, the speaker in *Satire 9*, says, an enemy, a deadly ("disease bearing") thing (*res mortifera . . . inimicus*). The focus is on the body here,

with the external hairiness symbolizing the good old Roman virtues and the hidden smoothness symbolizing effeminacy. The sexual deviance is made more explicit in *Satire 2*, where the piles that the doctor cuts out are often associated with anal intercourse (see Walters (1998) 357–58 for the symbolism and language of this passage; Walters suggests that the “doctor” is the satirist who is exposing and cutting out the sickness of the body politic). The figure of the secret effeminate male (Naevolus’ “master” Virro) is portrayed as a hostile and aggressive force, one to be feared (9.95); so “to regard *pumice levis* as merely a periphrastic way of saying ‘homosexual’ would be to misunderstand the nature of Juvenal’s sensibility: it is by the man’s smooth, scraped flesh that we know his vengefulness” (Jenkyns (1982) 176). Naevolus himself, who is forced by circumstance to become a male prostitute, is a sad, but not threatening figure. The threatening figure is the one who pretends to be a fine, aristocratic Roman male and yet is secretly a sexual deviant. It is hypocrisy and dissimulation that Juvenal foregrounds as the most serious vices.

Another reference back to Book 1, *Satire 2* comes in *Satire 9.130–33*, where the speaker answers Naevolus’ complaint that, if he gives up being a gigolo, he won’t be able to make a living. Juvenal responds: “Don’t worry – as long as Rome is standing you’ll never be without a pathic patron (*pathicus amicus*). From everywhere they come here in their carriages and ships, anyone who scratches his head with his finger” (a reference to effeminate men). *Satire 2* ends with much the same complaint: the Roman army has reached the barbarian tribes but even those barbarians don’t behave the way that the Romans behave these days (*sed quae nunc populi fiunt uictoris in Vrbe | non faciunt illi quos uicimus*, 2.162–63). The Romans are more corrupt than the foreigners and are corrupting them. As proof that the longer the foreign boys stay in Rome, the more they fall prey to our deviant behavior (2.166–70), Juvenal cites the example of Zalaces, an Armenian youth, who came as a hostage to Rome and allowed himself to be seduced by a “passionate tribune” (*ardenti tribuno*, 2.165).

Thus Rome is the center of all corruption, the place where Romans are corrupted by foreigners, but, even more shocking, where the foreigners are led astray by native Romans. Deviance is not something that is imported from exotic lands; it is homegrown and fostered here in Rome among our aristocratic youth.

While sexual deviance would appear to be the main topic of both *Satires 2* and 9, in fact other concerns loom larger. Both *Satires* focus on secrecy, concealment, dissimulation, and hypocrisy (2.1–3; 2.8: *frontis nulla fides*; 2.78: *Cretice, perluces*; 2.136: *fient ista palam*; 9.70: *ut dissimules*; 9.81: *quo te circumagas*; 9.96 and 102: *secretum*; 9.114–17). To be a *cinaedus* is reprehensible; to pretend to be something you are not (a real Roman) is worse. Naevolus in *Satire 9* at least admits to what he is, although he appeals to the

speaker to keep it secret so that his “master” does not become antagonized. Everyone here is dissimulating; no one claims his real identity.

This nexus of themes around secrecy, pretense, and dissimulation is put to the service of the true theme of the Satires: being Roman. Each of these Satires takes up the task of defining Romanness by portraying its opposite. And this task is taken up ubiquitously in many of the other Satires in between *Satires* 2 and 9. So in *Satire* 3, Umbricius is departing from Rome because there is no longer any room in his city for a true Roman such as himself. In *Satire* 4, Domitian and his privy council themselves exemplify *Romanitas* (sad to say). *Satire* 8, with its focus on pedigrees (*stemmata* [1], the meaning of being a true aristocrat and a Roman), makes a perfect bridge to *Satire* 9. This Satire is a meditation on what it means to be *generosus* (8.30), to claim the privileges of family and rank. True nobility, true *Romanitas* is defined by virtue and character, not by one’s birth. And Gracchus, the aristocratic, deviant gladiator who appears as another man’s “bride” (2.117, 143), makes his reappearance in *Satire* 8 (201, 210) again in his guise as a *retiarius*, a type of gladiator scorned by real he-men (6.O 9–13).

Thus Juvenal maintains a consistent set of themes across the first three books with varied language, exempla, approaches, poetic structures, and emphases, all pointing to a definition of what it meant to be a Roman man by describing un-Roman customs and characters. *Satire* 9 reprises from *Satire* 2 the main theme of sexual deviance and moral corruption, but casts it in a different rhetorical structure (dialogue). Further he adds as a secondary theme the relationship between *patronus* and *cliens* (9.59), already a focal point in *Satires* 1, 3, 5 and 7. If Juvenal’s portrayal of social and sexual perversion in *Satire* 9 is as poignant, desperate, and depressing as it is in *Satire* 2, his style of delivery is much different in the later Satire. *Satire* 2 has been read as unsystematic and illogical, broken at line 64 (see Courtney (1980) 120; Anderson (1957); but contra see Braund and Cloud (1981) 203–8 for a defense of the poem’s structural unity). If it is unified structurally (as Braund and Cloud maintain, and I concur), in its welter of different styles and rhetorical devices (see above) it gives the impression of exhibiting an emotive flow of unmitigated anger. *Satire* 9, on the other hand (the only Satire of Juvenal structured as a dialogue), shows a greater maturity in the satirist’s stylistic and technical development. It is much more organized on its surface with only two voices present, one asking the questions (the satirist) and one presenting his case (Naevolus). Though the subject matter and the hidden character, Virro, are sordid, the main character, Naevolus, though “inexpressibly foul” (Henderson (1997) 96), is still sad and desperate, his wish for a normal life eking out a decent living a harbinger of the hopes expressed in *Satire* 10.

5.3 The Women of Juvenal: Boar Hunters and Cross-Dressers

If we are looking for other major themes in Juvenal, themes that seem to have a real resonance for Juvenal and for satire, there are any number we could pick: food, the city, law, patrons and clients, Rome and *Romanitas*. But apart from (or linked to) deviant bodies, the topic of women and men, or gender occupied much of Juvenal's time. More often than not, when Juvenal talks about, or targets, women, he seems to be at least as focused on the roles and behaviors of men, on the relationships of the two genders, and on gender performance. So, as Henderson says, "When Satire writes 'Woman,' we watch Men at Work, the work of representing and reinforcing the power of the male gender . . . its work of 'impersonation' is just another exercise in the schooling of RoMen citizens" (Henderson (1989) 99, 115). Gender performance is something that Juvenal returns to again and again. Let's look at how Juvenal treats women in different parts of his oeuvre and how those passages comment on and relate to each other.

Women are everywhere you look in Juvenal's Satires, and almost always cast in a negative light and made the object of our gaze or another character's gaze. Rarely are they the subject of the gaze (only perhaps Laronia in *Satire* 2). As with all his major topics, Juvenal plants the seeds of women in all their various roles and (dis)guises in *Satire* 1. We have, in order, Mevia (perhaps an aristocratic woman) skewering a Tuscan boar and holding her spear like an Amazon with one naked breast (1.22–23); Thymele, a mime actress, who is *summissa* (1.36) by her companion actor Latinus (*summissa* can mean sent on a secret mission as his substitute, or sent as a sexual object; in either case it shows her to be in a subordinated, abject, groveling role); men who seek financial advancement by having sex with a rich old woman (1.39: *vetulae uesica beatae*; the word *uesica* here is a low register word to refer to her genitalia – Rudd translates "through a rich old female's funnel," keeping the alliteration found in the Latin *vetulae uesica*); a "pimp" (a husband who ignores his wife's infidelity) taking the gifts given to his wife by her adulterous lover (1.55–56); a young rich boy who has spent his patrimony on horse racing and now plays the charioteer, showing off for his girlfriend who is in a man's cloak (*lacernatae*, 1.62); a modern-day "Lucusta," female poisoner, a *matrona potens* ("powerful lady"), who mixes shriveled toad into her husband's wine to poison him and then teaches her untutored neighbors how to do the same and show no shame (1.69–72); the girl seduced with bribery by her father-in-law and unfaithful, shameless brides-to-be (here, 1.77–78, we find again one of Juvenal's key thematic words, *turpis*, used often in *Satire* 2); the mythical Mrs. Noah, Pyrrha, who, after the flood, helps to restore humankind by acting as a madam

and displaying naked girls to men (1.84); or the greedy who force their sick and pregnant wives to make the rounds of houses with them to pick up their dole.

This list includes many of the types of both men and women, husbands and wives, whom we find mentioned in later Satires, and it prepares us for what is to come later in Book 1 and in books to follow. The women here are often despicable, usually the object and not the subject of action and gaze, demeaned by reference to their bodies or sexual habits or unequal relationships to men, given to many of the same vices as men (greed, sexual deviance, gender-crossing, illegal and immoral activity such as pimping and poisoning), and paired with men who, like themselves, cannot maintain their proper gender and sex roles and boundaries. So Mevia plays the Amazon in an animal hunt (*uenatio*) crossing over into masculine territory (1.22–23), while her male counterpart immediately preceding, a *tener spado* (“soft eunuch”), takes a wife (1.22). The horse-riding youth’s girlfriend is dressed in man’s clothing (1.62, possibly intimating a homosexual union if the feminine *amicae* in line 62 is used ironically to refer to his boyfriend; see Ferguson (1979) 116 on line 62). The lady poisoner (*matrona*) is *potens* (“powerful,” 1.69, a word more often applied to men in a political context) and takes on pupils in order to teach her trade (*instituit*, 1.71), a role you would expect to be played by a man. There is no easy division between the sexes and no way to keep anyone in their expected sexual roles. It is a slippery slope.

Women in all their guises will appear throughout the next fifteen Satires. We will look at five of these to see how *Satire 1* foreshadows later books, how these later Satires are embedded in a nexus of meaning, enriched by the earlier Satires, and how the Satires extend/expand their meaning as the books unfold.

We have already spoken of Laronia in *Satire 2*. She may be the only focalizing female voice in Juvenal’s Satires. She is perhaps an adulteress (there is no evidence that she is a prostitute, as many critics claim), who steps into *Satire 2* at line 36 to tell the clear truth (2.63) and to take issue with the stern and hypocritical moralists, people who “pretend to be Curii – noble old Romans – and live like devotees of Bacchus” (2.3), and who rail against vices they themselves secretly practice. Smiling (*subridens*, 2.38), Laronia brings them to heel, outing them for their hypocrisy and vices and coming to the defense of women, pronouncing them “not guilty” (2.62). Laronia is tough, rational, and compelling, her own woman, quite different from the women portrayed in *Satire 1*. But is she a “real woman”? Or a construct of the male author, someone who has internalized the accusations made against women only to use them against male pathics, othering them as women have been othered? Is she a brief and transitional figure who is manipulated by the satirist (see Braund (1995)), a figure made up by men to be “‘fun’ for the boys,” who marks “another absence of Woman”? (Henderson (1989) 118). Just after Laronia’s appearance, we meet Procula, Pollitta, and Fabulla, adulteresses prosecuted by

Creticus in his see-through dress. Thus the strong, autonomous woman's voice does not last, and we come back to the shameful, sexualized, submissive women of *Satire 1*.

Juvenal's famous *Satire 6*, his magnificently long diatribe against marriage and women (see Braund (1992b), who maintains that the *Satire* is more about marriage than women; I would maintain that we cannot make so clear a distinction) exposes every kind of woman imaginable. This *Satire* makes up the entirety of Book 2, and is as long as the three *Satires* of Book 3 (7–9) and nearly as long as the three *satires* of Book 4 (10–12). It has always been puzzling why Juvenal wrote one long *Satire*, equal to three of most of his other *Satires*, devoted solely to women. Even if we see this as a rhetorical set piece on marriage, a *progymnasma*, “an inflated example of the thesis ‘Ought a man to marry?’” (Braund (1992b) 71–72), which is parallel to other rhetorical set pieces like *Satire 3* (a *syntacticon*, the farewell speech of a departing traveler) or *Satire 13* (a *consolatio*, or a parody of a *consolatio*), ultimately the subject matter is women.

The women here run the gamut, from the mountain wife in her cave in the mythical days of Saturn to the sex-crazed city and country girls, to women attracted to violent men, to empresses who visit brothels, to viragos who give commands to their husbands, to drunks, to self-professed experts on world affairs, to murderers of their husbands and their own children. The types of women here are familiar from Book 1, *Satires 1* and 2, but the force of this *Satire* is much greater, with one example heaped upon another, building to a climax (the murderess) 600 lines later (although some of the women that Juvenal professes to ‘loath’ [*odi*, 6.451] seem hardly to have committed the worst of sins). Apart from the same types of women repeated in *Satires 1*, 2 and 6, there are striking repeated incidents and situations. The rites of the Bona Dea are mentioned briefly in *Satire 2*, where the perverted transvestite men are warned that they will become *turpissimus* (“very vile”), slowly degenerating from merely wearing women's clothing to worshipping at the normally all-female rituals of the Bona Dea (2.82–90) and other secret female ceremonies.

When this same theme is picked up in *Satire 6*, the emotions are higher and the attention focused no longer on the male interloper but on the women, who are supposed to be chaste and sober but are here crazed with lust and drink. The sounds of the Latin carry the wild dancing along: *attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapi | maenades* (“the Priapean Maenads struck with ecstasy whip their hair around in a circle and howl,” 316–17), a whirling procession of *ts*, *nts* and liquid *ms* and *ns*. The women are so sexually aroused that their thighs drip with bodily fluids (this theme will recur in later *Satires*). There is a contest between the aristocratic women; this is not imitation but “all done for real” (*ad uerum*, 324–25). These women have an “itch” for sex that will not tolerate any delay; they are *femina simplex*, “pure woman”

(327: in Juvenal's book, this is certainly a negative pronouncement). There follows a hurried and harried account of all the men they try out, followed by a donkey, and then finally simply a disembodied, unattached, and very large penis. At the end is an allusion to the fact that men were not even allowed in, bringing us back to the much briefer Bona Dea invasion in 2.82–90.

This stunning passage – the sounds, the sexual buildup to its horrifying climax – fleshes out the earlier passage in Book 1, *Satire 2* to which it alludes. Now we know what “really” went on.

Other threads from Book 1, *Satire 2* are picked up and reused in different ways. So the Lucusta figure of *Satire 1*, who did away with her husband by adding poisonous toad to his wine (1.69–72; *rubeta*, 70), shows up at the very end, a sophisticated contrast to the figure of Clytemnestra who with heavy hand murders with an axe. Now women just use toad poison (6.655–61). The mention of the toad (*rubetae*, 6.659) recalls the description of the Lucusta figure in *Satire 1* and adds resonance to it.

Thus the earlier Satires work in turn both to give added resonance to later Satires and to provide a briefer introduction to fuller treatments later on. The tonal registers of each Satire are different, with *Satire 6*, by its sheer size and relentless forward motion, becoming an overwhelming indictment of women (and their men) that includes all women mentioned in the earlier Satires.

Satire 10, later known by the title given to Samuel Johnson's rendering of it, “The Vanity of Human Wishes,” opens Book 4 of the *Satires*. One possible object of prayer in *Satire 10* is good looks (289–345). But good looks can lead to many dangers such as adultery. Any married woman will fall in love with a good looking young man – “for what will any woman – Oppia or Catulla – deny to her juicy crotch? (*udis inguinibus*). That place (= *udis inguinibus*) is where the whole character of a baser sort of woman resides” (10. 321–23). The reference to a woman's dripping crotch here recalls *Satire 6* (317–19), where the devotees of Priapus are driven wild by desire and “a torrent of undiluted lust runs over their dripping thighs” (318–19; this is Rudd's translation). Another link to *Satire 6* is Messalina, the emperor Claudius' wife, who was mentioned prominently and unforgettably in *Satire 6* (115–35), sneaking out to a brothel late at night under the name Lycisca (“She-Wolf”) and only reluctantly leaving when the place closed down, still not satisfied. Now she reappears in *Satire 10*, in the “Good Looks” section, where she forces the (also married) Gaius Silius, good-looking consul-designate, to enter into a formal marriage ceremony with her while the emperor Claudius is away. Although the focus here is on the pitfalls of good looks rather than the over-sexualization of women and although the description of Messalina is far more muted, the emphasis again as always is on women as sexual objects, women out of control, women who are completely subject to their animalistic desires. In *Satire 10*, the same topics and the representation of women are treated in a more measured

tone, embedded largely in the context of mythological women who create more distance between what Juvenal says and reader reaction to it. *Satire* 6 seems to describe “real” women, and it does so in a frenzied tone that matches the madness of the *Priapi maenades* themselves. So we see progressive variation in Juvenal’s consistent focus on women and how they behave, a focus that is nonetheless handled with different treatment and tone.

In the next *Satire* in Book 4, *Satire* 11, after an admonition to be aware of limitations and to live within one’s means, Juvenal issues a dinner invitation to a friend Persicus for a simple meal. In a tone that is mindful of some of Horace’s genial dinner invitations to his patron Maecenas (e.g., *Carm.* 1.20; 3.8; 3.29), Juvenal tells his guest to put aside his anxieties, ignore business concerns, and relax (11.183–85). No worries about finances or whether his wife is cheating on him. But of course Juvenal, in his description of the wife (*uxor*, 187), makes it quite clear that there is every good reason to worry: the wife goes out at dawn, returning at night with her flimsy dress damp and wrinkled (*umida multicia rugis*, 188), her hair a mess, and her face and ears red and flushed from sex (189). Again we find the recurring theme of the adulterous wife with her sexual juices streaming down, an unpleasant picture that Juvenal seems compelled to return to even when the context does not warrant it. The bodily juices again recall the earlier *Satires* 6 and 10; the word *multicia* recalls *Satire* 2, where the gauzy dress is being worn by Creticus, a deviant cross-dressing male (2.66 and 76) and a sexual being of a different kind. Again the description comes in the midst of a rational and calm invitation and an admonition to leave behind anything that is bothersome (*dolet*, 190), and it intrudes into this context in such a way that it shows Juvenal’s obsession with the representation of the thoroughly sexualized woman.

We have then the seeds of, or threads of, later *Satires* planted in, or woven into, *Satire* 1, with later *Satires* in Book 1, or the *Satires* of later Books, growing the seeds or picking up these threads. I could have picked any number of themes to follow, but these two will suffice to show that it is likely that we can see a rolling unfolding of key themes and obsessions in the five books of *Satires*, themes to which Juvenal kept returning, varying his rhetorical style and approach, his tone and his tenor, but keeping still a steady focus.

5.4 Concluding Thoughts

John Henderson, in his meditation on Juvenal’s eighth *Satire* (Henderson (1997) *Figuring Out Roman Nobility*), talks about the “supporting series of triggers [that] signals complicity between two compositions” (*Satires* 7 and 8) and the “dovetailing [of] . . . two performances together [that] will re-double the burden of malevolence which the poem slips onto its audience” (95, 96).

Though Henderson talks here only about two of Juvenal's Satires, we can apply the ideas of a series of triggers, complicity between (and among) Satires, and dovetailing more widely to other Juvenalian poems.

The links between and among poems can be described in many ways. Courtney, for example, examines links and similarities between Satires on the basis of those that treat the individual and those that treat Rome and the wider community, or on the basis of formal devices (for example, polite but ironic addresses to named, though unknown, "friends"; formal arrangement of the poetic structure; similar themes; technical, rhetorical literary genres, or parodies thereof, such as *dissuasio* in *Satire 6* or *consolatio* in *Satire 13*; see Courtney (1980) 17–18). Others focus on major themes that are repeated successively (and often quite differently) in many Satires: *libertas*, food, patrons and clients, law, women, the City, greed, anger, self-definition, and *Romanitas* (see Morgan (2005)).

But the potential tedium of oft-repeated themes and images is relieved by changes of tone, of self-presentation and performance, and by the focalization of the satirist's voice through a whole variety of characters (for example, Laronia in *Satire 2*; see above). One effect of this multiple focalization is to create a distance between the author and what he is saying; by creating this distance the author can step back from taking responsibility for what he is – or seems to be – saying (Knight (2004) 156–61). But, more importantly, this technique allows Juvenal, the writer whose "muse always yells" (Henderson (1989) 121), to modulate and vary his voice, thus achieving a kind of inner dialogue and creating the illusion that there is more than one Juvenal. It is, however, only an illusion.

FURTHER READING

There is an enormous bibliography on Juvenal's Satires: what you choose to read depends on which aspect of Juvenal you are most interested in. There are several general books and essays on Juvenal that are quite accessible: Mason (1963), Coffey (1976), and more recently Morgan (2005), Keane (2007a), and Hooley (2007b). A good place to start is William Anderson's collection of his essays (Anderson (1982)), most of which date back to the 1950s and 1960s but are still quite valuable since they laid the groundwork for many more recent studies. Anderson's essays cover important Juvenalian topics such as *persona* theory, anger in Juvenal, the structure of his satires, rhetoric, and issues in individual Satires (e.g., *Sat.* 1, 6, and the Satires of the later books).

In recent years there has been a body of interesting work produced on the the topics I have alluded to in this essay: poetic collections, the arrangement of poetry books, inter- and intratextuality, and the uses of a poet's work by that same poet. This discussion was first focused on poets like Horace, Virgil, and the elegists: see the special

volume of *Arethusa* 13.1 (1980) on “Augustan Poetry Books,” and N. Fraistat’s *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections* (1986), especially Anderson’s essay “The Theory and Practice of Poetic Arrangement from Virgil to Ovid”; more recently G.O. Hutchinson’s *Talking Books: Readings in Hellenistic and Roman Books of Poetry* (2008) (partly a collection of published articles and partly new work) starts with Greek books of the third century BCE and the New Posidippus, and then discusses Catullus, Horace, Ovid, and didactic poetic and prose works such as Lucretius, Ovid and Manilius.

Other recent authors have dealt with genre, intertextuality and the representation of satire in the Roman satirists; so Freudenburg (2001), who discusses the three Roman satirists and their debt to Lucilius, and Keane (2006), who is mainly interested in questions of genre. A substantial body of work on many aspects of Juvenal, ranging from women to marriage to Juvenal’s pose of indignation and irony has been developed by Braund (1988, 1989b, 1992b, 1995; also see Braund and Cloud 1981 and Cloud and Braund 1982). For readers who have a keen sense of humor, and patience, Henderson (1989, 1997, 1999, 2005) has written several characteristically difficult but rewarding meditations on how Juvenal “writes down Rome” in his various Satires. Rhetoric is central to Juvenal’s style and underlies his every formulation; the classic works on this are De Decker (1913) and Scott (1927). Finally, for those readers with some Latin who want to consult a side-by-side translation or commentary, see Braund’s recent Loeb translation (*Juvenal and Persius* (2004)) and commentaries by J.D. Duff (1898, rpt. 1970), Ferguson (1979), and Courtney (1980).

CHAPTER SIX

Satiric Textures: Style, Meter, and Rhetoric

E.J. Kenney

6.1 Persius

Persius, though he could rise to splendid style on occasion, is habitually as harsh, as obscure, and as wooden as a Latin poet can well be.

(Saintsbury (1933) 280)

[I]t can be fairly claimed that Persius by his innovative use of his native language demonstrates that Latin was a more flexible and resourceful medium than one might have guessed from a knowledge limited to its more canonical authors.

(Lee and Barr (1987) 6–7)

Persius' early readers evidently did not find him excessively difficult: the first recorded complaint of the obscurity of his style is by the sixth-century CE Greek historian Johannes Lydus (*De magistratibus* 1.41). Quintilian expressed unreserved admiration (*Inst.* 10.1.94); Martial asserted that he had more to say in a single line than Marsus in a whole epic (4.29.7–8); and according to the ancient Life his contemporary Lucan exclaimed that Persius' was true poetry, his own mere foolery (*ludos*). None of them calls him obscure. He wrote for his contemporaries, native speakers equipped with a vocabulary and linguistic and cultural background with the details of which we are only imperfectly acquainted (J. Powell (1992) 150) – something of which we have been recently reminded by the case of Decimus Laberius, a mime-writer (one of many), whose ninety-six surviving fragments yield forty-three hapax legomena

(Panayotakis (2010) 63–64). He did not write to perplex his readers but to jolt them into awareness of what he had to say about Stoicism.

Persius treats the subject of style twice, once negatively, once positively. The first, programmatic, Satire opens with a bitterly sarcastic denunciation in diatribe mode of contemporary poetic fashion which takes as its text a proverbial sentiment (Otto (1890) 257 s.v. *oratio*), later elaborated by Seneca in a famous letter, that the style is the man: *talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis uita* (*Ep.* 114.1). For Persius it was the wholesale degradation of the national character that he saw as signaled by what the supposedly cultivated elite of Rome chose to admire. Of constructive criticism there is only what can be gleaned from the throwaway references to Lucilius and Horace (114–18). For that one turns to the fifth Satire.

That poem begins with an exchange between Persius and his Stoic mentor Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, in which Cornutus approvingly contrasts his pupil's style with the flatulent declamation currently in vogue, passing "from a negative to a positive assertion of P.'s approach to satire in its formal and moral aspects" (Lee and Barr (1987) 132 *ad loc.*):

uerba togae sequeris iunctura callidis acri,
ore teres modico, pallentis radere mores
doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.
(5.14–16)

You pursue the language of the toga, skilled at the pointed combination, rounded with moderate utterance, clever at scraping sick morals and at nailing fault with native wit. (This and following translations of Persius and Juvenal are by Braund, though here slightly modified.)

Persius, that is, uses the language of Roman citizens, the *togati* (Juv. 1.96; Kissel (1990) 586–87 *ad loc.*), enlivening it and adding an edge to his message by pointed combination, *iunctura . . . acri*. That phrase identifies Persius as joint heir of the satirical legacy of Lucilius and Horace, whose presence in his satires had only obliquely been hinted at in the first Satire (lines 115–17). In his advice to the aspiring poet, Horace had emphasized the need for care and restraint in composition, adding the suggestion that

dixeris egregie, notum si callida uerbum
reddiderit iunctura nouum.
(*Ars P.* 47–48)

It will add distinction to your writing when a clever collocation has imparted new life to a familiar word.

Persius' apparently respectful acknowledgement of his debt, however, masks a sharply formulated declaration of independence. Elsewhere Horace had suggested that

ridiculum acri
fortius et melius plerumque secat res
(*Sat.* 1.10.14–15)

It is humour that more often than not decides a point [*OLD seco* 1c] better and more forcefully than severity,

subsequently expressing concern that some critics found him nevertheless too fierce (*nimis acer*, *Sat.* 2.1.1). Persius had no such qualms. In transferring Horace's *callida*, replacing it by *acri*, to himself, he plumes himself on the poetic skill with which he wields this weapon. The implications of *acri* deserve close examination.

Acer is a word with a wide range of meanings stemming from its primary sense of "sharp" (*OLD passim*); here it points to style (*OLD* 11a). Cicero describes that of the orator Gaius Cornelius as *compositum ... et acre et expeditum*, "well-arranged and vehement and fluent" (*Brutus* 271); and the pseudonymous treatise *Ad Herennium* defines *contentio*, "impassioned" or "emphatic" speech, as *oratio acris et ad confirmandum et ad confutandum accommodata*, "a style suited both to confirm and to confute" (3.23). Confutation was indeed Persius' forte. *iunctura* also merits scrutiny. In the passage of the *Ars Poetica* which Persius is adapting, *iunctura* is used meaning "juxtaposition," "semantic collocation" (Brink (1971) 139 *ad loc.*). Later in the poem at line 202, *tantum series iunctura pollet*, it has its usual sense in rhetorical terminology of "transition," as in Quintilian's crisp enumeration of the essential requisites of good composition, *ordo, iunctura, numerus* (*Inst.* 10.4.92): what makes a speech flow smoothly (Cic. *De or.* 3.172 and Mankin (2011) *ad loc.*; Kissel (1990) 587–89).

Persius' transitions, however, are anything but smooth; he rather aligns himself with those who, as Seneca puts it, very possibly with Persius in mind, *nolunt sine salebra esse iuncturas* (*Ep.* 114.15), "decline to use a transition that does not jolt." Twice in the first Satire he uses *iunctura* with cutting sarcasm of the smoothness of versification prized by the fashionable poetasters of the day (1.65, 92), to him an index of their and their admirers' moral degeneration. His own *iuncturae* achieve their most telling and characteristic effects in the abrupt and startling imagery that spearheads his moral crusade and imparts unity to the individual satires (Braund (1996a) 15; (2004b) 16–17).

Cornutus then goes on to characterise his protégé, again using stock rhetorical terminology, as *ore teres modico*, "smoothly turned [*OLD teres* 2]

and restrained [*modicus* 8c] in speech.” *teres* following immediately on *acri* smacks of paradox: can a style be both “sharp” and “smooth”? As with many such rhetorical and critical terms, the precise sense of *teres* can be difficult to pin down; here it must be interpreted in the light of its Horatian resonances (Kissel (1990) 590). Horace uses the word four times, most memorably when he describes the wise man as *teres atque rotundus*, “smooth and rounded” (*Sat.* 2.7.86), summarizing the attributes of the Stoic sage (Muecke (1993) 223 *ad loc.*); Persius is *teres* both as poet and as philosopher. *modicus* also has dual significance. In the Horatian context it hints at his modest life-style, as when Maecenas is invited to drink *uile* . . . *modicis Sabinum cantharis*, “Sabine *uin ordinaire* in modest bowls” (*Carm* 1.20.1–2), and at his contentment with “a modest heap,” *modico* . . . *aceruo*, of possessions (*Epist.* 2.2.190). When the Satire goes on the attack, Greed and Luxury (132, 142) are prime targets.

So equipped, Persius is figured as a surgeon, skilled at operating on the morally sick, with *radere* picking up *acri* and suggesting that the treatment may hurt (on the medical implications of *radere*, Kissel (1990) 590–91); but also as diagnostician, pinpointing (*OLD defigo* 2b; but the precise sense of the word is elusive: Kissel (1990) 591–92) the seat of the malady with “well-bred wit,” *ingenuo* . . . *ludo* (*OLD ingenuus* 3a), à la Horace:

omne uafer uitium ridenti Flaccus amico
tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit.
(1.116–17)

While his friend is laughing, the rascal Horace touches every fault in
him and, once he’s got in, he frolics round his heart.

With Horace’s words in mind, it is natural to render *ingenuus* here as “well-bred,” “gentlemanly” and the like (*OLD* 3a). However, the root meaning of the word is “native” (*OLD* 1), that is in the present context, Roman. Persius’ mockery is couched in the speech of his fellow-citizens, the *togati*; and his idiom is that of the *sermo cotidianus*, which can at times descend (as at e.g. 1.57) into what Casaubon (1605a ãïv) describes as “rustic ribaldry,” *agrotikē bōmolokhia*.

What Cornutus is describing is that Horatian contradiction in terms, the *Musa pedestris* (*Sat.* 2.6.17); and accordingly we find throughout the Satires a sprinkling of words from the everyday, colloquial, and technical end of the lexical spectrum (Morford (1984) 78–80). So in the first Satire *cachinno* (12), “guffaw,” for classical *rideo*; *eliquat* (35), “strains out,” “lisps,” of an affected reciter, a word otherwise chiefly attested in Columella of filtering liquids, its effect here enhanced by the profusion of *ls* in the context; *scombros* (43),

“mackerel,” pointing up the ignominious end of mediocre poetry as wrapping-paper; *euge* (49), “good,” Greek slang otherwise attested chiefly in comedy; *sumen* (53), “cow’s udder”; *pinsit* (58), “pound,” a term of milling; *sanna* (62, 5.91; also Juv. 6.306), “sneer”; *dentalia* (73), “ploughshare,” with the poetic plural and the resort to apostrophe both serving metrical convenience and imparting a mock-heroic tone; *sartago* (80), properly “frying-pan,” hence (only here) “hotch-potch” (cf. Juvenal’s description of his satires as *farrago* (1.86), “mishmash,” in his case transferred not from the kitchen but the farmyard (OLD s.v. a)); *ceues* (87), “wriggle lasciviously,” a vulgar word, attested only here and in Juvenal (2.21, 9.40) and Martial.

Persius also makes use freely of diminutives (Morford (1984) 83–84), a feature (as in languages generally) of colloquial speech: in the first Satire *ocello* (18), “eye,” a term of endearment at home in love-elegy, here crudely qualified by *patranti*, “orgasmic” (OLD *patro* b, Adams (1982) 142–43, 226); *uetule* (22), “when you’re past it,” formally a diminutive but common in both prose and poetry meaning “elderly,” here however, contemptuous; *auriculis* (22, 108, 121), the ordinary word for “ear,” ancestor of French *oreille*, Italian *orecchio*, Spanish *oreja*; *rancidulum* (33; also Juv. 11.135; Martial), “mouldy,” the diminutive metrically convenient but also conveying contempt, “rather gone off”; *elegidia* (51), “elegiettes,” a scornful Greek coinage unattested in Greek; *horridulum* (54), “shivering,” in classical Latin only here in this sense, again metrically convenient, but also suggesting pity, “a poor cold client”; *aqualiculus* (57), “paunch,” from *aqualis*, a water-vessel, the image graphically enforced by the exaggerated technicality of *propenso sesquipede*, “with an eighteen-inch overhang.” Some, such as *elegidia* and *aqualiculus*, are evidently coinages of Persius’ own, either unique or first attested in the Satires (some forty-eight instances in all: Kissel (1990) 8 and n. 29).

Persius is adept at exploiting such words for satirical effect. The student who expects everything to be done for him and complains pettishly about his pen and ink is figured in the language of the nursery as a spoiled brat: *pappare minutum | poscis et iratus mammae lallare recusas?* (3.17–18), “you must have your food cut up fine, and you won’t let your mummy sing you to sleep.” This is the language of the nursery: *pappo* (otherwise attested only at Plaut. *Epid.* 727) “eat soft or mashed food,” *mamma* “mummy,” *lallo* (also otherwise attested only in comedy, Plaut. *Poen.* 343) “sing a lullaby.” To express man’s carnal nature Persius substitutes for the usual *caro* or *corpus* (as in Virgil’s *noxia corpora*, “our harmful bodies,” *Aen.* 6.731) the more physical and fleshly *pulpa* (2.63; on his and Juvenal’s predilection for fleshly imagery, Gowers (1993b) 183–85), stigmatizing it as *scelerata*, “guilty” (OLD 3a) and recalling his contemporary Paul’s equation of the flesh with sin (Rom. 7:5, 2 Cor. 7:1). Such linguistic innovation is often sharpened by striking imagery. A

superstitious Jew is pictured as fearing “circumcised Sabbaths,” *recutita . . . sabbata palles* (5.184), a much more graphic formulation than Juvenal’s “the father who respects the Sabbath,” *metuentem Sabbata patrem* (14.96; cf. Stern (1980) 1.436–37, 2.102–7), the effect accentuated by the construction of *palles* with a direct object. Shock tactics are brought into action when Persius harangues his imagined heir in a mixture of vivid imagery and coarse sexual slang: is he to dine sparingly on plebeian fare at holiday times, *ut tuus iste nepos olim satur anseris extis, | cum morosa uago singultiet inguine uena, | patriciae immeiat uoluae?* (6.71–73), “so that that wild descendant of yours, stuffed with goose innards, can some day piss into a patrician cunt when his pernickety vein sobs in his roving groin?”; is his fastidiously demanding (*OLD morosus* 1) penis (*uena*: Adams (1982) 35) only to be satisfied by “pissing” (*immeiat*: Adams (1982) 142) into an aristocratic “womb,” here standing for the vagina (Adams (1982) 103)? That verse 72 is a “golden” line (abVBA, meaning it has the self-conscious arrangement of nouns [upper case A and B] and adjectives [lower case a and b] around a central verb [V]) ironically enhances its brutal impact.

Momentum is maintained and the reader’s attention engaged by a constant variation of pace and register. The scornful portrayal of the peevish student at 3.1–20 is the prelude to a vitriolic dissection of his immaturity and emptiness of character in a rapid succession of images: he is a flawed pot – no, not even that, but still wet unshaped clay – “Persius stands back, as it were, while pursuing the metaphor” (Conington (1893) 54 *ad loc.*) – inflated to bursting-point with false family pride, insensible to guilt, perceptions dulled by fat (*OLD pinguis* 7a), sunk without leaving so much as a bubble on the surface (3.20–34).

That tirade is abruptly succeeded by a passage in Persius’ loftiest vein, switching to the declamatory mode of the rhetorical school of his master Verginius Rufus and exploiting the stock figure of the cruel tyrant (De Decker (1913) 53–54; Bonner (1949) 10, 34, 102 and *passim*; Winterbottom (1974) index s.vv. tyrants, tyrannicide):

magne pater diuum, saeuos punire tyrannos
 haut aliter ratione uelis, cum dira libido
 mouerit ingenium feruenti tincta ueneno:
 uirtutem uideant intabescantque relictā.
 anne magis Siculi gemuerunt aere iuueni
 et magis auratis pendens laquearibus ensis
 purpureas subter ceruices terruit, “imus,
 imus praecipites” quam si sibi dicat et intus
 palleat infelix quod proxima nesciat uxor?
 (3.35–43)

Great father of the gods, may you punish savage tyrants, when terrible desire dipped in fiery poison has affected their minds, exactly like this: let them see moral excellence and pine at abandoning it. What is worse: the sound of the groans from the bronze Sicilian bull and the terrifying sight of the sword hanging from the gilt-paneled ceiling over purpled necks beneath – or a man saying to himself, “I’m falling, I’m falling headlong!” and turning pale inside, the unlucky man, at something his wife right beside him does not know?

The *exempla* – Phalaris’ brazen bull and the sword of Damocles – are indeed in themselves hackneyed, but that cannot be said of Persius’ exploitation of them. In his moral perspective these mythical terrors are as nothing compared with the pangs of conscience, figured in the image of the guilty man, alone with his guilt and with no help of rescue from the abyss of misery into which he is falling. Lucretius had portrayed the pains of a guilty conscience no less graphically (*DRN* 3.1018–19), as Juvenal in his turn was to do (13.193–95); and for its monumental grandeur Persius’ four-word line 38 can stand comparison with the best in either Lucretius or Juvenal.

Persius’ readers are never allowed to guess what will come next. Coarse innuendo –

“bellum hoc!” “hoc bellum? an, Romule, ceues?”
(1.87)

“Lovely!” “*That’s* lovely? Is that what makes Romulus wiggle?”

– is followed by samples of what produces these effects, including a brilliant parody (or if this is quotation, he had been handed his target on a plate) of the perennially popular theme (Fordyce (1961) 261–63) of orgiastic cults, described as something “delicate . . . for reciting with a floppy neck,” *tenerum* [“sensuous,” *OLD* 7] *et laxa cerviце legendum*, a practice condemned as effeminate by authorities on elocution (Cic. *Orat.* 59; Quint. *Inst.* 1.11.9):

torua Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis
et raptim uitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassarī et lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis
euhion ingeminat, reparabilis adsonat Echo.
(1.99–102)

Their fierce horns they filled with Mimallonian booming, and Bassaris, poised to carry off the head torn from the proud calf, and the Maenad, poised to steer the lynx with ivy clusters, shouts and shouts “Euhoe,” and reverberating Echo chimes in.

This is evidently Persius enjoying himself. He begins with a “golden” line (abVAB), an effect appropriate to set piece descriptions but lending itself to meretricious ornamentation, precisely what accompanies and follows it here. Of the twenty-two words of the passage, eight are Greek: the exotic names *Mimalloneis*, “Bacchic” (attested only here); *Bassaris*, “Bacchante,” *Maenas*, another word for “Bacchante”; and *bombis*, *lynxem*, *corymbis*, *euhion* and the personified Echo. In line 99 *cornua bombis* is lifted from Catullus’ description of Bacchus and his train in the Peleus and Thetis poem (64.264), which ends, as this passage begins, with a “golden” line, *barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu* (abVAB). The participles *ablatura*, *flexura* are future only in form; their function is to provide a sensuous cadence to the verse by their contribution to the profusion of liquids. *reparabilis* in its rare active sense (*OLD* s.v.) is a trick probably picked up from Ovid’s predilection for such adjectives (Linse (1891) 37–39).

Mockery then abruptly gives way to outspoken outrage. These things have become possible only because Romans have become emasculated:

haec fierent si testiculi uena ulla paterni
uiueret in nobis?

(1.103–4)

Would such things happen if any pulse at all of our fathers’ balls still lived in us?

The response to this sort of stuff as depicted by Persius is that of the *pathicus*, the passive homosexual, a figure despised by respectable public opinion in Greece and Rome and a stock target for satirists, exploited by Juvenal in the second and ninth Satires and frequently by Martial (Sullivan (1991) 188–89 and n. 5; Parker (1997) 56–58; Williams (2010) 208–14; and in this volume Gold, Chapter 5, and Roller, Chapter 13). This is the theme that informs Persius’ assault on contemporary literary taste and defines what the first Satire is really about: morals. In his description of the audience’s reaction to what they are offered, *ceues* at line 87 looks back to the beginning of the Satire and the description of the recitation (15–21), with the same profusion of *l*-sounds as in the later passage, the same effeminacy in the reciter and in the response of his hearers:

tunc neque more probo uideas nec uoce serena
ingentis trepidare Titos, cum carmina lumbum
intran et tremulo scalpunt ubi intima uersu.

(1.19–21)

Then, as the poetry enters their backsides and as their inmost parts are tickled by verse vibrations, you can see huge Tituses quivering, both their respectable manner and their calm voice gone.

That is the message: Rome is degenerate: the Establishment, as Jenkinson robustly renders line 87, is being bugged (Jenkinson (1980) 19). Juvenal's message is the same, his method straightforward denunciation. Persius prefers metaphor tailored to shock, "Stylistic device . . . corporealised" (Bramble (1974) 59). It is the physicality of his imagery that commands and arrests attention. "His graphic language . . . is a central element of his satire – and undoubtedly his most important and original contribution to the genre" (Braund (1992a) 37).

The effects of this injection of fresh vigor into satire are strikingly evident in his treatment of motifs suggested by Horace. Horace is a pervasive presence in the Satires (Hooley (1997) 19 and *passim*), but a Horace with heightened color (Brink (1982) 127). So Horace's example of sacrilegious behavior, a man who "has profanely disturbed a sacred spot," *triste bidental* | *mouerit incestus* (*Ars P.* 471–72), is transformed into a graphic and grimly sarcastic picture of a hypocrite congratulating himself that an outward show of piety has enabled him to escape divine retribution:

quia non fibris ouium Ergennaque iubente
triste iaces lucis euitandumque bidental,
idcirco stolidam praebet tibi uellere barbam
Iuppiter? aut quidnam est qua tu mercede deorum
emeris auriculas? pulmone et lactibus unctis?
(2.26–30)

because you are not lying in some grove, a dread object to be avoided by order of
Ergenna and sheep's entrails, do you think God is offering you his stupid beard
to tug? And what precisely is the bribe you use to purchase the ears of the gods?
An offering of lung and greasy guts?

Horace's colorless example takes on life in a succession of images: the hypocrite himself as the tabu spot, believing that Jupiter will offer him a "stupid" beard to pull, his ears "bought" by an Etruscan priest's behest and a messy sacrifice.

Examples could be multiplied (Henss (1951); Cucchiarelli (2005)). Here one other must suffice, taken from Horace's challenge to his bailiff on their respective attitudes to their callings:

certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu
euellas agro.

(*Epist.* 1.14.4–5)

Let's have it out: do I do a better job of rooting out the thorns from my soul or
you with those on the farm?

Persius transforms this urbane challenge into an image of fleshly physicality:

disce, sed ira cadat naso rugosaque sanna,
dum ueteres auias tibi de pulmone reuello.
(5.91–92)

Learn this lesson, but drop your anger and wrinkled sneer from your nostril,
while I tear out the old grandmothers from your lungs.

The reader's response to Persius' hectoring tone and the brainwashing required to make him see sense are starkly figured: it is not the incorporeal *animus* but his viscera from which error, in the physical shape of the tellers of *fabulae aniles*, must be uprooted. So in the same Satire the eunuch priests and one-eyed priestess of Isis "hammer the gods who cause flatulence" into the superstitious man:

grandes Galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos
incussere deos inflantes corpora.
(5.186–87)

Etymological word-play can also be seen at work in the embodiment of nonsense in the old grandmothers: old women, *anus*, so called as "senseless," *sine sensu*, *quod Graece dicitur anous* (Maltby (1991) 40 s.v. *anus* (1); Kissel (1990) 664–65 *ad loc.*).

The Satires are written in the canonical metre of the genre, the hexameter. They are prefaced by a short poem, generally presented by editors as a Prologue, though transmitted by some MSS at the end of the book (see further in this volume Keane, Chapter 4), in "limping" iambics (choliambics, scazons), in which the last of the six feet is a spondee. The metre was invented by the sixth-century BCE Greek poet Hipponax, famed for the slashing style of his attacks on his enemies and his racy language. The iambus was a meter of attack (Freudenburg (2001) 138–39); by choosing it for his disclaimer of high poetic pretensions or divine inspiration Persius gives his readers an idea of what awaits them. He is *semipaganus* (6), literally a "half-villager," a weighty and emphatic word, coined to express the halfway status of the *Musa pedestris*, not a full member of the College. What follows in lines 8–14 is a foretaste of the sustained attack in Hipponactean style on contemporary poetic taste in the first Satire. Innovative language – the rare and colloquial *caballinus*, the coinages *semipaganus*, *poetridas* and *Pegaseius*, and the striking enallage (transferred epithet) in *pallidam*, "pallor-inducing" – announce that, notwithstanding his disclaimer, he is indeed a poet, but on his own terms: a poet in the proper sense of the word *poiētēs*, a "maker," a craftsman.

Persius' treatment of the hexameter in the *Satires* conforms in general to the inherited norms of *satura*. In the first four feet the distribution of dactyls and spondees is that "characteristic of the poets of the Silver Age" (Duckworth (1969) 116); but though also in that respect he is "far more Ovidian than Juvenal" (*ibid.*), that picture alters substantially when elision and word-division (ignored by Duckworth) are taken into account. The incidence of elision, calculated in percentage terms as the ratio of the number of elisions to the number of lines in a given passages, fluctuates widely between *Satires* at respectively 64.9, 52, 27.1, 36.5, 41.4, 72.5 percent; the average at 48.3 percent is far higher than that for the *Metamorphoses* at 19.7 percent or Lucan's *Bellum Civile* at 13.8 percent (Kenney (1971) 203), and somewhat higher than that of Book 1 of Horace's *Satires* at 36.4 percent. The resulting increase in speed and fluency helps to approximate Persius' language more closely to that of colloquial speech. The distribution of elisions within each *Satire* is in general fairly uniform; only in the third, with the lowest overall figure, are there substantial passages free of elision: 8–21, 33–43, 85–96, of which however only lines 33–43 are notably elevated in tone. Twice a cretic word ending in *-um* is elided (1.6, 2.61), a rare license (Winbolt (1903) 168). There is a single instance of "prosodic hiatus," a colloquial license common in comedy, in which a long or "middle" syllable in *-m* occupying the second place in a dactyl is treated as short or light before a following vowel (Drexler (1967) 46–47; Kenney (1971) 243): *impello. expungām: nām ēt est scabiosus* (2.13). There is also a single instance of an epic feature, the "lengthening" of a syllable ending in a single consonant before a vowel: *hic campo indulgēt, hunc alea decoquit* (5.57). Only once is an outright liberty taken with prosody: *rūdere* for *rūdere* (3.9), imitated only by Ausonius (*Epigr.* 80.3 Green).

It is only in the last two feet of the hexameter that deference to the metrical freedoms appropriate to *satura* is much in evidence. Polysyllabic names are deployed there, usually for satirical effect: 1.95 *Appennino*, 1.34 *Calliroen*, 3.44 *Mercuriumque*, 5.112 *Mercurialem*, 6.11 *Pythagoreo*, with Greek and Latin pointedly juxtaposed at 1.4 *Troiadas Labeonem* (*Troias* from Homeric *Trōias* only here in Latin). Centurions are twice so placed (3.77, 5.189) to pillory them as typifying "the most perfect specimens of developed animalism and consequently most antipathetic to a philosopher" (Conington (1893) 65). Irregular word-division is found at e.g. 1.106 *demorsos sapit unguēs*, 108 *maiorum tibi forte*, 2.55 *sacras quod ouato*, etc.; and there occurs elision of long or "middle" syllables in the fourth and fifth feet, avoided by Virgil (Winbolt (1903) 174), e.g. 1.6 *improbū in illa*, 26 *usque adeone*, 71 *laudare ubi corbes*, 2.61 *caelestium inanes*, etc. Six verses end with a monosyllable: in three cases preceded by a polysyllable, 1.134 *Calliroen do*, 2.54 *praetrepidum cor*, 5.74 *tesserula far*; two preceded by anapaestic words, 1.68 *ecce aliud cras*, 1.111 *mirae eritis res* (with elision of a long syllable in the fifth foot, avoided by Virgil

(Winbolt (1903) 173)); and one driving home an aggressive question, 5.143 *quo deinde, insane, ruis, quo?* This small number of such endings, at 0.92 percent, reflects general usage, with Horace in the *Satires* yielding a slightly higher figure at 2.7 percent (Hellegouarc'h (1964) 62). The incidence of verses ending in a monosyllable followed by two disyllables varies widely from 2.3 percent in the third to 21 percent in the sixth *Satires*. When all the variations which may follow a monosyllable in that position are taken into account, the overall figure of 7.38 percent corresponds closely with that of 7.2 percent in Horace's *Epistles* but is substantially lower than that for his *Satires* at 11.30 percent (Hellegouarc'h (1964) 167).

The two judgments quoted at the beginning of this chapter neatly illustrate how close study of Persius' language and what he sets out to do with it have advanced appreciation of his poetry. Harsh he can certainly be when asperity is called for to drive home a point; but his meaning, however allusively expressed, is rarely uncertain (J. Powell (1992) *passim*); and wooden he certainly is not – it is the flexibility of his style that is its most notable feature. Edmund Burton, writing in 1752, put Persius' critics in their place: "Tis rather owing to want of assiduity in the reader than to want of perspicuity in the author, that Persius is deemed an obscure, inelegant, and unintelligible writer" (cited in Kissel (1990) 31). "It is worth the effort to become one of the few for whom Persius was writing" (Morford (1984) 98).

6.2 Juvenal

Juvenal set out to make [Satire] compete with oratory, with tragedy, and with epic.

(Highet (1954) 174)

Like Persius, Juvenal twice characterizes his style, once explicitly, once by way of demonstration. In a vehement outburst in response to an imaginary objector, he protests that he is not making up what he has been describing in lofty Sophoclean vein:

fingimus haec altum satura sumente coturnum
scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum
grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu,
montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino?

(6.634–37)

I'm making all this up, am I, letting satire put on high heels? I've exceeded the legal limits of my predecessors and I'm ranting with rotundity worthy of Sophocles a grand song that's new to the Rutulian hills and the Latin sky?

The Satire is then rounded off with one of the catalogues that are a feature of Juvenal's style, drawn from Greek tragedy: the crimes of Medea, Procne, the Danaids, Eriphyle, Clytemnestra, are thrown into the shade by those of their modern successors (6.643–61).

The word *grande* here refers explicitly to its immediate context, but has won acceptance as characterizing Juvenal's style in general (Scott (1927)), a definition which is too imprecise to be helpful (Powell (1999) 312). Juvenal had been trained in the rhetoric of the schools (1.15–17), where the *genus grande* (*amplum*, *acre*) was freely deployed, its function being to play on the emotions of an audience (Cic. *De or.* 2.115; *Orat.* 69). What impelled Juvenal to write satire was *indignatio* (1.79), a sense of outrage at what he saw around him, and it is vehement exaggeration rather than grandeur that informs the first two books of the Satires (1–6). In the later Satires we meet “a new, calmer *persona* who is even capable of optimism” (Braund (2004b) 296), who can even write in something like the Horatian manner (*ibid.* 399 on *Satire* 11). It is perhaps only in parts of the tenth Satire that it is appropriate to speak of “grandeur.”

The first Satire is predicated on the question: “Why go on rehashing hackneyed mythological material when there is a real theme staring us in the face and crying out for its poet: the sink of degradation confronting us wherever we look?” This opening outburst is followed by a comprehensive denunciation of contemporary Rome in a breathless series of vivid vignettes ranging without differentiation over the whole spectrum of offence from eunuchs getting married to gluttony, occupying the bulk of the Satire (22–146): depravity has reached an all-time peak (147–49). There is no argument: the aim is to arouse in his readers the revulsion that Juvenal himself feels – or affects to feel – and to sweep them along with him on the flood-tide of his outrage.

The tenth Satire apart, when Juvenal does adopt a genuinely “grand” or “high” style, it is generally by way of epic parody, as in the opening lines of *Satires* 1 and 6 (see below), in the latter part of *Satire* 4 and in the mock-heroic description of the battle in *Satire* 15. A feature of such passages is witty variation between stylistic registers. So Jason's famous exploit is deflated by referring to him as the anonymous *alius*, “that other” and to the Fleece as a “miniskin,” *pelliculae*, the effect enhanced, as often in Juvenal, by enjambment:

unde alius furtivae deuehat aurum
pelliculae.

(1.10–11)

the origin of the other guy waltzing off with that filched golden mini-fleece.

Similarly in the fourth Satire the presentation of the gigantic turbot to Domitian moves from the epic to the everyday and back:

itur ad Atriden. tum Picens “accipe” dixit
 “priuatis maiora focus. genialis agatur
 iste dies. propera stomachum laxare sagina
 et tua seruatum consume in saecula rhombum.”
 (4.65–68)

the food goes in, right up to King Atrides. Then the man of Picenum says, “Receive a gift too big for a private kitchen. Let this be a holiday. Hurry up and stretch your stomach by stuffing yourself. Eat up a turbot preserved for your glorious epoch.”

In three words Juvenal evokes both Virgil with the stately impersonal *itur* (*Aen.* 6.179 *itur in antiquam siluam*) and Homer in figuring Domitian as Agamemnon, and the note of ceremonial grandeur thus struck is sustained by the fisherman’s opening words, only to be brought down to earth by his invitation to the emperor to “stuff” himself with “fodder,” the diet of farm animals and gladiators (*OLD sagina*), for grandeur then to be no less abruptly restored with a majestic “golden” line (abVAB), its effect immediately deflated by the final ironic juxtaposition of the ages and the fish.

A particularly effective and amusing demonstration of “Juvenal’s favourite humour through incongruity” (Courtney (1980) 214 on 4.67), which also exemplifies his brilliant descriptive powers and is a demonstration through parody of his ability to write in a truly “grand” style when he chose, is the opening passage of the sixth Satire:

credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
 in terris uisamque diu, cum frigida paruas
 praeberet spelunca domos ignemque laremque
 et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra,
 siluestrem montana torum cum sterneret uxor
 frondibus et culmo uicinarumque ferarum
 pellibus, haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi cuius
 turbauit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos,
 sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis
 et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito.
 (6.1–10)

I can believe that Chastity lingered on earth during Saturn’s reign and that she was visible for a long time during the era when a chilly cave provided a tiny home, enclosing fire and hearth god and herd and its owners in communal gloom, when a mountain wife made her woodland bed with leaves and straw and the skins of

her neighbours, the beasts. She was nothing like *you*, Cynthia, or *you* with your bright eyes marred by the death of your sparrow. Instead she offered her paps for her hefty babies to drain, and she was often more unkempt than her acorn-belching husband.

This ironic, but curiously affectionate portrayal of family life in the primitive era before Chastity left the earth in disgust at what she had to witness (for the complex mythological and literary background, see Courtney (1980) 262) is inspired by and owes more than one detail to Lucretius (*DRN* 5.907–87; Courtney (1980) *passim ad loc.*), signalled explicitly by the verbal echo in line 11 *orbe nouo caeloque recenti* of *DRN* 5.907 *tellure noua caeloque recenti*. The shaping of the description as a single ten-line period – “[t]his huge sentence, at once monumental and informal” (Jenkyns (1982) 163, q.v. *passim* for perceptive stylistic comment) – is in itself an archaic feature: Virgil, followed by Ovid, had established three or four verses as the epic norm. The sentence is also structurally anomalous and indeed by the standards of contemporary epic uncouth, matching the rugged character of what is described. It begins with the main verb, which introduces a brief indirect statement; the description itself occupies two subordinate clauses (2–4, 5–7), followed by phrases in apposition to the subject of the second (*uxor*), contrasted satirically with the sort of women who dominate the lives and poetry of Propertius and Catullus, the elegant evocation of Lesbia mourning for her pet bird opposed to the crudely Bruegelesque vignette of the cave-mother suckling her lusty babies (sc. with breasts for use, *potanda*, not for the admiration and fondling of lovers (*Ov. Am.* 1.4.37, 1.5.20, 2.15.11)), more unkempt even than her belching, acorn-guzzling husband.

Vivid description (*enargeia*) was indeed Juvenal’s forte (Scott (1927) 20–24). No ancient writer has conveyed a more immediate impression of contemporary Roman life. Horace had summed up Rome in three words, “smoke, wealth, noise” (*Carm.* 3.29.12 *fumum et opes strepitumque*). Juvenal expands that hint into an impressionistic vision which comes alive on the page of what it was actually like for an ordinary pedestrian in a hurry, trying to make his way along a busy street (3.239–56) – a very different picture from that of Horace’s placid perambulations (*Sat.* 1.6.111–15). In the same Satire the depiction of Cordus’ garret lodging on the top floor of one of the crazy Roman tenements that were perpetually collapsing or catching fire displays a Hogarthian eye for detail:

lectus erat Cordo Procula minor, urceoli sex
ornamentum abaci, nec non et paruulus infra
centaurus recubans ab eodem marmore Chiron
iamque uetus Graecos seruabat cista libellos
et diuina opici rodebant carmina mures.

(3.203–7)

Cordus' possessions were: a bed too small for Procula, six small jugs to decorate his sideboard, and, underneath, a little centaur, Chiron, made from the same "marble," and a box, by now ancient, which kept his little Greek books safe – and the philistine mice were gnawing the immortal poems.

This deserves to rank with Dickens's descriptions of Sarah Gamp's apartment or Todgers's in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, or the Veneerings' dinner-party in *Our Mutual Friend* (Jenkyns (1982) 204–5, 212–13; Martindale (2005) 225–26). It consists of a single artfully constructed paragraph: of the first three lines, listing Cordus' furniture, his pathetic display of "plate," and his one work of art, two are enjambed, the camera, as it were, panning round the room and its meager contents; it then stops to focus on his one and only real treasure, his little Greek library, in two identically balanced "golden" lines (abVAB) – the precious rolls in a last wryly witty touch nibbled by ignorant monoglot Roman mice (on the implications of *opici*, Courtney (1980) 182–83 *ad loc.*).

It is instructive to compare the descriptive techniques of these two satirists. In his third Satire Persius portrays in vividly disgusting detail the effects of a rich dinner on a compulsive glutton, which culminate in his funeral:

turgidus hic epulis atque albo uentre lauatur,
guttore sulphureas lente exhalante mefitēs.
sed tremor inter uina subit calidumque trientem
excudit e manibus, dentes crepuere relecti,
uncta cadunt laxis tunc pulmentaria labris.
hinc tuba, candelae, tandemque beatulus alto
compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis
in portas rigidas calces extendit. at illum
hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites.

(3.98–106)

Stuffed from his feast this one goes to bathe, his belly white, his throat emitting long sulphurous stench. But as he drinks, a fit of shivers comes over him and knocks the hot glass out of his hands, his bared teeth chatter, then the lavish flavourings slide from his slack lips. Then come the trumpet and candles, and finally the dear deceased, laid out on a high bier and plastered thick with perfumed balm, sticks out his stiff heels towards the door. And it's yesterday's new citizens wearing their new hats that carry him out.

Juvenal's much briefer reprise makes no attempt to match the sustained brilliance of Persius' *tour de force*:

poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
turgidus et crudum pauonem in balnea portas.
hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.

it noua nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas;
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.
(1.142–46)

The punishment is instant, though, when you take off your cloak and, completely bloated, carry an undigested peacock to the baths. The result: sudden deaths and intestate old age. The untragic news passes round all the dinner parties and the funeral takes place to the cheers of his angry friends.

Graphic detail is replaced by epigrammatic brevity. Persius' glutinous gobbets become "undigested peacock," and the depiction of the "dear departed" lying in state on his bier, carried out by his newly manumitted and grateful slaves, becomes one of angry "friends" disappointed of their expected legacies and providing amusement around the dinner tables of the city. Persius rounds off his description with a quasi-"golden" line (aBbVA), Juvenal with two (Va¹a²bAB, VabBA).

As Persius had remarked, the ability to "describe a grove" was a basic qualification for a poet. Both he and Juvenal had passed through all the stages of an orthodox education, based on the reading and interpretation (*enarratio*) of poetry and training in rhetoric; and in the opening outburst of the first Satire it is as both poet and rhetorician that Juvenal comes forward in the character of satirist:

et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
consilium dedimus Sullae, priuatus ut altum
dormiret.
(1.15–17)

Well, I too have snatched my hand from under the cane [sc. of the *grammaticus*].
I too have given Sulla advice, to retire and enjoy a deep sleep.

"Advising Sulla" is an example of the declamatory exercise called the *suasoria*, in which the speaker placed himself in the position of a historical figure faced with a dilemma, either offering advice or personating the character as he deliberated (Bonner (1949) 8–9). The other type of exercise, one more directly relevant to forensic practice, and to satire, was the *controversia*, in which the speaker argued for or against a hypothetical legal or quasi-legal case (Bonner (1949) 6–8). We are told in the ancient Life that Juvenal (as was not uncommon) declaimed "into middle age"; this would have been at the "gatherings of quite mature people" (Bonner (1949) 39) on the sort of occasions vividly illustrated in the *Declamations* of the Elder Seneca, before audiences themselves well versed in rhetorical techniques. "The structure and content of Juvenal's satires is shaped by rhetoric" (Braund (1997b) 155, q.v. *passim*).

Juvenal's penchant for vivid description is itself a declamatory trait: description was recognised by authorities on rhetoric as a useful tool for eliciting an emotional response from an audience (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.61–67 on Cicero's descriptive powers), and thus a way of bolstering a weak case – precisely what a speaker in a *controversia* might not infrequently be called on to do. Description thus came in the schools to be “regarded as an integral part of the speech,” often “loosely attached to the real subject-matter” (Bonner (1949) 53–60 at 58). Also popular in the schools were *sententiae*, “short pointed sayings that carried a special punch when they neatly summarised an argument or concluded a section” (Winterbottom (1974) I xii; see also De Decker (1913) 154–66; Bonner (1949) 54–55). Of the many examples in the Satires a few are still current: hardy survivors include *rara avis* (“a rare bird,” 6.165; but Persius had been there before him, 1.46), usually Englished in ignorance of its provenance; *panem et circenses* (10.81), misleadingly Englished as “bread and circuses” (*circenses*, sc. *ludi*, were games – gladiatorial shows and chariot races – held in the Circus Maximus); *quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* (“who will guard the guardians themselves?,” 6.347–48); and that once reliable standby of school Speech Day orators, *mens sana in corpore sano* (“a sound mind in a sound body,” 10.356). The fine sentiment that informs the eighth Satire, *nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus* (8.20), “the one and only nobility is personal excellence,” reduced to three words, is the motto of Trinity College, Cambridge: VIRTUS VERA NOBILITAS.

In the first Satire Juvenal announced that he will mount his attack on the vices of the age through examples from the past:

experiar quid concedatur in illos
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.
(1.170–71)

Then I'll see what I can get away with saying against the people whose ashes are covered by the Flaminian and the Latin roads.

This was not a novel tactic: the *exemplum* had long been a standard item in the armory of orators and historians: Livy had expressly emphasized the role of examples from earlier history to demonstrate what men of the present age should imitate or avoid:

hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri. inde tibi tuaeque reipublicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod uites. (*Praef.* 10)

This is what is most particularly beneficial and useful in the study of history, that you see recorded and prominently displayed every kind of example. From them

you may grasp what for your own benefit and that of your commonwealth you should imitate, and what you should avoid as shameful in the undertaking and the outcome.

That Juvenal appears to say that he will *attack* the dead has troubled critics. This is in fact belied by his actual practice, except insofar as what he cites are for the most part bad examples; but it is worth asking whether this is what he does in fact say or what his copyists have made him say. Did he write, as the MSS have it, *in illos*, “against them,” or *in illis*, “in their case” (*OLD in 42*)? Be that as it may, citation of historical examples was a favourite declamatory ploy (Bonner (1949) 61–62), and Juvenal invokes great names from the Roman past as examples of virtue some thirty times, some more than once (De Decker (1913) 36, 107–10). It is, however, perhaps predictably, negative examples that evoke the full force of his descriptive *indignatio*: Messalina in her private room in the brothel, with her professional *nom de guerre* over the door:

sed nigrum flauo crinem abscondente galero
 intrauit calidum ueteri centone lupanar
 et cellam uacuum atque suam; tunc nuda papillis
 prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lycisca
 ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, uentrem.
 excepit blanda intrantis atque aera poposcit.
 mox lenone suas iam dimittente puellas
 tristis abit, et quod potuit tamen ultima cellam
 clausit, adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine uoluae,
 et lassata uiris necdum satiata recessit,
 obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae
 foeda lupanaris tulit ad puluinar odorem.

(6.120–32, omitting 126)

Like that, with a blonde wig hiding her black hair, she went inside a brothel reeking of ancient blankets to an empty cubicle – her very own. Then she stood there, naked and for sale, with her nipples gilded, under the trade name of “She-Wolf,” putting on display the belly you came from, noble-born Britannicus. She welcomed her customers seductively as they came in and asked for their money. Later, when the pimp was already dismissing his girls, she left reluctantly, waiting till the last possible moment to shut her cubicle, still burning with her clitoris inflamed and stiff. She went away, exhausted by the men but not yet satisfied, and, a disgusting creature, with her cheeks filthy dirty from the smoke of the lamp, she took back to the emperor’s couch the stench of the brothel.

Up to all the tricks of the trade, she flaunts her gilded breasts and offers to all comers the womb that should be reserved for future emperors, the seductive welcome extended along with the hand outstretched for her fee, and

returning to the imperial couch (*OLD pulvinar* b) befouled with the grime and stink of the stews. It would be difficult to pack more concentrated disgust into five verses than in his description of the nocturnal orgies of aristocratic matrons (*Luna teste*, under the gaze of the virgin goddess, Diana), and their husbands on the way to the morning levee picking their steps through the traces (6.309–13).

The tenth Satire is completely composed of negative *exempla*, none more arresting than the first, the fate of Tiberius' hated henchman Sejanus and his triumphal images, melted down to end as pots and pans – and chamberpots: “this scabrous anticlimax” perhaps something of a commonplace (Courtney (1980) 461 *ad loc.*), but still in Juvenal's hands a masterstroke:

descendunt statuæ restemque secuntur,
ipsas deinde rotas bigarum inpacta securis
caedit et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis.
iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Sejanus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli, pelues, sartago, matellae.

(10.58–64)

Down the statues come, dragged by a rope, then even the chariot's wheels are smashed and slashed by the axe, and the legs of the innocent nags are shattered. Now the flames are hissing, now that head idolised by the people is glowing from the bellows and furnace: huge Sejanus is crackling. Then the face that was number two in the whole world is turned into little jugs, basins, frying pans, and chamber pots.

The precipitancy of Sejanus' downfall is graphically conveyed by the rapid movement of the verse, with four of the seven lines enjambed and the breathless asyndeta of the last. But the full force of Juvenal's contempt is reserved for the following description of the reactions of the people of Rome (10.65–89). Had things turned out differently, they would forthwith have hailed him as emperor; now they run to be seen to kick his dishonoured corpse: *calcemus Caesaris hostem* (10.86).

In such catalogues Juvenal draws indifferently on myth and history for his examples. Thus, to illustrate the dangers that lie in wait for a handsome youth, it is the fates of Endymion, Hippolytus and Bellerophon of whom his proud father is reminded (10.318–25). Thus Niobe and Cornelia figure alongside each other as types of the overweeningly proud mother (6.167, 177), Alcestis is the archetypal devoted wife, and as we have seen the Satire is rounded off with a parade of legendary murderesses (6.643–44, 655–56). This, however, is not a specifically declamatory feature; it rather reflects the shared educational

experience of Juvenal and his readers, centered on the intensive and extensive study of Greek and Latin literature, with poetry figuring at least as prominently as prose, if Quintilian's enormous reading list (*Inst.* 10.1.46–101) is anything to go by. Clytemnestra, Medea, Alcestis, Achilles, Orestes, and Priam were archetypal figures, chosen and memorably characterized by the poets to exemplify excesses of human behavior and suffering. Juvenal's readers did not need to be told why it should be Marsyas with whom Naevolus is compared (9.1–2). History was a continuum, in which the Trojan and the Punic Wars were equally available for exemplification (Lucr. *DRN* 1.471–7, 3.832–37).

Exemplification apart, the Satires abound in literary allusions, with those to Homer and Virgil predominating, as for instance in the third Satire (25, 198–99, 264–67, 279–80); examples could be multiplied. The note of epic parody is repeatedly struck: in the fourth Satire in extended form, most of it consisting in a send-up in mock-heroic style of Statius' celebration of Domitian's military triumphs in his lost *De Bello Germanico* (Courtney (1980) 195–98). Juvenal's version of Statius' council of war is in the tradition of such burlesque councils going back to Lucilius and wittily exploited by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (9.242–61) and Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis*. Such passages look back to the *prise de position* in the first Satire: Juvenal rejects conventional epic while at the same time demonstrating that he too was perfectly well able to write like that if he were so minded (cf. Jenkyns (1982) 158); it is, however, satire that the times call for. Persius' more narrowly focused attack on moral deficiencies is broadened out into a comprehensive denunciation of every aspect of the age: the process of degeneration has reached an all-time peak:

nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas, eadem facient cupientque minores,
omne in praecipiti uitium stetit.

(1.147–49)

Posterity will have nothing to add to our ways: our descendants will do and desire exactly the same. All depravity is standing on the brink of the chasm.

A prominent feature of the declamatory style and a trusted standby for speakers was the insertion into the argument of commonplaces, *loci communes*, “useful little disquisitions on a large number of topics . . . generally learnt up beforehand and inserted as desired” (Bonner (1949) 61). The eighth Satire consists entirely of a single commonplace, noticed above, on the nature of true nobility (Courtney (1980) 381–82), copiously supported by *exempla*. Particularly favored was what was variously described as *conuicia saeculi*, *insectatio temporum* or *loci de saeculo*, “the way we live now” (De Decker (1913) 22–38; Bonner (1949) 61); and it is hardly an exaggeration to characterize the Satires as one vast ramifying example of this commonplace, ranging over each and

every aspect of his age that Juvenal – or his satiric *persona* (on which see in this volume Roche, Chapter 9) – found objectionable. Granted that the rhetorical schools do not provide “*the* key to his work” (Powell (1999) 321; emphasis added), the effects of his conditioning in the declamatory environment well into adult life are too insistently evident to be shrugged off.

As with Persius and in conformity with the requirements of the genre, Juvenal’s vocabulary includes a proportion of common non-literary words. The first Satire, couched in a relatively formal register consistent with Juvenal’s proclamation of his poetic credentials, yields a modest haul: the diminutive *pelliculae* (11), “mini-fleece”; and the prosaic *causidici* (32), “pleader”; *uesica* (39), “bladder”; *farrago* (86), “fodder,” here “hotchpotch”; *sportula* (95, 118, 128), “handout”; *meiere* (131), “piss,” mildly obscene (Adams (1982) 35–37); *parasitus* (139), “hanger-on,” “sponger.” In later Satires, such as the third, which descend to the everyday details of the client’s life, examples are, as might be expected, more numerous. They include a number of Greek words for which no Latin equivalents were readily available, such as *zelotypus* (6.278), “jealous,” of lovers, or *orexis* (6.428), “appetite” (Courtney (1980) 293, 317 *ad locc.*). Diminutives are freely used, especially adjectives, for satirical effect (Courtney (1980) 46 and 317 on 6.425), as at e.g. 3.78 *Graeculus*, “Greekling”; 5.74 *improbulus* (otherwise unattested), “just a bit cheeky”; 10.355 *candiduli diuina tomacula porci*, “dinky little sacred sausages from a whiter-than-white pig”; 13.213 *misellus*, “poor devil” – but it is contempt, not pity, that Juvenal feels for him; 15.70 *malos homines . . . atque pusillos*, with the sting in the tail, “weedy little sinners”: even the vices of the men of today are contemptible.

Since Lucilius had set the example, obscenity had been an accepted feature of satire, as it had been of Old Comedy, of whose presence in the satiric tradition both Horace (*Sat.* 1.4.1–7) and Persius (1.123–25) had reminded their readers. Juvenal on the whole steers clear of the sort of outright coarse vulgarity affected by Persius at 4.35–41, avoiding the words generally considered gross which were freely used by his contemporary Martial and even occasionally by Horace (Courtney (1980) 45–46). Even the outspoken Naevolus of the ninth Satire, describing with disgust his sordid métier, uses no grosser term than *penis* (9.43) – “at worst probably a risqué colloquialism of educated speech” (Adams (1982) 36), wittily qualifying it as *legitimum*, “proper” (*OLD* 4a, 5), too good for what awaits it in the elegantly nasty paraphrase that follows: *illic besternae occurrere cenae* (9.44); “there to meet yesterday’s dinner.” Similarly at 6.314–22 the frenzied and disgusting detail of a Bacchic orgy is portrayed in six enjambed and rapidly moving verses, succeeded by a contrasting description of a display of competitive fornication in elegantly balanced phrases miming the nicely balanced merits of the contestants.

Turning to meter, in respect of the distribution of dactyls and spondees in the first four feet of the hexameter, Juvenal “resembles Virgil and especially Horace” rather than Persius (Duckworth (1969) 116). The incidence of elision ranges from 23.7 percent in the fifth to 48.3 percent in the fifteenth Satire; the overall average at 32.2 percent compares more closely with that of Horace in *Satires* I at 36.4 percent than with Virgil (*Aeneid* 54.4 percent) or Ovid (*Met.* 19.7 percent) or Lucan (13.8 percent). (See also Courtney (1980) 32.) Like Persius he elides cretic words ending in *-m* (6.151, 14.73); unlike Persius or Horace he occasionally allows hiatus, here following Virgilian practice (nine times: Courtney (1980) 50–51). As with Persius, it is his treatment of the cadence of the verse that signals its satirical character. Polysyllabic words are not infrequently admitted, about half of these being proper names or Greek, as are final monosyllables, entailing irregular incidence of ictus and accent, both often for descriptive or satirical effect. There are however only two instances of lines ending in two disyllabic words not preceded by a monosyllable (6.151, 14.73) as against Persius’ eleven. (For further details see Courtney (1980) 51.) The incidence of a monosyllable occupying the first place in the fifth foot followed by two disyllables varies from none in the twelfth to 5.9 percent in the second Satire. A distinctive innovation is his use of spondaic endings, an Alexandrianising feature turned to satirical effect (thirty-four times: Courtney (1980) 49–50). In the artificial “lengthening” or “shortening” of final syllables Juvenal, like Persius, is sparing: 5.45 *ponere zelotypo*, 6.340 *intulerit ubi*, 8.107 *occulta spolia* (Courtney (1980) 53). Especially noteworthy is how enjambment, a standard device for imparting emphasis, is used for satirical effect (Courtney (1980) 55), as with Marius in his remunerative exile paradoxically “enjoying” divine displeasure:

exul ab octaua Marius bibit et fruitur dis
iratis.

(1.48–49)

Marius in exile starts his boozing in the afternoon and savours the anger of the gods.

Other examples occur at 2.20–21, 6.100–101, 287–88, 10.7–8, 164–66, 12.35–36.

In the dedication of his translation of Persius and Juvenal Dryden summed up the difference as he saw it between Juvenal and Horace: “The Meat of *Horace* is more nourishing; but the Cookery of *Juvenal* more exquisite.” The justice of this verdict emerges from a comparison of a particular feature of their sentence-structure (*pace* Powell (1999) 325): both (a) the interlocking form of hyperbaton represented by the “golden” line and its variants (Kenney

(1984) xlv–xlv, lxi–lxiii); and (b) the use of an adjective–noun pairing (more rarely noun–adjective) to round off a verse. Taking the third Satire as a representative sample (322 verses) we find that a comparison with an equal number of verses in Horace, Persius, and Juvenal’s older contemporary and target the epic poet Statius yields the following proportions:

	(a)	(b)
Juvenal 3	8.0 percent	24.0 percent
Horace, <i>Sat.</i> 1.1, 1.5, 2.1, 2.2.1–11	2.8 percent	16.1 percent
Persius 2, 3, 5.1–129	3.7 percent	17.1 percent
Statius, <i>Thebaid</i> 3.1–322	5.6 percent	23.6 percent

So far as this comparison takes us, it suggests that as regards word-order and the tailoring of sentence-structure to the verse form, Juvenal can be placed nearer to the epic end of the spectrum than his predecessors, whereas Persius is closer to Horace. A full investigation of the subject remains to be done (Powell (1999) 324). Meanwhile, the man behind his generic masks continues to elude detection.

FURTHER READING

The Prolegomena to Casaubon (1605a) *Auli Persi Flacci Satirarum Liber* help to explain why Persius, in spite of his alleged obscurity, was for so long generally respected as a moralist by critics and philosophers; and together with Dryden’s Preface to his and others’ translations of Persius and Juvenal (1693 and frequently reprinted, and discussed in this volume by Osgood and Braund, Chapter 18) offer comparisons of their styles and that of Horace that still repay reading. Mason’s discursive essay (Mason (1963)) is apt to provoke not a few disagreements, but raises many pertinent points, particularly that of Martial’s influence on Juvenal and their treatment of obscenity. The conditioning to which Juvenal and his contemporary readers were exposed in the declamatory arena is vividly and amusingly conveyed in the reminiscences of the Elder Seneca, admirably edited and translated by Winterbottom (1974).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Manuscripts of Juvenal and Persius

Holt N. Parker

The first is concerning the true correction and edition of authors; wherein nevertheless rash diligence hath done great prejudice. For these critics have often presumed, that that which they understand not is false set down ... And therefore, as it hath been wisely noted, the most corrected copies are commonly the least correct.

(Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) 2.19.1)

Stemmata quid faciunt? (What does a family tree get you?)

(Juv. 8.1)

7.1 Juvenal

In 1899, E.O. Winstedt, then an undergraduate at Oxford, discovered the palaeographic equivalent of a coelacanth. He found, in a not particularly prepossessing manuscript of Juvenal (called O, for Oxford), a set of verses unattested in any other source. Immediately after 6.365 (in the standard numbering) there were thirty-four lines (now labeled as O 1–34), of which twenty-nine (O 1–29) appeared nowhere else, and the last five (O 30–34) were a version of three verses found at 6.346–48 (including one of Juvenal's most famous tags: *quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* ("who's going to chaperone the chaperons themselves?"; Kipling (1899) 24). There were also two verses, 6.373a–b, which filled an awkward gap. The Oxford fragment is still not accepted by all scholars. That it was part of the earliest stages of transmission of the text is unmistakable. Whether they are by Juvenal is a different matter (see Parker and Braund in this volume, Chapter 19).

“Sunk for centuries in an oblivion almost total, Juvenal was fished up from the waters of time, to enjoy a sudden and pervasive notoriety” (Syme (1968) 87). The oblivion was such that he survived in only one damaged manuscript; the notoriety such that copies and commentaries quickly became easy to obtain, compare, collate, contaminate, and cross-contaminate. The result is that no surviving manuscript (and there are in excess of five hundred) is free from corruption and contamination (Courtney (1967) 44; for lists of manuscripts, still incomplete, see Knoche (1940) 1–30; (1950) xii–xxxii; Tables 7.1–7.3 give brief lists of the manuscripts mentioned in this chapter, including their standard abbreviations).

Table 7.1 Principal manuscripts of Juvenal. P-class = *P ARV Amb. Aurel. Arou. Sang; Φ = FGHKLOTUZ*

<i>Sign</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Shelf mark/name/contents</i>	<i>Date/place</i>
<i>A</i>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Clm 408. fols. 2 ^r –82 ^v , with scholia and interlinear glosses. Writing space and number of lines (20–26) vary greatly; multiple hands: Victor (2003) 355.	1000s, German, with Old High German glosses
<i>Ambr.</i>	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana	Ms. Ambr. Cimelio 3. 14.250–56, 268–91, 303–19	500s, half-uncial, probably Italian
<i>Ant.</i>	Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms Egyptian Exploration Society	Fragmentum Antinoense (sine numero). Parchment (not papyrus) found at Antinoe. 7.149–98.	<i>c.</i> 490–510
<i>Arou.</i> (<i>Q</i> in Wessner (1931), Knoche (1940))	Aarau, Stadtarchiv I, Nr. 0	Fragmenta Aroviensia. 5 leaves. Reused for bindings. 29 lines per page. 2.148–55; 3.6–13, 35–92; 6.136–93, 252–310, 311–39 (beginnings), 340–68 (endings), 427–55 (beginnings), 456–84 (endings); 7.57–85 (beginnings), 86–114 (endings), 7.115–72. Scholia.	900s, probably German
<i>Aurel.</i> (<i>o</i> in Knoche (1940))	Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale	Aurelianensis 295 (245 bis); two pages glued in to protect the front and back	Carolingian minuscule <i>c.</i> 850–875,

		covers and later removed. The glue transferred the text (in reverse) onto the boards: 2.32–89 (front), 3.35–93 (back), two cols. of 29 lines. Missing the initial letters of each line. No scholia.	Fleury or Reims?
<i>Bob.</i>	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	Vatican. lat. 5750, pp. 77–78. Probably Italian. Contains 14.324–15.43, with scholia; also Persius 1.53–104.	Early 500s
<i>F</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Paris. lat. 8071. Owned by Jacques Auguste de Thou, hence Thuaneus. 2 ^r –23 ^v , with sections disordered 3.317–5.173, 13.1–16.60, 10.1–12.130, 8.1–9.39, then <i>Anth. Lat.</i> 392–93, 7.1–243; 6.1–660; missing 1.1–3.316, 9.40–150. Two cols. 37 lines per column; no scholia.	c. 850–875, French, area of Orléans, poss. Fleury (Knoche (1940)), “central France” (Tarrant (1983) 10)
<i>G</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Paris. lat. 7900A. Horace, Terence, Lucan, Juvenal, Mart. Cap.	c. 900, possibly Milan
<i>H</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Paris. lat. 9345. Horace with ps.-Acro, 2 ^r –94 ^r ; Persius, fol. 95 ^r –104 ^v ; Juvenal, fol. 105 ^r –163 ^r . The glosses are added in later hands: 1.36–6.280: XI, type χ; 1.1–35, 6.338–81: and XII/XIII φ-type; 6.381–13.102 xv, Wessner (1931) xxiv–xxv. F. 1, s. XII: poem on the death of abbot Hugh of Cluny (†1109), hence the usual attribution. Victor (2003) 355: multiple hands indicating possible multiple exemplars.	late 900s, German, Echternach

(continued)

Table 7.1 (Continued)

<i>Sign</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Shelf mark/name/ contents</i>	<i>Date/place</i>
<i>K</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana.	Laur. Plut. 34.42. 1 ^r –74 ^v , Juv. 1.1–16.31 (end lost). One col. 26 lines. Marginal and interlineal glosses in second but contemporary hand, the others, <i>c.</i> 1300–1400s: Wessner (1931) xxvi (no. 12)	Early 1000s
<i>L</i>	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ex Bibliotheca Publica Latina	BPL 82. 1 ^r –15 ^r , Pers.; 15 ^v –87 ^r , Juv.	1000s, west German?
<i>O</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library	Ms. Canon. Class. Lat. 41.	<i>c.</i> 1100, Beneventan but not necessarily Monte Cassino
<i>P</i>	Montpellier Bibliothèque Universitaire Médecine	Montepessulanus H 125. Owned by Pierre Pithou, hence <i>Pithoeanus</i> ; used for his edition (1585). Persius 1 ^v –13 ^r . Juvenal 13 ^v –79 ^v . Both with scholia.	825–850, in younger Lorsch style
<i>R</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Paris. lat. 8072. fols. 94 ^v –97 ^v = 1.1–2.66; 98 ^r –105 ^v = 5.98–6.437 (middle quire misbound); 106 ^r –113 ^v = 3.32–5.97. No scholia. Also contains a later text of Juv. fols. 1–47, and Pers. fols. 63–92.	Late 900s, possibly French (NB: four parts of different origins, 900s–1200s)
<i>Sang.</i>	Abbey of St. Gall	MS. 870. 19 lines per page. pp. 6–31: cento with 293 lines of Juvenal; 31–37: mixture of scholia on Juvenal, scholia on Persius, with parts of verses and single words, which Wessner labels Σ; 37–39, scholia on Persius; 40–326:	<i>c.</i> 850–900

		full text of the Juvenal commentary, three contemporary hands, plus a later corrector who used a different MS.	
<i>T</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS 1241 (O.4.10). Juv. fol. 1 ^r –92 ^v ; <i>Vita Pers.</i> 93 ^v ; Pers. 94 ^v –110 ^v , with [Corn.] interlinear 93 ^r –98 ^r .	c. 930, Canterbury
<i>U</i>	Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana	Urbinius lat. 661. 1 ^v –2 ^r : <i>Vitae</i> ; 2 ^r –60 ^r : 1.1–16.60, missing 6.156–215 (added in second hand at 215); 62 ^r (actually 61)–133 ^v : Probus on 1.1–8.227; 134 ^r : scholia to 11.1–63.	1000s. German with scattered Old High German glosses on 3.208–311
<i>V</i> (Win Knoche (1940); <i>Vind.</i> in Housman (1931))	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Vindobonensis Palatinus 107. fols. 18 ^v –22 ^v = 1.1–2.59, 2.107–5.96, i.e. missing 2.60–106. Two cols. with 55 lines per col. A large misc. containing Avienus and Lucretius. No scholia. Other half of the MS is Copenhagen Det kgl. Bibliotek 211 fol.	Late 800s; north Italy
<i>Z</i>	London, British Library	Ms. Additional 15600. Scholia up to fol. 84 ^v . (<i>Sat.</i> 10.180).	c. 875–900; French
Not used by Clausen; <i>V</i> in Knoche (1940)	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek	Voss. lat. Q 18 (VLQ 18). Juv., 1 ^r –68 ^r , with loss of the folio containing 13.169–234; Pers. 69 ^r –90 ^r with <i>Cornutus</i> commentary B redaction, interlinear glosses.	Two parts: Juv. in hand of 950–1000; Pers. in hand of 1000s. French, poss. Auxerre
<i>i</i> in Knoche (1940)	Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana	Vat. lat. 3286.	Beneventan, not certainly from Monte Cassino

Table 7.2 Principal manuscripts of Persius (not shared with Juvenal)

<i>Sign</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Shelf mark/name</i>	<i>Date/place</i>
<i>A</i>	Montpellier Bibliothèque Universitaire Médecine	Montepessulanus 212, fols. 66 ^r –79 ^r . Chol. after Sat. One col., 29 lines. Wide margin for commentary; interlineal glosses. Gloss at 1.130 refers to Auxerre.	<i>c.</i> 900–950; France, prob. Auxerre.
<i>B</i>	Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana	Archivio di San Pietro (Tabularii basilicae) H. 36. fols. 58 ^r –63 ^r : choliambes after Sat. Two cols., 32 lines. No glosses.	<i>c.</i> 830–860; France, prob. Wissembourg
<i>C</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Paris lat. 8055, pp. 141–78. Chol. and Sat.	<i>c.</i> 990–1015, prob. Mont St. Michel.
<i>G</i>	Bern, Burgerbibliothek	Bern 257, fols. 1 ^v –14 ^v : Chol. and <i>Sat.</i> Glosses 1 ^v –3 ^v	<i>c.</i> 900–950, German
<i>L</i> (not the same as <i>L</i> for Juv.)	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ex Bibliotheca Publica Latina	BPL 78. fols. 2 ^r –26 ^v : <i>Vita</i> , Chol., Sat., <i>Comm. Cornuti</i>	900s, west German?
<i>M</i>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Clm 23577. fols. 82 ^r –146 ^v Chol., Sat. (missing fols. 91– 92 = 4.95–5.163); 95 ^r –146 ^r , <i>Vita</i> , <i>Comm. Cornuti</i> . Old High German glosses. 75 ^r –77 ^v , musical notation, school of Tegernsee.	Early 1000s, upper Germany. The text of <i>Comm.</i> <i>Cornuti</i> seems younger, <i>c.</i> 1050?
<i>N</i> (Clausen)	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Clm 14498. fols. 1 ^v –13 ^v : <i>Vita</i> , Chol., Sat., glosses.	1000s, south Germany, eventually at Regensburg monastery of St. Emmeram
<i>R</i> (<i>F</i> in Kissel)	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana	Plut. 37.19, fols. 1 ^r – 18 ^r , short form of	early 1000s, French?

		<i>Vita</i> , Chol., Sat. glosses	
V	Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana	Vat. Reg. lat. 1560, damaged at the start: fols. 72 ^r –79 ^v , Sat. 3.99–6.80.	Early 900s France, Fleury or Auxerre.
W	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Clm 330, 60 ^r –75 ^v , Chol., Sat. Interlineal and marginal glosses; Old High German glosses.	Late 900s, German
X	Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana	Vat. Pal. lat. 1710, fols. 1 ^r –15 ^r : Chol., 1.1–5.171. Interlineal and marginal glosses to 9 ^r , Tironian notes. Heavily emended by a contemporaneous hand (scribe himself?), obliterating the original text in many places. Followed by a mutilated quaternion (16 ^v –23 ^r) with a German text (early 1000s) of Chol. 4.28.	c. 840–875, area of Tours?

Table 7.3 Principal manuscripts of the *Commentum Cornuti*

<i>Sign</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Shelf mark/name</i>	<i>Date/place</i>
L	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ex Bibliotheca Publica Latina	BPL 78, fol. 2 ^r –26 ^v ; the full text of Persius, in a larger script, occupies the outer column of each page, with the running commentary on the inside.	c. 900, poss. W. German: Bischoff (1998–2004) II 41 (prev. dated to eleventh century by Bischoff in Clausen (1975) 144)
M	see Table 7.2		
Nm	Nürnberg, Melanchthon Gymnasium	Ebnerianus lat. qu. 36, fol. 1, water damage, end lost, at 6.10. Glosses in Old High German (three	c. 1000–1050, upper Germany. Numerous mistakes in orthography, and

(continued)

<i>Sign</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Shelf mark/name</i>	<i>Date/place</i>
<i>R</i> (not the same as <i>R</i> for the text of Persius)	London, British Library	in bfk-cipher). Siewert (1989) 131–42 (no. 12), Bergmann and Stricker (2005) IV, 1951–52 (no. 1043)	remarkable haplographies, etc.
<i>U</i>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Royal 15.B.xix, fol. 111 ^r –24 ^v , Chol., Sat., no glosses; 127 ^r –28 ^r , <i>Vita</i> ; 128 ^r –95 ^v , <i>Comm. Corn.</i>	<i>c.</i> 875–900, French, Reims, Abbey of St. Rémi; Bischoff (1998–2004) II 125 (no. 2497)
		Clm 14482, fol. 118 ^r –50 ^v .	<i>c.</i> 1100–1150; Regensburg, monastery of St. Emmeram.

7.2 Juvenal: The Earliest Stages of Transmission

Juvenal fell into desuetude soon after he wrote. Of contemporary authors only Martial mentions a Juvenalis (presumably our author) but not his poetry (7.24, 7.91, 12.18: see in this volume Armstrong, Chapter 3). The archaizers passed him by and the general torpor of Latin poetry in the later second century and the crisis of the third left him with a very small readership. All Fronto, for example, seems to know is “*panem et circenses*” (“bread and circuses,” 10.81; *Principia Historiae* 17, *Ambr.* 258). Lactantius quotes him once (*Div. inst.* 3.29, *c.* 303–12; Cameron (2011) 402). However, Roman education had always been rhetorical and the revival of poetry – especially panegyric and its

ugly stepsister, invective – favored the more usefully rhetorical poets: Ovid, Juvenal, Persius (Wessner (1929); Tarrant (1989) 158; Kaster (1999) 664; Cameron (2004) 328, 350–51; (2011) 322). There had been a profound change in taste and the “Silver Latin” authors were back in fashion. “Then, perhaps in the sixties or seventies [of the fourth century], somebody discovers Juvenal and brings him on the market” (Syme (1968) 87). By the time of Ammianus (c. 390 CE), Juvenal was all the rage (28.4.14; Cameron (1984) 56–57; Rees (1999)). He was known to Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.10.2; *In somn.* 1.9.2; Kaster (1980); Cameron (2011) 410), Prudentius (Highet (1954) 298; Courtney (1975) 159, 171; Fletcher (1976) 111), and Phocas (late fourth to early fifth century; Kaster (1988) 340). The *Carmen contra Paganos* imitated him (“Poem against the Pagans,” a Christian invective, c. 384 CE; see Cameron (2011) 273–319); Claudian absorbed his style (Highet (1954) 301; Cameron (1984) 57, (2011) 288, 313, 352; Long (1996)); Ausonius quotes him “easily and often” (Cameron (1984) 54; see also Cameron (2011) 405; Colton (1973); Green (1977)), and he forms part of the background to the *Historia Augusta* (Cameron (1964), (2011) 754–55, 759; Syme (1968) 84–88). “Gaul seems to lead the way in the rediscovery” (Cameron (2011) 418, 452–53).

If one can rely on negative evidence (but see Thomson (1928) on the dangers), enthusiasm for Juvenal resurfaces in the city of Rome itself a little later, roughly in the 370s or 380s, in the time between Aelius Donatus, who knows him not and his pupil Jerome, who seems to know him at least indirectly (Hagendahl (1958) 156, 181; (1974) 220; Syme (1968) 87; Adkin (1994), (2000); Cameron (2011) 412; see Sogno, Chapter 16) and another pupil, Servius, for whom he is an important source (Tarrant (1983) 200; Kaster (1978), (1980) 257). We need not, however, credit Servius with “rediscovering” Juvenal (Cameron (1964) 369–70; (1966) 29–32; (1984) 56–57; (2011) 411, 418, 452–54; contra Knoche (1940) 7; Highet (1954) 186–87).

Two manuscripts (abbreviated *K*, *L*) copy a late antique subscription (from the fourth to sixth centuries CE it became a custom for owners and correctors of books to place a final colophon giving short details about the book): *Legi ego Niceus apud M. Serbium Romae et emendavi* (*K* reads *Rome apud Seruium magistrum*): “I, Nicaeus, read this at the house of M. Servius (the teacher) at Rome and corrected it” (for the restricted sense of *emendavi*, see Zetzel (1980b); Cameron (2011) 429–30, 460; for subscriptions, Cameron (2011) 429–51). This is likely to be the famous grammarian Servius but we have no idea who Nicaeus was and attributing an “edition” to him is more than the evidence will allow (Housman (1950) xvi–xviii; Courtney (1967) 40; Tarrant (1983) 200 n. 1; Cameron (2011) 448, 452–53). Another manuscript, *H* (Paris. lat. 9345, fol. 129v), preserves a different subscription, which does not give the

reader much faith in the text's accuracy: *Dece(m)* [*Decimi*] *Iuuenalis explicit lib. second(us)*. *Incipit lib. iii, Legente Aepicarpio scri[n]bentis* [*scribente*] *Exuperantio seruo* [*Servius?*]: "End of Book II of Decimus Juvenal. Beginning of Book III. Read by Epicarpus, written by Exuperantius the slave [or perhaps a mistake for Servius]" (Chatelain (1884–1900) II pl. cxxxv, all translations mine). A connection with the army commander Exuperantius (2) of Poitiers (Jones (1971–92) II 448) is not impossible. Owen ((1897) 402) wanted to make Epicarpus and Exuperantius into editors and redactors of an edition and commentary that he attributed to Nicaeus. All we have in these two cases are reports of personal copies, and we must bear in mind that the subscriptions could be copied into manuscripts from totally different traditions.

7.3 Making Sense of the Mess

The manuscript tradition of Juvenal shows two seemingly inconsistent features: firstly, every *extant* manuscript is descended from a unique and heavily damaged archetype, which passed a number of features onto its progeny (Housman (1931) xl n. 1; Griffith (1963); Courtney (1967) 40); secondly, a few manuscripts show correct readings and lines not found anywhere else. The explanation is that we are dealing with two different types of transmission. There is a tendency to assume that the ancestor of our manuscripts was the only one there was. The situation was more complex. Courtney is right to say ((1967) 40): "When a demand was once again created for texts of Juvenal γ [the ancestor text; see below] was the only manuscript which could be found at Rome." Outside of Rome, however, there is

no justification for assuming that the text used several decades earlier by Ausonius and his pupils in Gaul derived from this same supposedly defective Roman exemplar . . . Texts of Juvenal were being copied all over the empire between ca. 350 and 550. The very fact that the Satires were so popular makes it all the more likely that they circulated among the smart set in the form of uncorrected, ever more corrupt luxury copies. (Cameron (2011) 453–54)

In fact, we know this was the case. Ausonius possessed a copy in which the Oxford lines were still intact. At *Parentalia* [10] 12.9, the poet reuses the phrase *seria uitae* ("life's anxieties") from Juv. 6.O 18 (the phrase occurs nowhere else in Latin literature). Green ((1977) 445) noted the borrowing and in an underappreciated contribution, Sosin (2000) demonstrated how Ausonius used Juvenal 6 as a framework for presenting his sister, Julia Dryadia, as the virtuous antitype to Juvenal's list of feminine vices. The borrowing

shows that in Bordeaux, at least, around 377/38 (Green (1991) 298) it was possible to get a copy of Juvenal with *Satire* 6, at least, intact.

It may help to divide the manuscripts into three classes: (1) the good, (2) the bad, and (3) the wild, and to distinguish between (1) an error found in every manuscript, (2) an error found in every manuscript but one, and (3) errors found in various manuscripts. The “good” manuscripts paradoxically are the more direct descendants of the damaged Roman archetype. They transmit a generally more corrupt text but one where the scribes and readers were more willing simply to pass on nonsense rather than tinker with it. The “bad” are its descendants that incorporate readings from the “uncorrected, ever more corrupt” copies, from each other, or even from the good manuscripts. The “wild” are the surviving bits of the Late Antique codices (*Ambr.*, *Ant.*, *Bob.*), quotations preserved in various authors and works, lemmata (the short parts of a text taken as headings for entries in the commentaries), and other forms of “indirect transmission” (Tarrant (1983) 203) that show no allegiance to the good or the bad. One outstanding example of side transmission is found at Juv. 2.149–52:

esse aliquid manes et subterranea regna,
Cocytum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras
...
nec pueri credunt,

Not even little boys believe that ... ghosts really exist or the subterranean kingdoms, Cocytus and black frogs in the mire ...

Instead of *Cocytum* the “good” manuscripts have *et pontum* (“and the sea”: VΦ), while the “bad” have *et contum* (“and the bargepole”: PTU Arou., the lemmata in *P* and *Sang.* and the scholia; see Table 7.1 above for these abbreviations). The right reading is found, of all places, in the *Antapodosis* (“Payback,” 5.8) of Liudprand of Cremona (c. 955), who worked the lines into the speech of the defiant Anscar I of Ivrea. Somehow, in tenth-century northern Italy, the bishop had access to a “wild” copy of Juvenal (whom he quotes frequently) which preserved a correct reading lost in all other (known) manuscripts (Willis (1972) 187–88; Tarrant (1983) 203 n. 20; as late as 1950 Knoche still prints *et contum*).

7.4 The Prototype

Following Courtney’s clear outline (1967) and using his and Clausen’s abbreviations for the manuscripts (1959/1992), we can distinguish a series of five stages through which the Roman text, the direct ancestor of all our

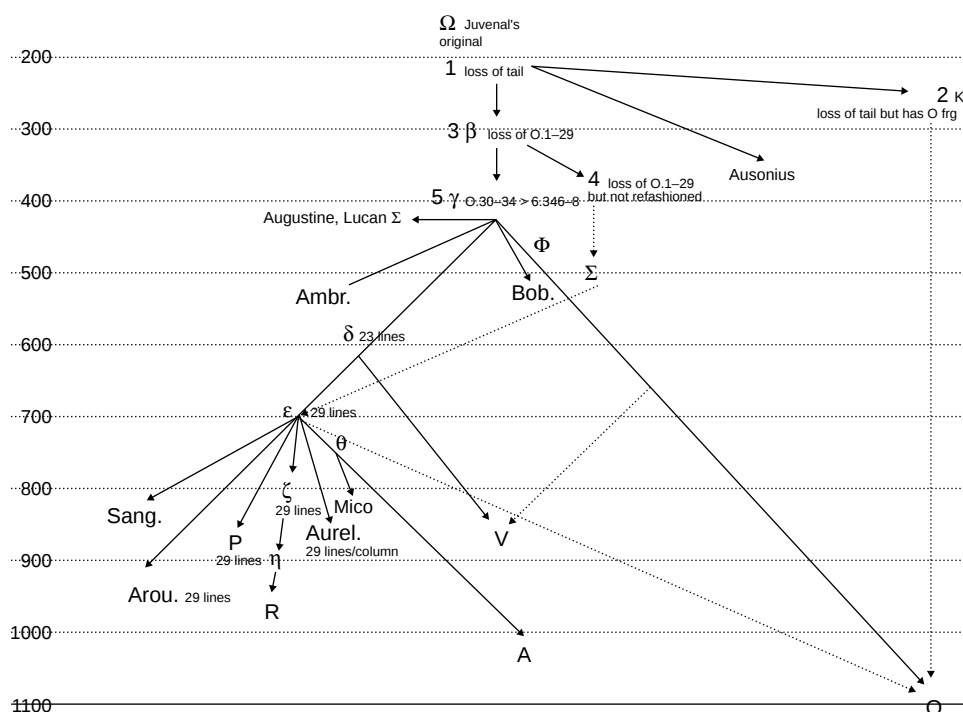


Figure 7.1 The textual transmission of Juvenal.

extant manuscripts, passed. The stemma (Figure 7.1) shows only the minimum number of splits and branches; an indeterminate number of copies might lie between any stages and the placement of lost branching points (δ , ϵ , etc.) on the timeline are more aesthetic than chronological.

- 1 The archetype of Juvenal lost its tail. The text breaks off at 16.60 in mid-sentence (*ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus, omnes*). This is the error found in every single manuscript and we are justified therefore to speak of an archetype (Griffith (1963) 107; Luck (1972) 218). The ancient commentary stops even sooner, at 16.45 (fifteen lines before the current end). There is an obvious, but unremarked, logical difficulty here: we do not find traces of a text we do not have. The poems of Ausonius or Prudentius or others might be stuffed with allusions to the end of *Satire* 16 and we would never know it. However, no grammarian or commentator shows any knowledge of later verses: that is, we have no free-floating, unassigned lines in the secondary tradition, the way we do for Catullus (Wessner (1929)). This implies that the loss occurred very early, certainly before the revival of interest in Juvenal, and that only this one manuscript, or its children, was known at Rome. It is not impossible

that a complete, undocked manuscript (or manuscripts) existed in the time of Ausonius, but we have no trace of any such. None was available in the time of Servius or later, otherwise someone somewhere would have used it to complete his text. This incomplete state is likely the reason for the remark in the scholia (16.2), *Ista a plerisque exploditur et dicitur non esse Iuvenalis* ("This [the final satire] is rejected by many and said not to be Juvenal's") even though the fragment is very much in Juvenal's style (Courtney (1980) 613–22). Cameron ((2011) 453) argues that the lack of commentary on the end of the text proves nothing: "Naturally we should not expect to find scholia on passages missing from the surviving manuscripts!" That is, scribes copying from a complete commentary onto a docked manuscript would simply omit the seemingly superfluous notes. In fact, the scholia do incorporate commentary on lines that are no longer in their copies (see stage 4, below). The uniformity of the manuscripts and the scholia point instead to an early loss.

Some have argued that this curtailed final satire represents the state in which Juvenal left things at his death (Courtney (1967) 38, (1980) 613). However, that scenario will not work unless Juvenal died (Monty Python-like) in mid-sentence and precisely at line end. In the case of Persius, the posthumous editors Cornutus and Caesius Bassus docked a few verses to make it tidy (*Vita Pers.* 41–44 ed. Clausen), and Knoche ((1940) 63) suggested that that is what Juvenal's heirs and assigns would have done (Highet (1954) 156–58). Furthermore, the truncated version would have to represent not the unfinished state of just *Satire* 16 but of Book 5 (*Satires* 13–16; Freeman (1975) 425 argues that the book might have contained further satires but at 814 lines in its current state Book 5 is rapidly running out of room). One need only contrast the state of the *Aeneid* at Virgil's death: half verses but not half sentences. Highet's chapter outline presents the case succinctly ((1954) xiv): "The Sixteenth is only a fragment . . . the satire breaks off at line 60. The break occurred very early. Juvenal did not publish it in this state, nor was it censored, nor was it so published after his death, therefore it was mutilated after publication." Several other verses were lost: a lacuna after 16.2 is a universally recognized case.

This original text had also, as if by compensation, gained a number of verses. This is odd for a work seemingly so neglected, but the interpolated lines are present in every manuscript and even cited in the ancient commentaries (Jachmann (1943); Courtney (1975)). Clear examples are 3.113, 3.281, 6.188, 8.258, 11.99, 11.161, 12.50–51, 13.166, though there has been considerable disagreement on which other verses have to go. Nisbet ((1962) 234) and Courtney ((1975) 161) suggested that many of them came from a single source (with an

over-fondness for particles). We can spot some interpolations by the use of explanatory introductions (*nam*, etc.). Tarrant examines the mechanisms of interpolation and points to a tendency to “grandly polysyllabic adjectives and a dependence on metrically convenient but rhetorically feeble qualifiers like *multus*” ((1987), (1989) 131; for examples from Juvenal, (1989) 131–32, 135–37, 144–45, 148–50). None of these types of “emendation, annotation, and collaboration” admit the large-scale additions imagined by earlier or recent *Interpolationsforschung* (see Parker and Braund in this volume, Chapter 19).

- 2 At this point a copy (or copies?) of some sort was made with the Oxford fragment still intact, waiting to show up later in *O*, which has this passage but not the ending of *Satire* 16 (κ in Courtney’s stemma, (1967) 43). Ausonius’ text belongs here (or possibly earlier). This is the error that is found in every known manuscript except one. We do not know what form the transmission to *O* took. Griffith suggested “an anthology or similar document” ((1963) 109), such as we have in the St. Gall florilegium (*Sang.*), but a more likely source was the full commentary on the text (the *Commentum Vetustum*, see below; Knoche (1928) 356 n. 2; Luck (1972) 224).
- 3 Loss of the Oxford fragment (β on Courtney’s stemma). We can deduce a good deal about the manuscript at this point. It was “a roll with twenty-nine lines per column, and in it 6.O 1–29 occupied one column. β accidentally omitted this. γ [stage 5] reduced the residue O 30–34 to three lines and put them where they now stand in the manuscripts as 346–8” (Courtney (1967) 39). It might be better to say the scribe *left* the reworked lines where he found them. It is clear that O 1–29 came immediately before 346, where now only the residue remained (Owen (1899) 267; Griffith (1963) 105, 112; Luck (1972) 218; Nadeau (2011) 200, 208, 230–35). Winterfeld ((1899a), (1899b)) pointed out that *P* (Pithoeanus) and *Arou.* (the Aarau fragments) also had twenty-nine lines to the page and agree exactly in pagination and this must reflect their archetype (see below). The loss of the first twenty-nine lines of the Oxford fragment thus represented the loss of a page or a column. Further *Aurel.* has two columns of twenty-nine lines per page, and two columns taken together 2.32–60 + 61–89 correspond to a single page in *P* (see below).
- 4 The five remaining lines of O 30–34 were redacted to three, but not before a copy of some sort was made of the five lines still intact, which will show up in the commentator (usually designated Σ), but not in the text on which he was commenting. That is, the commentator knows these lost lines and quotes them (“found from somewhere,” Griffith (1963) 112) but has only the short version in front of him and does not have the full

Oxford fragment or the tail. The “somewhere” may have been a copy of this part of Stage 3 (β) set into the margin of one of the manuscripts used by the scholiast, who cites them in his comments but did not have them in his text (Courtney (1967) 39).

The loss of a column or a single side of a page has seemed improbable to some (Freeman (1975) 426–27; Cameron (2011) 452 n. 189) and the loss of a page or quire in codices is more common than a single column (Courtney (1967) 40). Leo (1909) tried to explain the text as the remains of a double recension by Juvenal: the Oxford lines represented what Juvenal first published; he was working on a substitute (though Leo never explained why) but had only gotten as far as 6.346–48 when interrupted by death (Ellis (1901) 11, and Clausen (1992) xiii, both thought something along those lines likely; on “second editions,” e.g., Ovid’s *Amores*, see Emonds (1941)). Rather, only the loss of twenty-nine lines and refashioning of the last five accounts (and neatly) for the fact that *O* has *both* the three-line residue (Stage 5/γ) *and* the full thirty-four lines of the fragment, but in the wrong place. The scribe of *O*, around 1100 (Newton (1999) 99, 153), copied out in a nice Beneventan hand a standard text of the not very good Φ type (see below) with the three redacted lines but he also had access to the Oxford lines from some other source (Stage 2) and incorporated them after line 365 (where Clausen’s OCT prints them). Housman with characteristic modesty (and exactitude) called this explanation “absolutely perfect” ((1931) xxxix). Another Beneventan manuscript of a slightly earlier date, Vat. 3286, has no trace of the lines. Though these two are commonly said to come from Monte Cassino itself, Newton is doubtful (for *O*: (1999) 149 n. 113, 153, 160, 168; for Vat. lat. 3286: 134, 147, 154 n. 141).

- 5 The last stage (5/γ) was the refashioning of the five verses of *O* 30–34 to the three verses of 6.346–48. The fragment made little sense in its position and it may have been less deliberately redacted as subjected to further injury when the scribe’s eye went from *custo-des* (*O* 32 (348) to *pru-dēs* (*O* 34; so Housman (1901) 265, (1931) xl).

7.5 Juvenal: 400–500

In this slightly mangled form the text of Juvenal emerged to meet its adoring public. Here (5/γ) the stemma diverts into two main streams (and several rivulets), all of which are “united by canals” (Housman (1931) xxiv).

One side (to the left on Figure 7.1) is represented by *P* and its relatives. This branch is corrupt but conservative. The other, and much more numerous, side is represented by the consensus of manuscripts that Clausen

labeled Φ (FGKLOTZ; *A* is a special case). All this attention came at a price. Difficult or archaic words became ousted by their glosses, syntax was smoothed over, and a general banalization set in (Tarrant (1983) 200). As Courtney notes ((1975) 148): “The *P*-stream flowed on without any tributaries, but the Φ -stream became progressively muddied by the pollution of interpolation and the cross-currents of contamination, some of the latter being derived from the *P*-stream.” In between, there are various “wild” texts of the fifth and sixth centuries which owe no marked allegiance to either branch (Tarrant (1983) 203; Courtney (1967) places them on the Φ side). St. Augustine (*c.* 411/12, *Ep.* 138.16) quotes *Juv.* 6.287–95 with a variant (287 *servabat*) also found in the scholia on Lucan (1.550; for the date, Rawson (1987) 163).

Quite how dire the situation is may not have sunk in as thoroughly as it might. Housman rightly warned against idolatry of *P* but went on to say ((1931) xxvi):

From the crossing of relationships and interchange of readings in Juvenal’s MSS there issues a consequence troublesome to the truth-seeker and annoying to the formulist yet not on the whole disadvantageous to the author. It is this: that scraps of truth are found in unlikely quarters, and that no MS, until it has been read through, can safely be discarded.

True enough, but the scraps of truth have little evidentiary value in themselves and the whole is highly disadvantageous to the author. An editor of Juvenal has the choice between a small set of corrupt texts in need of emendation (*P*-family) and a large set of corrupt texts (Φ) that have already been extensively emended. This means that the readings of the Φ -class have no more textual authority – just because they are found in a (more or less) ancient manuscript – than any other emendation, whether made by a modern scholar or an ancient. They may be correct because they faithfully copy the (already corrupt) text of γ , or because an ancient editor/scribe found a solution in another manuscript, or because he made the correct guess as to what he thought *ought* to be there. Courtney, however, manages to salvage for us one solid spar ((1975) 148):

The consequence is that lines present in the text of both streams without any sign of disturbance are likely to have been present in the text before the streams diverged; but where lines are absent from *P* and some significant Φ -MSS. they are likely to be accretions of flotsam from the progressively increasing tide of pollution which affected Φ .

Line 14.1a is clear example, which Lipsius ((1577) 155–56, Book 4, no. 15) had seen was just a rehash of the title. As this shows, the fact that lines are

present in both streams merely indicates that they were present in γ , not that they are necessarily by Juvenal.

7.6 Commentaries and Scholia

This rediscovered text of Juvenal was not only pressed into service by grammarians such as Servius, but soon acquired a commentary of its own, usually labeled Σ in the list of manuscripts (for a full discussion, see Parker and Braund in this volume, Chapter 19). Courtney ((1967) 40–43) has demonstrated that there is “no solid evidence for attributing the text used by Σ to a stage anterior to γ .” Further, the text of Juvenal he worked on was a member of the inferior Φ -class (Wessner (1931) xvii, xxvi–xlii; Zetzel (1981) 179). The commentary originally circulated as an independent volume (Wessner (1931) xxxvi–xlii; Zetzel (1975) 339; Zetzel (1981) 179) – the same form as Donatus on Terence or Servius on Virgil. Yet, despite the commentary’s generally mediocre text it had access to better readings, not only the full text of O 30–34 but also various lemmata (Courtney (1967) 40–43) which Luck attributes, with appropriate vagueness, to “the learned tradition” ((1972) 224). These lemmata, however, are less helpful since they are often abbreviated to just the first letter of the cited words.

This *commentum uetustum* (Wessner (1931) xxxvi–xlv) was redacted, abbreviated, expanded, and meddled with, as is the fate of such works (Zetzel (1981) 179–84). Here we can use Zetzel’s careful distinction ((2005) 4) between commentary (continuous, separate) and scholia (marginal), to which we should add glosses (translations or synonyms for individual words, often interlinear). As a result, the lemmata of the scholia, possibly taken from a continuous commentary and copied into the margins of a manuscript, can differ from the main text and may transmit better and older readings (Clausen uses the potentially confusing sign *S* for these). The scholia were then passed on in three main forms: (1) those in the fragment from Bobbio (*Bob.*); (2), those incorporated into the *P*-family; and (3) the ancestor of the commentary that circulated under the name of Probus (Luck (1972) 224; see Parker and Braund in this volume, Chapter 19). These scholia, though close to the main tradition (Wessner marks the scholia to *P*, *Arou.*, and *Sang.* as *P*, *Q*, *S* respectively), also drew on a separate manuscript (or perhaps more than one) which contained a complete commentary (Anderson (1965) 408–20; Zetzel (1981) 184–85 and 284 n. 41). It contained many unique comments and quotations, including the two surviving lines of Sulpicia II and the four surviving lines of Statius’ *De Bello Germanico* (*ad* Juv. 4.94; see Parker (1992); Courtney (2003) 360–61, 525–26; and Parker and Braund in this volume, Chapter 19).

7.7 Juvenal 500–600

Juvenal's new popularity allowed the text to survive into the Carolingian Renaissance, but even so it was a near run thing. We have three fragments of these late antique books (see Table 7.1).

7.7.1 *Ant.* = *Mertens-Pack 2925. Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) 2559*

One of the earliest witnesses gives fascinating evidence of Juvenal's world-wide popularity: a fragmentary single leaf of a parchment codex found at Antinoë in Egypt but probably coming from the same scriptorium in Byzantium that produced the Justinian Digests (cf. Lowe (1934–72) III 292). The hand is “a small graceful uncial” of a distinctive type used for legal texts, dated to the late 400s or early 500s (Lowe (1934–72) Supplement, 12–13, no. 1710; Roberts (1935)). The text, which contains Juv. 7.149–98, has already gained several generations of marginal and interlineal annotation in both Latin and Greek, including critical marks, accents, and lines for pauses. These notes are independent of the main commentary tradition. The traffic in poetry was not always from captive Greece to its wild captor.

7.7.2 *Bob.* = *Vat. lat. 5750, pp. 63–64, 77–78. LDAB 7374*

Early 500s (though placed even earlier by earlier editors). Rustic capitals, probably Italian. The codex, as it is now, rebinds a single outer folio stripped from one quire of a book. The folio contains Juvenal 14.323–15.43 on pp. 77–78 and Persius 1.53–104 on pp. 63–64 (that is, the ravished quire originally contained the end of Juvenal and the beginning of Persius; see Ehrle (1906) for a diagram), showing that the two satirists were already circulating together in late antiquity. The scholia are in contemporary uncial, but with half-uncial *b*, *d*, *s*. There are *notae Tironianae* (a type of shorthand) at the top of p. 78. The text came from the monastery at Bobbio and owes its quasi-survival to having been made into a palimpsest for the letters of Galla Placidia and the Acts of the Synod of Chalcedon, one of several sad examples of how the Irish nearly lost civilization too (Reynolds and Wilson (1991) 85–86; Cahill (1995)).

7.7.3 *Ambr.* = *once at Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cimelio MS 2 (now lost). LDAB 7653*

A single folio from a codex used to hold papyrus fragments. 500s. Half-uncial. Bischoff ((1990) 183 n. 19) suggests that “the rare use of half-uncial for

classical texts (*Codices Latini Antiquiores* I 29; III 305) may result from a lack of interest in them at the end of late Antiquity.”

7.8 Carolingian Renaissance

7.8.1 *P-family*

Thanks to the remarkable library list (Berlin Diez. B Sant. 66), we know that Juvenal was in Charlemagne’s court library, *c.* 790 (Reynolds and Wilson (1991) 95–96). The Irish-founded monastery of Bobbio (end of the 800s) had two books of satires: one with Juvenal, Martial, and Persius, and the other with Juvenal, Persius, and Horace (Becker (1885) 68–69, no. 32.366–68). We can trace the ancestry of these and other manuscripts that survived the darker ages.

From the common ancestor γ there was made a “generally very accurate” copy, δ , probably still in rustic capitals and *scriptio continua* (no spaces between the words) judging by the transcription errors (Goebel (1859) 5; Knoche (1940) 250–52; Courtney (1967) 40, 46). Gaps in the text and commentary of its descendant *V* (Vienna 107, late 800s) show that δ had twenty-three lines per page (missing $2.60-106 = 2 \times 23 + 1$, see Goebel (1859) 6–7 for the calculations). *V* shows an earlier stage of the text than ϵ , the next branching point, which is the ancestor of *P*, etc. (see below). A good example is 1.55: *si capiendi* corrupted to *sic capiendi* by dittography in δ and copied to *V*, but “rationalized” to *sit capiendi* in *P* and *R*. *V*, however, was thickly emended/contaminated from the Φ strain.

V lacks the scholia, which were added as marginalia at the next stage, ϵ (the Π -family in Wessner (1931) and Knoche (1940)), and thence were copied (with varying degrees of fidelity and completeness) to all the manuscripts of the better side, with the exception of *R* (Wessner (1931) vii, xiv; Courtney (1967) 40–43; Luck (1972) 219; Zetzel (1981) 179). The scholia were transferred from a manuscript of the Φ family, so that the lemmata of the scholia are sometimes better than the text on which they comment (see above).

In this family *P* has pride of place (Montpellier 125). Bischoff dates it *c.* 825–50 ((1974) 40; (1998–2004) II 200, no. 2829); Courtney somewhat later (*c.* 875: (1967) 45). Highet ((1954) 207) was right to call it “*the only complete manuscript* which contains something close to what Juvenal actually wrote” (italics in original). The same scribe copied the small interlineal glosses and the larger marginal comments (Bischoff (1998–2004) II 200, no. 2829). But he first copied out the text of Persius (1^v–13^r), an important fact often obscured (Wessner (1931) ix; Clausen (1956) vii), as well as a few glosses on Pers. *Sat.* 2 and 3. A second hand (*P*²), roughly a century later, added some scholia from a different strain, mostly to Juv. 1. More disastrously, he

“corrected” *P* with the aid of an inferior Φ manuscript, occasionally overwriting and obliterating the original text. Thus when *P*² is recorded in the apparatus criticus, it is to show what *P* did *not* have there.

The manuscript was copied and housed at Lorsch monastery in Germany (Becker (1885) 110, no. 37, item 427; Lindsay (1924) 12; Courtney (1967) 45; Finch (1968) 174; Bischoff (1974) 40, 98–99). It was presumably among the manuscripts carried off from Lorsch by the Count Palatine Ottheinrich to enrich the Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg between 1552 and 1559. Somehow or other, in 1573, the French scholar François Pithou got hold of it and gave it to his brother, Pierre Pithou, who used it for his edition of 1585; hence its title, *Pithoeanus*, and abbreviation *P* (for the adventures of its wanderings, see Friedlaender (1969) 50; Highet (1954) 207–8, 320). It then dropped out of sight only to be rediscovered in Montpellier (Hermann (1847)) and used by Jahn (1843); see Parker and Braund in this volume, Chapter 19.

P and the fragment from Aarau (*Arou.*; c. 900s) are “nearly identical twins with the same mise-en-page” (Tarrant (1983) 201) of twenty-nine lines per page and the same pagination copying the format of their ancestor ϵ . The same pattern shows up in an extraordinary survival. *Aurel.* (Orléans 295) contains a standard grammatical set (Donatus, Priscian, etc.). Two pages were glued onto the front and back covers to protect the texts and at some later point were removed. The glue transferred the text onto the boards, and McKinlay *et al.* (1938) were able to read the text by turning the book upside down and using a mirror. The front cover of this *Spiegelschrift* revealed two columns containing 2.32–60 and 61–89, corresponding to one page in *P* (missing in *Arou.*), while the column of 3.35–63 on the back page corresponds to a page in *P* and *Arou.* (the second column, 3.64–93, omits verse 78 and so is one verse off).

R, in the second generation from ϵ , is a special case. It too shows traces of a twenty-nine-line format. The stages were (see Figure 7.1): (a) like *P* and *Arou.*, ζ had ϵ (or a descendant) in front of him containing a page with the twenty-nine lines of 6.223–51; (b) he omitted 233 by homoarcheon (*illa docet . . . illa docet*); (c) he added 233 to the bottom of the page after 251, and (d) this was copied into η and thence into *R*. *R* has thirty-four lines per page and shows traces of the same format in η , where the thirty-four-line page of 3.168–201 was reinserted before the thirty-four-line page of 3.134–67 (Courtney (1967) 47). The scholia were not copied at some point in *R*’s transmission.

The format of twenty-nine lines might be put down to coincidence (after all, Clausen’s OCT has twenty-nine lines per page) and it cannot be due to direct descent from γ since δ (the grandfather of this family) had twenty-three lines. However, Courtney ((1967) 48) noted that there are gaps in the scholia (7.129–57 – twenty-nine lines; other possible cases need more jiggling to make them fit) and speculated that “there is reasonable ground for believing that the scholia came into ϵ via a manuscript of 29 lines per page in which three pages

were obliterated [i.e. 7.129–57, 6.1–29, and 16.46–end]” and “that the 29-line format imposed itself on successive generations of Juvenal’s copyists over more than five centuries.” However, this argument loses some of its force when we recall that the scribe of *P* ruled his manuscript out for Persius first (which shows no signs of coming in a twenty-nine-line format) and only then Juvenal. There are too many uncertainties in the placement of subscriptions and inscriptions, of lost or interpolated lines, to make it possible to reconstruct the pagination of the archetype or of any intermediate stage for more than a few pages (Courtney (1967) 48, 49; for attempts, Verdière (1952); Herrmann (1952); Luck (1972)).

A (Munich, Clm. 408, 1000s) is also a special case. The base text derives from ϵ but is so heavily contaminated from Φ that Clausen included it in that class. We can catch a mid-stage at 15.25, where the scribe not understanding the scansion of *tēmētum duxerat* (*P*) inserted a syllable, as if scanning *tēmētum produxerat*; everyone else has *deduxerat* (Φ *Bob.*), except the *Opus Prosodiacum* of Mico of St. Riquier (c. 825), giving a *terminus ante quem* for θ (the common ancestor of Mico and *A*) and so ϵ (Courtney (1967) 45).

7.9 The Vulgate Text

The most important manuscripts on Clausen’s Φ side are: *F*, *G*, *H*, *K*, *L*, *O*, *T*, *U*, and *Z*. Clausen includes *A*, which Knoche ((1940) 375, 380) and Courtney (1967) 45) rightly consider a basically Π manuscript.

Knoche (1940) vainly attempted to bring order to this mass of interdependent manuscripts on the vulgate side and identified four families (in which he included many other lesser manuscripts not cited here):

- Γ *G* and *U* are close relatives, though *G* has been contaminated by ξ^2 , a later offshoot of the Ξ family (Knoche (1940) 143, following Leo (1910) xxi).
- Λ *F*, *L*, and *Z* are a closely related branch (λ) but contaminated by ϕ^2 , an early offshoot of Ψ , while *L* is also contaminated by σ , an early branch of the Ξ family. *F* (Paris lat. 8071, the *Florilegium Thuanicum*) is a tangled case, an assemblage of various manuscripts, including a tenth-century commentary on Juvenal. Its core is a copy of Vienna 277, a damaged text of the 700s, and *F* preserves Grattius, ps.-Ovid’s *Halentica*, choral odes of Seneca, various items from the *Anthologia Latina* (including poems of Martial), and the independent text of Catullus 62. These were then lost from its Viennese exemplar, which suffered further losses still after it was discovered and partially transcribed by the scholar-poet Sannazaro. However, for the Juvenal portion of *F*, the scribe utilized λ , the source shared with *L* and *Z* (Schenkl (1898) 399–400; Ullman (1960) 1028–29; Kenney (1965) 57;

Tarrant (1983) 10–11; Richmond (1962) 6–9 and (1998)). *F* also shares a number of readings with the text used by the scholia (Courtney (1967) 41, 42, 44). *F* has the satires of Juvenal in a scrambled order and although it is tempting to see this as a trace of the transcription from rolls to codex (Knoche (1940) 264–70), it is more likely to reflect an accident in the original or in the copy.

Ψ *H* and *T* on different branches. *K* is said to be basically a Ψ manuscript contaminated by readings from the early Γ but Knoche can find no place for it in his stemmata on various pages (Knoche (1940) 160, 206, 376–77, 378). As for *T*, which was modified by consulting ε or *P* itself, “the amount of independent virtue shown by *T* is so small that it ought to be expelled from a selective apparatus” (Courtney (1967) 44).

As one can see, the task of trying to create a stemma for the vulgate manuscripts is futile, vitiated by the cross-contamination, not only between vulgate manuscripts but also with members of the *P*-side (Pasquali (1952) 179–83). However, Knoche’s families may keep an editor from giving undue weight to shared readings of *G* and *U*, or *F*, *L*, and *Z* (Griffith (1961) 58).

7.10 Persius Manuscripts

The manuscripts of Persius are remarkable for their age, their number, and the stupid bewilderment of the transcribers.

(Gildersleeve (1875) xxxvii)

According to the *Life* attached to some of the manuscripts Persius died at age thirty (though the consuls’ dates make him twenty-eight, 34–62 CE), leaving his manuscript unfinished. His friend and teacher Annaeus Cornutus lopped off some final verses to make an ending place, performed minor corrections (*leuiter contraxit*), and altered 1.121, “*auriculas asini Mida rex habet*” (“King Midas has an ass’s ears,” supposedly a dig at Nero) to the safer “*auriculas asini quis non habet?*” (“Who doesn’t?”).

Persius’ reception was far different than Juvenal’s. The book was an instant hit. Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.94) and Martial (4.29.7) adored him, John Lydus knows him (*Mag.* 1.32, 1.50, 62), and the grammarians preserve many quotations – but then, like Joyce, he was the sort of author to attract grammarians (Stampacchia (1972); Fetkenheuer (2001) 39–90; Cameron (2011) 413).

Yet the early record for Persius is far less full than for Juvenal (Marshall (1983); Olsen (1995) 43). They share a number of manuscripts and the tendency towards collation. Both authors are in three Late Antique manuscripts:

- 1 *Bob.* – but the Persius portion unfortunately contains only 1.53–104 (Monti (1964–68)).
- 2 *P*, copied by the same hand (Clausen (1956) vii), where Persius' section is curiously entitled *Thebaidorum Persi Saturae* (found also in the lost St. Gall D n. 304, known only from a catalog, itself now lost, Wessner (1931) xiii; Clausen (1956) xi and literature cited there; possibly arising from an incorporated marginal reference to Statius; Seel (1960)). The choliambic prelude was missing but added before the main text by a later hand (900s), showing the on-going circulation and cross-contamination of manuscripts.
- 3 *Sang.*, the St. Gall (870) florilegium, with its messy patchwork of verses and parts of a commentary on Persius (pp. 37–39). The Persius scholia, however, correspond closely to those found in the first hand of *P* (Montpellier 125); both must descend from a lost manuscript containing both satirists with scholia (Wessner (1931) xii).

Next in age and importance are the twin manuscripts *A* (Montpellier 212; c. 850–900, France, probably Auxerre) and *B* (Vatican, Archivio di San Pietro H. 36; c. 830–60, France, probably Wissembourg). Though their layouts are different, they were both copied directly from their lost exemplar α , itself a badly mangled copy of a minuscule manuscript, since *A* and *B* contain identical transcription errors: $e \sim t \sim c$, $s \sim f$, $a \sim ti \sim ci$, etc. (Clausen (1956) vii–viii; (1963) 253, 255; Kissel (2007) vi–vii). It also contained a *Vita* (only the title is copied in *A* and *B*). In both *A* and *B* the choliambic prelude comes after the Satires. *P* has this poem at the start (as do all other manuscripts) but it was added by the second hand (Nougaret (1910) 262; Clausen (1956) vii; Kissel (2007) xiii). The choliambic prelude is then followed by a copy of a late antique subscription (in rustic capitals; *A* and *B* have the same layout). The edited text is: *Flavius Iulius Tryphonianus Sabinus Vir Clarissimus Protector Domesticus. Temptavi emendare sine antigrapho meum et adnotavi Barcellone Consulibus dominis nostris Archadio et Honorio quintum*. (“I, Flavius Julius Tryphonianus Sabinus of senatorial rank, member of the Imperial Household Guard, tried to correct my copy without a proof text and added some critical marks at Barcelona during the fifth consulship of Archadius et Honorius [402 CE]”). The text in *A* is by the main scribe, that in *B* by a second contemporary hand B^2 , who corrected his text against α and α only (Jahn in Heinrich (1844) 6 “ganz verschieden”; Clausen (1956) ix, (1992) vi). *A* carries an additional subscription (fol. 66v, squeezed into the left margin opposite the opening of *Sat.* 1, and later damaged by trimming) by its second hand (probably that of the annotator): *Iulius Tryphonianus Sabinus Protector Domesticus. Legi meum dominis nostris Arcadio et Honorio quinquies consulibus. Prout potui sine magistro emendans adnotavi, anno aetatis XXXmo et militiae quarto in Ciuitate Tolosa* (“... I corrected my text as far as I was able without a teacher, age thirty and in the

fourth year of my military service at Toulouse”: Jahn (1843) clxxiv; Reynolds and Wilson (1991) 42; Kissel (2007) vii n. 11; Cameron (2011) 476, 490; see Clausen (1963) for a possible explanation).

This seat-of-the-pants proofreading, as has been repeatedly pointed out, does not constitute an “edition” or “recension” (Clausen (1963) 252; Zetzel (2009); Cameron (2011) 449). Kissel (2007) still attempts to reconstruct a *Sabiniana recensio*. Lindsay (1915) thought the Barcelona subscription was added in both manuscripts by a later corrector and therefore only the *corrections* could reflect Sabinus’ text (followed by Robathan (1931) 284 n. 2), but this scenario necessitates two α -class manuscripts (one the copy text, the other the proof) and that both *A* and *B* had to be produced in the same scriptorium. So, even though a copy of Sabinus’ Barcelona subscription stood under the choliambic in α , we cannot even be certain that the texts the subscriptions now accompany represent a descendant of the young officer’s reading, since they could be all too easily copied in from elsewhere (Clausen (1963) 252–56; Zetzel (1981) 229; Bischoff (1990) 183–84; Cameron (2011) 449). Further, there is no reason to assume that the minuscule α represented that of any Late Antique exemplar or that its postponement of the choliambic proves them inorganic. However, Sabinus’ words do point to the kind of banalization and homogenization that a popular classical text might undergo even before it suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous transmission (Cameron (2011) 493). Scholz and Wiener ((2009) xvi) are clear on what an editor of Persius faces. That the subscriptions are missing even from α ’s closest ally *P* “is our first indication that no archetype can be established for Persius’ text in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Far more often a text was transmitted over time in an ‘open recension.’” The text of the sixth-century Bobbio fragment (*Bob.*) agrees sometimes with *P*, sometimes with α (*AB*), sometimes with neither, as do the lines from the St. Gall cento, and the same goes for the lemmata (where not abbreviated) of the ninth- to tenth-century scholia (Clausen (1956) xi, Scholz and Wiener (2009) xvi). As with Juvenal, *P* and α represent a corrupt but relatively isolated backwater. Zetzel sums up ((2009) 266): “All the manuscripts except PAB (and their minor relatives) are contaminated and are almost always copied from contaminated manuscripts. Persius was read, corrected and copied; readings filtered from one manuscript or scriptorium to another; virtually every manuscript has variants or corrections in its margins and between its lines.” Further, in an author as densely intertextual as Persius, errors will crop up from recollections and associations of the scribes or from incorporated glosses. For the problems of editing this type of open recension, see Zetzel (2005) and Hellmann (2010).

Other early valuable manuscripts include X (Vat. Pal. lat. 1710, c. 840–75, area of Tours?); and from the 900s, *G*, *L*, *N*, *W* (German), with *R* and *V*

(French). Slightly later is *C* (c. 990–1015) at Mont St. Michel, with an initial zoomorphic N copied from the Corbie Psalter (Alexander (1970) 230, 235; (1992) 91).

As with Juvenal, the commentaries on Persius may contain helpful readings. The lemmata to the oldest and most important strain, *A*, represented by the manuscripts *M*, *L*, and *U*, usually called the *Commentum Cornuti*, are of obscure and mixed origin but may in certain cases contain ancient material (Clausen (1956) xiv, (1992) viii, Clausen and Zetzel (2004) vi, viii; see Parker and Braund in this volume, Chapter 19).

As a postscript, it would be sad to close without mentioning the “Spanish Forger,” a prolific con artist of the turn of the last century who produced, among other eye-catchers, a Juvenal manuscript with fine illuminations next to a “peculiarly spaced” version of what was supposed to be late Gothic textura (Omont (1914); Backhouse (1968); Voelkle (1978); Bischoff (1990) 47).

FURTHER READING

The most succinct and accurate overviews of the manuscript traditions are Marshall for Persius and Tarrant for Juvenal, both in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (1983). Clausen’s introduction to his Oxford Classical Text of Persius (1956) and Courtney (1967) on Juvenal are models of clarity. See also the Further Reading at Chapter 19 in this volume.

PART II

RETROSPECTIVES
PERSIUS AND JUVENAL
AS SUCCESSORS

CHAPTER EIGHT

Venusina lucerna: Horace, Callimachus, and Imperial Satire

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8.1 Identity and Saturnalia

How does a poet of the Imperial Age make himself recognizable as “satirical”? The answer is simple: by saying so. The epic author has merely to name in his first hexameters a hero or an enterprise, even if it is a painful subject in the history of Rome: thus Lucan, for example. For an elegiac poet it would be enough to name a girl, or the fire of love, or Cupid, in the first couplets of the collection. A bucolic poet has only to mention a detail of pastoral life, or, for example, to speak of lying in the shade (both in Calpurnius Siculus). And so on. The satirical author, on the other hand, needs to be explicit about his own identity. This is true, at least, in the practice of Persius and Juvenal, who address their role as satirical poets in what are consequently referred to as “programmatic satires.”

In reality, satire tends to allow itself a considerable degree of liberty in themes and style. The counterweight to this liberty is the requirement that the satirical voice be clearly recognizable as such. In this regard, Horace’s *Satires* 2.7 is rather instructive: in it the Augustan grand master stages the birth, so to speak, of a satirical voice: the slave Davus can at last begin to speak, and he himself becomes the satirical poet, but only because it is “December’s freedom,” i.e. the Saturnalia (4–5) that gives him this opportunity. Whether it is the festival of the god Saturn, or the fact of belonging to the *satura* (the more

so since a pseudo-etymological link between *Saturnus* and *satur* had been observed: Cicero *Nat. D.* 2.64), it is necessary that there be an explicit, easily recognizable, occasion authorizing the voice of the poet who wishes to express himself in Rome on moral, “satirical” themes.

Consequently, Persius and Juvenal had an additional obligation: to take Horace into account. We will see how the satirists of the Imperial Age show that they have reflected carefully on and assimilated the fundamental ideas that guided Horace in his *Satires*. Occasionally the result is, in Persius and even more so in Juvenal, highly original to the point of contradicting Horace’s thought: however, their poems presuppose that thought. For this reason, it is through a constant comparison between the Augustan inventor and his imperial emulators that we will deal with crucial aspects of Roman satire: the *inuentor* and the *auctores* (that is, those who should be the “models” of satire); the distinction of a double register between *sermo* and iamb; the relationship, of attraction and repulsion, with epic and especially the “initiatory dream”; the adaptation and reinterpretation of Callimachean concepts. If, therefore, there is an analogy between satire and Saturnalia (but see in this volume Miller, Chapter 14), Horace is the “king of the feast,” who decides roles, games, and disguises. But behind him is Callimachus, as the equivalent of *Saturnus* himself, the divine inspirer of the feast.

8.2 A Half-Inventor, Many Authorities

The Imperial satirists found themselves in the curious position of depending on an inventor, Lucilius, who had received numerous criticisms from the author who had carried the satirical genre to a kind of polite perfection, i.e. Horace. Added to which is the fact that the works of Lucilius must have been increasingly inaccessible. (Such an asymmetry is all the more striking to the modern reader, who has, at best, a very fragmentary knowledge of Lucilius.) It can be said that Horace actively contributed to this situation. Lucilius’ poems were perhaps destined in any case to be lost, the fate of most Republican literature. Yet it is true that Horace worked to divert the public’s attention from the author who was considered the satirical *auctor* par excellence. In the first book of the *Satires* Horace’s criticism of Lucilius is aimed precisely at the enormous size of the works of Lucilius, which worked against their survival.

It might be that the basic image of Lucilius that Horace left us was truthful: a great exuberance of style (the consequence of considerable genius and wealth, *Sat.* 2.1.75) which was put into effect in a strongly censorious poetry, but also in the comic transfiguration of episodes of everyday life. Yet there is no doubt that this image is the one taken up and passed on to us by the later poets, Persius and Juvenal. This, then, could be the first paradox: even when Persius

and Juvenal claim to be emulators of Lucilius, they are in reality repeating Horace's critique. In other words, a satirist who had really wanted simply to imitate Lucilius, needed only to choose a target, and attack it: but when a satirist explicitly names Lucilius and then undertakes to examine him through various lenses, he thereby demonstrates that he is truly an heir of Horace.

After dedicating *Satires* 1.4 to the criticism of Lucilius, in 1.10 Horace becomes more cautious towards him. But it is clear that the future imagined by Horace for Roman satire does not leave much room for Lucilius, apart from his holding the distinction of being the genre's distant *inuentor*. From the way Horace reasons within the circle of *litterati* surrounding Maecenas, we understand that he is defining a kind of "canon" of new authors: Fundanius for comedy, Asinius Pollio for tragedy, Varius for the epic poem, Virgil for bucolic poetry (1.10.40–45). In the eyes of posterity it would be obvious that, given the failure of Varro Atacinus (46), Lucilius would certainly not be able to stand in the same company with Virgil, in what would be established as the new "Augustan canon."

This passage of *Satires* 1.10 illuminates another characteristic of Horace's interpretation of satire: it takes place in constant negotiation with other literary forms. In Book 2, Horace does not fail even to inform his reader of the volumes that he has carted from Rome to his Sabine villa, books that he, significantly, deposits on his own "writing-desk." In reality, what the interests and background readings of the satirist Horace were should be obvious to those able to read him attentively. Yet Horace did not want to leave any doubt on the matter. Thus he feigns being taken by surprise by Damasippus holding at least four great classics: Plato, Menander, Eupolis and Archilochus (*Sat.* 2.3.11–12).

For Persius and Juvenal, this was a clear indication of what texts the satirical poet was familiar with: it has long since been observed that Plato (the philosopher, of course) was rather fruitful reading for Horace, who made use of him to construct his Socratic *persona* and also, more specifically, to establish the framework of a satire such as 2.4; he famously asserts in *Ars Poetica* 310: "Socratic papers will offer you the subjects." That Menander and New Comedy with their Roman readaptations, represented important authorities for Horace is not surprising, especially when it is remembered that the concluding satire of Book 2 is entrusted to the voice of a comic poet, precisely that very Fundanius already introduced as such at 1.10.40–42. That Horace had in mind New Comedy, the reader could already gather from *Satires* 1.2, where there is an explicit reference to a character from Terence (20–22). In Book 2 Horace allows himself the rewriting of another Terentian scene, taken from the *Eunuchus*, on the theme of the slave who is wiser than the master (2.3.264–71), and perhaps it is possible to recognize the shade of Menander in the Davus of *Satires* 2.7. It is true that Davus is named after the Roman comic slave *par*

excellence (cf. *Sat.* 1.10.40), but the reader is stimulated to recall a Menandrian *locus* such as *Scutum* 189–93, in which the elderly slave Davus (Daos), quoting the Delphic motto “know thyself,” appears considerably wiser than his young master (compare, in particular, 192 ὅσα τ’ οἰκέτῃ μὴ πονηρῶ with *Sat.* 2.7.2–3 *amicum mancipium domino et frugi quod sit satis*). As far as Old Comedy is concerned, the name of Eupolis simply confirms what Horace had already said in *Satires* 1.10, that is, that it was necessary to “read” the authors of Old Comedy: not doing so is what Hermogenes is reproached for (1.10.18), while already in *Satires* 1.5 Horace showed that he was a very attentive reader of Aristophanes’ *Frogs* (Cucchiarelli (2001) 25–33). We will leave aside Archilochus for the moment, but return to him shortly.

It remains at this point for us to ask whether or how Persius and Juvenal reacted to the Horatian stimuli; whether, that is, the various indications provided by Horace of what should be the reading matter of the satirical poet, in particular the testimony of Damasippus, find correspondence in the two Imperial satirists.

Let us begin with Plato. With regard to philosophy, a certain divergence is observed between Persius, a declared Stoic, and Juvenal, who is famously critical towards the “professionals” of philosophy (we need only think of *Satire* 2), heir, that is, to the traditional Roman diffidence towards any form of “foreign wisdom” (see further in this volume Bartsch, Chapter 10). But Juvenal himself does not fail to evoke the model of the Socratic life, content with little, in a line such as 14.320. Indeed, what he dislikes is certainly not philosophy per se, but the hypocrisy of the philosophers, and the “Socratic *cinaedi*” of 2.10 represent a perversion analogous to that of a “*cinaedus* who writes satire” (4.106). In his turn, Persius proves to be an attentive reader of Socratic literature in *Satire* 4, which has close links with *Alcibiades* I and II, works traditionally ascribed to Plato. And Juvenal himself in *Satire* 9 has been shown to follow the model of Platonic dialogues, especially the *Symposium* (Braund (1988) 146–48).

Regarding comedy, the alignment of Persius with Horace is total: his first *Satire* is explicit about the necessity not only of reading, but also of studying (124) the great, Old Comedians, and a passage of the *Thesmophoriazusae* is imitated in lines 15–21 (see further in this volume McNelis, Chapter 11). New Comedy is also re-evoked by Persius, especially in 5.161–74, where the slave Davus, the wise counsellor, reappears. The allusion again is to Terence’s *Eunuchus*, but it is clear that Persius also has in mind Horace’s *Satires* 2.7: in lines 172–73 Cherestratus seems unable to resist going to his lover, just as Horace cannot resist going to Maecenas in 2.7.32–35 – it is not so easy to be truly free!

As for Juvenal, there certainly doesn’t seem to be in him any particular interest in comedy, and it is undeniable that here Juvenal wished, more so than

Persius, to distance himself from Horace's model. Yet the departure from the rule of the Augustan predecessor is consciously underlined: when his theme leads him to subjects that are more appropriate to tragedy, this is how Juvenal expresses himself: "is it we who invent these things, with satire that wears the buskin, | and who, crossing the boundaries and the law of the predecessors (*et finem egressi legemque priorum*), | delirious burst out, with an ardour worthy of Sophocles, into a sublime song, | unknown to the mountains of the Rutuli and to the sky of Latium?: | if only we were saying falsehoods!" (6.634–38, my trans.). With a typical rhetorical move, which we will observe again, the Juvenal of the sixth Satire states that the situation he describes defies generic limits. That Juvenal, however, is clearly aware of the comic authors to whom Horace had directed the attention of his satirical readers is clear from 2.91–92, which contains an allusion to a comedy of Eupolis, the *Baptae* (Braund (1996a) 148 *ad loc.*; it is not impossible that already in the first Satire, in line 59, Juvenal echoes Aristophanes, *Clouds* 12–13). Even the boldest innovation of Juvenal in any case presupposes a Horatian "law" and logic.

We have momentarily postponed consideration of Archilochus. That neither Persius nor Juvenal refers to the author who was considered one of the fathers of the iamb, if not its inventor (in so far, at least, as it is given to us to know), should not surprise us after Horace. While in Lucilius Archilochus' authority is cited with regard to subjects unknown (although, it seems, in dissent, fr. 786 W = 698 M), Horace clearly distinguished the iambic, i.e. epodic, dimension, in which Archilochus had a fundamental role, from the satirical.

On the other hand, the passage of *Satires* 2.3, together with other hints and clues, suggests that Horace, in naming Archilochus, is asking the satirical reader to think of his *Epodes*, which he was writing at the same time. In other words, satire is not the iamb, and the satirical poet must not, nor can he, imitate Archilochus directly; but even satire must be able to look towards the iamb, i.e. observe its specific ways and forms. This double register, satirical and iambic, is another prerogative that Horace imposed on the satirical genre: both Persius and Juvenal, as we shall see, will be able to exploit it.

There is, however, another author that Persius and Juvenal as post-Horatian satirists must have had in mind: an author whom Horace never names explicitly in the *Satires*, but who had a crucial role in defining the style, themes, and setting of Roman satire, and the very figure of the "satirical poet" (or if it is preferred, of the satirical *persona*): Callimachus.

8.3 Callimachean Dreams (from Horace to Persius)

In his declarations on poetics, Horace is always inspired by ideals that we could define as "classicizing": it seems that for him great Greek literature does not

substantially go beyond fourth-century Athens. In the only explicit mention of Callimachus in Horace's works, the impression is that the name of Callimachus is squeezed between two illustrious "classics," Alcaeus and Mimnermus, whom Horace considered truly sublime (*Epist.* 2.2.99–101; Mimnermus was named, but certainly not as an "absolute" authority, by the same Callimachus in *Aitia*, fr. 1.11–12 Pf.). A passage such as *Satires* 1.2.107–8 must also have contributed to increasing the sensation of distance between Callimachus and Horace: here the verses (*versiculi*) that the foolish lover repeats to justify his own acts of folly are a free translation of one of Callimachus' best known epigrams (31 Pf. = *Anth. Pal.* 12.102).

Yet if Callimachus does not represent an aspiration for Horace, he remains a precious means of inspiration, since the sensibility with which Horace looks at the classical models is Callimachean. As an iambic poet, in becoming an imitator of Archilochus (and, marginally, of Hipponax), Horace cannot but feel the effect of the mediation of Callimachus' *Iambs*. The same method of developing the Old Comedy that we find in Book 1 of the *Satires*, as a lesson in style and literary awareness, is also found in Callimachus. Indeed, in the way Callimachus looked at poetry and poets, there is an evident consonance with the inventions, images, and language of those great authors of Athenian comedy which were collected and lovingly edited in Alexandria. In particular Aristophanes' *Frogs*, with its discussion of tragic poetry (the protagonists of which were Aeschylus and Euripides), must have contributed to developing, in Callimachus and in the Hellenistic critical reflection as a whole, a vivid taste for irony, play, and comical metamorphosis. Such an alignment is confirmed in precise textual elements: the famous image of the jar (*lekythos/ampulla*) used by the character of Aeschylus in the *Frogs* (1198–1247) finds its way into Callimachus' *Iambs* (maybe 13: fr. 215 Pf. τραγῳδὸς μούσα ληκυθίζουσα), and then into Horace *Epistles* 1.3.14 and *Ars Poetica* 97.

What, then, are the imitations of or allusions to Callimachus in the *Satires*? Were Persius and Juvenal, in reading their Horace, able to observe the rapport he shared with the great Hellenistic master? A not unlikely comparison, although it may appear accidental, is that between *Satires* 1.4.34 *faenum habet in cornu* "he has hay on his horn" and Callim. *Iambs* 13, Pf. αἰδοῦς ἐς κέρασ' τεθύμωται "the poet becomes angry with the horn." It is worth, however, looking rapidly at two more complex imitations. The first could be an actual rewriting, despite the fact that Horace gives the definite impression of wanting to conceal that.

It seems reasonable to assume that in *Satires* 1.8 the idea of a talking statue might be traced back to Callimachus, in whose *Iambs* it appears more than once (Puelma Piwonka (1949) 289; Bornmann (1996) 667b): after the description, in *Iamb* 6, of the celebrated statue of Zeus in Olympia; in *Iamb* 7

it was a rather more modest simulacrum of Hermes that recounted, in his own voice, the particular etiological affair in which he was protagonist; while in *Iamb* 9 again a simulacrum of Hermes, strikingly ithyphallic, explained his state by resorting to mystical reasons. We have only scarce fragments of both poems (only two verses of *Iamb* 9), but it is striking that in Horace the wooden simulacrum of Priapus, who is similarly obscene (1.8.5 *porrectus ab inguine palus*, where *palus* easily evokes *phallus*/φαλλός), should reveal “the why” of one of his conspicuous characteristics: that is, the cleft in his posterior part, due to the enormous fart with which he had driven away the two witches, Canidia, future iambic protagonist in *Epodes* 5 and 17, and her assistant Sagana. While Horace’s statue tells his story like those of Callimachus, Horace might also have been experimenting with a mischievous variation on *Iamb* 7. In Callimachus, in fact, the simulacrum, also wooden, proved to be indestructible (it resisted all attempts by the fishermen to turn it into firewood); on the other hand, in Horace 1.8 it is precisely the comical posterior flaw that is the origin of the tale. The description of monuments, with their *aitia*, would soon become an important form of Augustan poetry: one needs hardly to recall some of Propertius’ elegies, in particular from Book 4 (in 4.2 it is Vertumnus who speaks, a god with various features in common with Priapus). Here this device finds its parody, or rather, its satirical reinterpretation.

In the second case interpreters have found it easier to recognize the Callimachean model; that is, in the dream recounted by Horace in *Satires* 1.10.31–35 (see in particular Scodel (1987) 203–4; Zetzel (2002); also Fedeli (1994) 517). Callimachus, at the beginning of the *Aitia* (but after the polemic against the Telchines), had already used the stratagem of the dream to express his own poetic program and link up again with the Hesiodic didactic tradition. For Horace and for the entire generation of poets contemporary with him, the reading of the Callimachean Prologue had been further revived by Virgil’s *Eclogue* 6: subsequently, Propertius 3.3 would be added as yet another great text of Callimachean initiation.

These two Horatian examples show how Callimachus is redeployed by Horace, though with a subtle play of distancings and differences, in his making of satire. In particular the device of the dream introduces another fundamental aspect, that is, the relationship with great inspired poetry. Illuminating in this regard is the way Persius wanted to take up again, through Augustan mediation, the Callimachean dream. If the *choliambi* were really intended by Persius as the Prologue of his own satirical *liber* (they certainly correspond to forms and structures of proemial rhetoric), the first successor of Horace wanted to assume, from the beginning, an attitude that was far removed from the solemnity of Hesiodic initiation. If Horace said that he had been visited in a dream by a singular Callimachean Quirinus,

Persius seems to distance himself decisively from immediate, miraculous metamorphosis into a poet:

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino
nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.
(Prologue 1–3, my translations throughout)

I have not washed my lips in the Nag's spring,
nor do I remember dreaming upon two-headed Parnassus,
so that I stepped forth suddenly a poet.

To understand Persius' attitude the reader cannot leave Ennius out of consideration. In the proem to his *Annales*, Ennius told of having received in a dream the revelation of his own destiny as Homer's "heir." Ennius did not limit himself to invoking the support of the Muses, but actually presented himself as the reincarnation of Homer. There could perhaps be no more effective way of representing the derivative nature of Latin literature and, at the same time, its brilliant Hellenistic reflectiveness.

Here, then, Persius rejects the interpretation that Ennius, and with him the "inspired" epic tradition, had given of Callimachus' dream. By doing so, Persius aligns himself with the true spirit of Callimacheanism: one might say that he "rediscovers" it. Indeed, Virgil had already tried to restore to Callimachus' dream its original meaning: the bucolic poet, heir of the Callimachean ideals of "refinement" and "purity," had to avoid the epic-heroic theme, which Ennius had made his own. Horace, in his readaptation of the dream, was in essence also trying to return to the Callimachean ideal of "selection": why go and swell the already "great multitudes" of the Greeks? (*Satires* 1.10.35).

The same necessity helps explain the often discussed passage of the Prologue which immediately follows the verses quoted above:

Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen
illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt
hederae sequaces: ipse semipaganus
ad sacra uatum carmen adfero nostrum.
(4–7)

The Heliconiads and pale Pirene
I leave to those whose busts are lapped
by the clinging ivies: myself, as half a country-member,
I bring my poems to the bards' rituals.

Persius too distances himself from the tribe of the poets, who appear before him in a by no means sparse array (*illis . . . quorum*). In Persius as in Horace the identity of the satirist is marked by a desire for independence: Quirinus had urged Horace not to mingle with the ranks of the Greeks, and Persius absolutely does not want to be assimilated *in toto* to the tribes of Hellenizing poets. But with the word *semipaganus*, the meaning of which is much debated, it is Persius himself who points out the paradox: however much he tries to avoid the banal ritual gestures of the poets, he himself also belongs, although by half (*semi-*), to the “village” (*pagus*) and he also ends up adding his “song” to that of the others.

At the other end of Persius’ *libellus* (even if we admit that the poems’ final disposition was decided by the executor of the will, Annaeus Cornutus, on which see in this volume Keane, Chapter 4), at the beginning of *Satire* 6, the reference to the dreamer Ennius becomes explicit (9–11):

“Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite, ciues.”
cor iubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse
Maeonides Quintus pauone ex Pythagoreo.

“Luna’s port, ye citizens, you must see – it’s worth pains.”
So bids Ennius’ heart, after he has snored off being
Quintus Maeonides [i. e. Homer], late Pythagorean peacock.

The background of these verses, which it is possible to reconstruct thanks to the ancient scholium to line 10, is that Ennius had involved the peacock in his revelation: before transmigrating into him, the soul of Homer passed through this bird, symbol of immortality. Persius, therefore, made use of a typically satirical procedure: that which at the “high” level of epic is fantastic invention, mythopoeia, is brought back, in the “low” register of satire, to its corporeal and, in this case, animal nature. And so we have the great Ennius who finds himself with a not so distant ornithological, if not gastronomical, kinship, since the satirical reader cannot be prevented from thinking of the peacock as a specialty of Roman cuisine (Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.116, 2.2.23; Juv. 1.143). Even more instructive is the lexical choice in *destertuit*: not only the evident comical connotation of “snoring,” which contrasts so sharply with the solemn Ennian context (a true sleeping Homeric hero at the most might have had heavy breathing, like the unfortunate Rhesus in the *Iliad* 10.496), but also the “egressive” prefix *de-*. The satirical poet, that is, situates himself “after” the dream and records its after-effects; his searching gaze rests upon Ennius awakened from his Pythagorean snoring. And if the proem of the *Annales* contained the secrets of transmigration, in the satirical text Ennius, now awake, expresses himself concerning a more modest revelation: how deserving of a

visit the port of Luna is. Indeed, if line 9 really originated in Ennius' *Saturae*, as has been hypothesized, not unreasonably (Harvey (1981) 185–86 *ad loc.*), it would be Ennius' satirical text (and not only that of Persius) that would situate itself “after” the epic text and be in contrast with it in the same way as the reality of waking consciousness contrasts with nocturnal fantasies.

From the Prologue to the sixth Satire, the theme of the dream leads the satirist Persius to distance himself from father Ennius: which is a way of rediscovering the first, and most celebrated, Hellenistic dreamer poet, Callimachus, who was so declaredly hostile to “imitation of Homer” (*zelos homerikos*). In so doing, Persius proves to be a true pupil of Horace.

8.4 Persius and Juvenal against Epic

It cannot be ruled out that in their readaptations of Callimachus' dream both Horace and Persius had a specific satirical precedent. It is indeed possible that Lucilius made light of the spectacular initiation with which the *Annales* opened. This, at least, can be deduced from a late testimony of St. Jerome, which unfortunately finds no confirmation in any surviving fragment: *Homerus alter ut Lucilius de Ennio suspicatur*: “a second Homer, as Lucilius suspects of Ennius” (413 W = 1189 M; the definition of *alter Homerus*, which in *Epist.* 2.1.50 (quoted below) Horace attributes to the “critics,” would therefore date back at least to Lucilius). If it must remain a hypothesis, however likely, that Lucilius was being ironical about Ennius' “metempsychotic” claims, we are, on the other hand, certain that he did not fail to distance himself from the fantasies of the ancient indigenous poets, such as the Fauni and Numa Pompilius – defined by Lucilius, precisely, as “dreams” (*somnia*): fr. 524–29 W, especially 527–28 (= 487–88 M). In the epistle to Augustus Horace will also observe how all the promises of the *Annales* might be in danger of being unfulfilled: “Ennius, wise, heroic and a second Homer (*alter Homerus*), | as the critics say, cares little about what will become of the Pythagorean promises and dreams” (*Epist.* 2.1.50–52; but sometimes also the great Homer “dozes”: see below).

The critical attitude that the satirical poets show towards poetic common-places like the dream is part of a more general attitude towards epic poetry. The decision, which progressively gained ground in Lucilius' mind, to write satire in hexameters, facilitated even further the confrontation with the epic genre. Once again virtually the heir of Callimachus, the satirical poet shows that he is a “poet and philologist”: he is familiar with the poetic tools, shows that he is able to use them and can therefore allow himself to criticize the epic poets.

Good evidence for this is that typically Augustan device, the so-called *recusatio*, the self-conscious “refusal” to write epic poetry, modelled on Callimachus' refusal in the *Aitia*. When in *Satires* 2.1 Trebatius Testa observes

that it would be much better if Horace dedicated himself to epic poetry in praise of Octavian, the reader is presented with four verses in which are condensed the images and words of martial epic (12–15) – a taste of what the “weak” poet (*vires deficiunt*, 12–13) would be capable of doing: or, in any case, the demonstration of a perfect stylistic mastery at the level of epic.

Horace’s two successors seem to be aware that possession of epic tools is the indispensable requisite for the satirical poet, and they do not fail to provide proof of it, above all through humorous allusions or parodies. Persius has hardly begun his first Satire when he cannot resist making light of epic: *ne mihi Polydamas et Troiades Labeonem | praetulerint?* (“Do you fear that Polydamas and the Trojan women might prefer Labeo to me?” 4–5); the satirical poet introduces himself ironically as disadvantaged and “unreadable,” before a public which, composed as it is of Homeric protagonists, is obliged to prefer Attius Labeo, author of a Latin version of the *Iliad*. And here Persius is all the more Callimachean in showing contempt for the adaptation of Homer (in this case a pretentious translation).

Further on, towards the conclusion of the satire, immediately before mentioning the great models of Lucilius, Horace, and the ancient Greek comedians, Persius will not fail to blame again tastes in contemporary epic, and not without close quotations: it will be the occasion for an illuminating word on the contradictions of literary refinement. That need for a “new” poetry, which was so important in the Horace of *Satires* 1.10, and in general in all Augustan poetry, ended up exhausting itself in abstruse and insubstantial forms, so much so that the *Aeneid* itself seems an antique to the now “brand new” poets: 92–106, especially 96–97 “*Arma uirum*, is it not perhaps foamy, with thick bark (*cortice pingui*), | like an old branch of a dried-up cork-tree?”

Not dissimilar is Juvenal’s programmatic beginning. Indeed, it is precisely the spectacle of an omnipresent epic that ignites the satirical reaction of the poet: it seems almost that, with the choice of the verb *reponere*, satire represents a weapon to oppose the dominant chorus of epic poets: *Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam | uexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?* (“Shall I always be a mere listener? Will I never be able to reciprocate, so many times attacked by the *Theseid* of raucous Cordus?” 1.1–2). The poet Juvenal finds himself in the condition of a passive listener, forced to endure the public declamation of a poem on Theseus, truly interminable if its author is afflicted with hoarseness. Like Horace’s “spitting” Furius, *pingui tentus omaso* (“stuffed with greasy tripe,” 2.5.40), or Crispinus with his diatribes, “bleary-eyed” because a graphomaniac (1.1.120), like the “hoarsened” Sulcius and Caprius (1.4.65–66), Cordus’ literary worthlessness is indicated by a significant physical defect. Once other literary forms, comedy, elegy (1.3–4 *inpune ergo mihi recitauerit ille togatas, | hic elegos?*) and tragedy (*Telephus* and *Orestes*, 1.5–6),

are added to epic, the choice left to the poet seems rather obligatory: yet if satire for Horace represented the only free slot in a system filled by friend poets (*Satires* 1.10.46–47; see Woodman (1983)), Juvenal is compelled to choose by the context, perceived as hostile and alien, of contemporary literature. Might it have been different for a poet who ventured into the public space of recitations, among cries, applause, or insults, that space which Horace had so scrupulously avoided?

The way Persius and Juvenal, two profoundly different satirical authors, view epic, especially in programmatic contexts, is a good match for the way Horace viewed it, an attitude itself inherited from Callimachus. The epic poet, who by nature should be impersonal and “objective,” in reality appears to the satirist to be rather compromised: the satirist enjoys observing the physical characteristics and attitudes of the epic poet and how they are reflected in his works (and vice versa).

It will be useful to consider another example. When in *Epistles* 1.19 Horace thinks of *pater* Ennius, he imagines him necessarily full of wine (*potus*) at the moment of singing of arms: *Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma | prosiluit dicenda* (7–8). Wine was *de rigueur* the impetus for combat, for warriors in every age, from Homer onwards: Horace himself has already said in *Epistles* 1.5.17 that inebriation “moves the faint-hearted to battle” (*ad proelia trudit inertem*). The effect of the enjambment is therefore ironic and could be reinterpreted thus: “never if not after drinking to arms | did he throw himself (... to sing of them!).” An analogous enjambment will be employed by Juvenal to express the “pleasantness” of Statius’ epic poem: *curritur ad uocem incundam et carmen amicae | Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem | promisitque diem* (“they flocked to hear the beautiful voice (of the poet) and the song of dear | *Thebaid*, because Statius has made the city happy, | and has fixed a day for the reading,” 7.82–84). As the following verses say even more explicitly (especially 85: *tanta . . . libidine uolgi*), the poet and his works exercise a kind of erotic fascination on the public: the term *amica*, with which line 82 concludes, might remind us of a desirable woman, but we discover that the feminine gender refers to a poem (for an enjambment with obscene purpose see 9.43–44: Bellandi (2009) 473; and see also in this volume McNelis, Chapter 11). The mixture of literature and sexual appeal is an important theme also in Persius’ first Satire, as J.C. Bramble showed clearly in a celebrated study in 1974: in Persius we do not have a surprise enjambment, but the task of closing the first Satire for effect is assigned to a female figure who is either a “lover” or some epyllion with a sentimental subject (some have thought of some version or other of the romance of Chaereas and Callirhoe): *his mane edictum, post prandia Callirhoea do* “For such my prescription is: before lunch the Edict, Callirhoe after” (134). Once again Juvenal, in the guise of the parodic epic poet, at the moment of introducing his special “council of

the gods” (in actual fact it is the council of Domitian and his court, assembled to deliberate on how an enormous fish should be cooked), will address the Muses, and in particular Calliope, the epic Muse: “Begin, Calliope; you may sit down, because it isn’t a subject | for singing; but it is a true event; tell it, ye maidens | of Pieria – and may I win some profit for calling you maidens (*prosit mihi uos dixisse puellas*)” (4.34–36). Of course, the epithet “maidens” is sarcastic for divinities who have accumulated as much experience of lovers as of songs and poems.

8.5 Horatian Principles of Callimachean Satire

One might easily think that Juvenal is anything but a “Callimachean” author: the length of his satires, which in the case of the sixth reaches the size of an entire book, the violence of his rhetoric, the use of invective and powerful images, have often led interpreters to view his poetics as one of excess. Yet, among the first images used by Juvenal in his inauguration of his own satirical book is the “big book” (*mega biblion*) so detested by Callimachus: *inpune diem consumpserit ingens | Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri | scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?* (“No revenge on one who has wasted my day with an interminable | Telephus, or with an Orestes, which, having filled the final margin, | extends to the back of the roll, and still hasn’t come to an end?,” 1.4–6). It is this distinctly Callimachean feeling that immediately makes evident Juvenal’s right to lash out against the interminable recitations of which he is victim: it should be remembered that the first to be censured is precisely a poet who is “raucous” because of too much recitation of his epic *Theseid* (ibid. 2), while *Telephus* and *Orestes* recall those tragic, long since overused, subjects at which Callimachus had directed his criticism (in addition to the already quoted fr. 215 Pf., also in *Iamb* 2, fr. 192.12–13 Pf.).

As far as Persius is concerned, how fundamental the value of brevity is for him is clear even to his most superficial reader: he is exposed to the risk that Horace himself had observed in *Ars Poetica* 25–26: *brevis esse laboro, | obscurus fio* (“I try to be brief, | and become obscure”). Yet Persius himself felt the need to refer explicitly to the value of brevity near the end of his programmatic satire. I am referring to the much discussed word *decoctius*, that is, the “condensed potion,” with which Persius designates his own poetry compared to other, noble, models, such as Old Comedy (1.125).

It is Horace, in his first Satire, who posed the question of brevity in Callimachean terms. First, from lines 14–15 *ne te morer, audi, | quo rem deducam* (“so as not to make you waste your time, listen, | to what I’ll be driving at”), it is at once clear that the poet does not intend to detain his listener for long. Then in line 120, Horace reassures the listener about what he

still has to say and makes light of the graphomaniac Crispinus, who with his books had filled no small number of trunks: *iam satis est: ne me Crispini scrinia lippi | conpilasse putes, uerbum non amplius addam* (“it’s already enough: so that you will not think that bleary Crispinus’ caskets | have all been hoarded by me, I will not add another word,” 120–21; cf. also 95: *non longa est fabula*). In reality, Horace is simply following in the footsteps of the Callimachean Hipponax, who, in introducing a new subject, has similarly reassured those listening to him: “I won’t draw it out [οὐ μακρὴν ἄξω], | oh dearest one, do not turn up your nose, I do not | have much time either” (*Iamb* 1, fr. 191. 32–34; Freudenburg (1993) 104). Again towards the conclusion of the third Satire Horace says: *ne longum faciam* (137), where the verbal allusion to Callimachus is even more precise. One cannot therefore be too surprised that, in the beginning of *Satires* 1.4, especially lines 9–10, the author Lucilius is criticized precisely for his quantitative excesses. We find the attitude of the first Iamb again in the second introductory satire, that of Book 2: *ne longum faciam* (2.1.57); and again in the conclusion of the first epistle: *ad summam* (*Epist.* 1.1.106; indeed the suspicion arises that the catarrh that bothers the sage might be an ailment linked to talking too much: *nisi cum pituita molesta* [108]; cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.3.56).

The excess of quantity, in Callimachean logic, is closely linked to the scant attention to form: subtlety is a quality that can be observed in details, requiring time both to be executed and to be appreciated. It follows that in the passage quoted of *Satires* 1.4 Lucilius’ censure proceeds through another negative symbol of Callimacheanism, the muddy river: *cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere uelles* (“since he flowed muddy, there was in it that which you would have wanted to remove,” *Sat.* 1.4.11). Already in the first Satire Horace had employed the image, reinterpreting it and amplifying it in a satirical context (lines 54–60); and here, in addition to the well-known passage of the *Hymn to Apollo* (108–12), the Callimachean reader is reminded of the Prologue of the *Aitia* (fr. 1.33–34 Pf.: the poet who sings “living on dew-drops”). The aesthetic orientation of the *libellus* is clearly marked: thus, the swollen (*tumidus*) “half-breed” Persius, a character of 1.7, is compared to a wintry river (*flumen hibernum*, 22–27), and we discover finally in 1.9.31–34 that the old Sabine woman had prophesied to Horace that a “chatterbox” would kill him.

Other concepts of a Callimachean kind are employed by Horace to ridicule the customary target of the epic poet: in the above-mentioned passage of *Satires* 1.10, shortly after re-evoking Callimachus’ dream, the task of marking the season is assigned to the pompous Alpinus, who looks as if he represents the living contradiction of Callimacheanism (perhaps he and the Furius of 2.5.41 are the same person: Furius Bibaculus?): *turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque | diffingit Rhēni luteum caput, haec ego ludo* (“while the

turgid Alpinus cuts Memnon's throat, | while he disfigures the fair head of the Rhine, so also do I divert myself," 36–37). If the satirical Quirinus had converted into Italic value the poetological meanings of the Callimachean (and Virgilian) Apollo, those meanings now re-emerge in the epithet *turgidus*, which is the exact opposite of Callimachus' "subtle" Muse (*leptalee*), or of the Virgilian "refined song" (*deductum . . . carmen*, *Eclogues* 6.5). And if Lucilius "flowed muddy," now the poetic action of Alpinus consists in "disfiguring" the head of the Rhine – again, notice, a river: the epithet *luteum*, used of waters, calls to mind "mud" or "slime" (apart from the textual difficulty *diffingit* | *diffindit*, Porphyrio *ad* 37 is quite instructive: "almost as if it were he who rendered muddy, with his evil description"; see now Gowers (2012) 32324 *ad loc.*).

In his role of literary critic par excellence, that is, that of Homeric philologist, Horace had not failed to allude also to defects in the "greatest ever" epic poet: this occurs in his maturest stage, in the *Ars Poetica*, when Horace continues, and systematizes, that literary-critical attitude that always characterized his satirical *sermo*: *et idem | indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* ("yet | I am offended by those moments when the great Homer dozes," 358–59). Long before the poetic dreams of the various epic epigones, Homer's "dozing" represents an error: yet it is precisely the element of length that justifies such an error, as Horace will at once hasten to say (360: *uerum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum*; cf. *Satires* 2.3.60–61). It is quite significant that one of the fragments of Lucilius contains what looks very much like a precise anticipation of Horace, since there, too, the observation concerns Homer's being criticizable only in part; cf. fr. 401–10 W, especially 408–10 (= 345–47 M): "nobody who criticizes Homer | does so continuously, nor for the entirety of his poem, as I have already defined it: | he criticizes a single verse only, a word, an argument, a place." It is no surprise then that here Lucilius does not consider the vast dimensions of Homer's poems to be a problem, but the interest shared in Homeric philology between Lucilius and Horace remains nonetheless instructive.

Quite unlike the criticisms that Horace makes of contemporary poetasters, the criticisms that Horace directs at Lucilius are those of a poet who shares many of his interests: yet, Lucilius had operated at a still earlier stage. This is why, returning to the subject in *Satires* 1.10, Horace invents a conciliatory formula, recognizing in Lucilius more of a like-minded rival than an adversary; cf. 67–71 "but he, | if by the will of fate had found himself in this age of ours, | would scratch away so many things, and would cut away everything superfluous, | often would he scratch his head and gnaw his nails alive" (*uiuos . . . roderet unguis*). Persius, when he says in *Satire* 1.106 that bad poetry does not "taste" bitten nails (*nec demorsos sapit unguis*), must have been aware that he was continuing on a path that had already been traversed by Lucilius and Horace. Juvenal will try new solutions, complaining of the impossibility, in his

own day, of following that path again. Even so, in his first book Juvenal never goes beyond the highest limit of verses for a single satire that Horace had set in *Satires* 2.3 (326): in Juvenal's *Satire* 3, the one poem of Book 1 that approaches this limit (322 verses), the speaker is Umbricius, a character who shares more than one analogy with the eloquent Damasippus of *Satires* 2.3. Also the total of verses of Juvenal's Book 1 (990) remains below the numbers posted by Horace (Book 1: 1,030; Book 2: 1,083; obviously the number of verses is subject to slight variations, depending on the critical edition in use). As a debutant satiric poet, Juvenal proves that he knows full well how to avoid the misfortune of the "big book." Thereafter, in his sixth *Satire*, Juvenal will begin to experiment with an "expansionist" mode that far exceeds any Horatian precedent. But to justify such excess he deploys a rhetorical manoeuvre that was his stock in trade, i.e. pleading the enormity of contemporary society's vices (see especially 634–40).

"As fat as possible" must be the victim, but "slender" the Muse, according to Callimachus, *Aitia*, fr. 1.23–24 Pf.; "fat" the sheep and "refined" the song, according to Virgil, *Eclogues* 6.4–5. Not inopportunately, therefore, is the value of "subtlety" (*tenuitas*) expressed by the gourmet Catius in the gastronomic terms of *Satires* 2.4: especially 9: *res tenuis, tenui sermone peractas* ("fine arguments, presented with fine words"; also 36: *tenui ratione saporum*). In the same satire we find the Callimachean idea of the remote spring (94). Yet Catius did not want to reveal the name of his master: *celabitur auctor* (11). No surprise: neither Horace in the *Satires*, nor Persius, nor Juvenal, ever names Callimachus.

8.6 What Way?

One of the most celebrated expressions used to designate satire is that of the "pedestrian Muse," used by Horace in the memorable *Satires* 2.6.16–17: "when I retired from the city to my citadel in the mountains, | what other subject should I first celebrate with my satires and pedestrian muse? (*musaque pedestri*)." It has long since been observed that the expression presupposes a relevant passage of the *Aitia*, that is, the epilogue, fr. 112.9 Pf.: Μουσέων πεζὸν ... νομόν ("the pedestrian pasture of the Muses," the concluding verse of the entire work). Callimachus' expression has been much discussed, but it seems reasonable to think that it must refer to the daily dimension of the life and profession of poets: the pasture of the Muses, that is, represents the concrete, "pedestrian," contemporary literary life, and the expression would therefore be an effective junction with the work that followed in the ordering of the Callimachean corpus, that is, the *Iambi* (Cucchiarelli (2008)).

If Horace really, as is probable, had in mind the Callimachean context of the expression, all the more so must he have derived from it a conception of the “pedestrian Muse” as a part of a system. One Muse, that is, goes “on foot” because others more solemn or sublime do not do so (notice, at the same time, the reformulation with respect to Callimachus, where the pasture of the Muses was “pedestrian” *tout court*). But what are, concretely, the characteristics that were supposed to define, in the eyes of Persius and Juvenal, such a Horatian satirical Muse? That is to say, what is the track of the Muse on foot?

In the same 2.6 Horace had once again clarified how his Callimacheanism extended also to moral values. Even before readapting, like Virgil, the motto of the Callimachean Apollo in lines 14–15, *pingue pecus... facias et cetera praeter ingenium* (“make my flock fat, and all the rest, except | my mind”), already in the way he says in line 4 that he is not “asking for anything more,” Horace defines the image of a poet in search of the just measure both in life and in verses. The sheltered space of the country is all he is looking for, to dedicate himself to the reading of the “ancients” (61). And in the “slender vetch” (117: *tenui ... ervuo*), on which, in the conclusion of the fable, the country mouse prefers to feed, one might recognize a symbol of both moral and poetic simplicity and independence.

Already in the Callimachean corpus as a whole the poetic values of “brevity” and “selection,” of “refinement,” “slenderness” and “subtlety,” did not remain abstract ideals, but found concrete application in metaphors, actions and attitudes of the poet: they were part, that is, of his character. Think of how, in the memorable Prologue of the *Aitia* (in which we would not be deceiving ourselves in recognizing iambic and satirical spirits), Callimachus converts those values into the image of the “untrodden path” and of the “narrower road” (fr. 1.27–28 Pf.). In other words, to be “subtle” and “brief,” the Callimachean poet must withdraw from the collective dimension of much-frequented poetry: the “heavy waggons,” “the footprints of the others,” the sonorous “braying of the ass” (ibid. 25–26, 30), represent those negative values from which the Callimachean poet must distinguish himself, striving rather to resemble the “light” (ἐλαχύς) cicada (32–34). At the same time the poet must be able to avoid those frays and quarrels that so easily animate literary life: recall that Hipponax with whom the *Iambs* open was there a bearer of peace.

Such attitudes, which give to the poet’s voice a definite place and body, constitute precious models for the satirical poet, who tends naturally to say “I” and to represent himself. There has been much discussion of the satirical *persona*, in the sense of the concrete quality of the satirical voice: the “philosopher,” the “sage,” or the untrustworthy moralist, the *doctor ineptus*. It is, however, also useful to reflect on the scenario in which the *persona* is situated, where the poet’s voice originates – that is, how we must imagine him.

It is significant that in one of the most clearly “Callimachean” texts of Latin satire, Persius’ Prologue, the poet begins, as we have already seen, with information regarding his own poetological sojourns: *Nec fonte*, etc. (1–2 quoted above). The negative iteration, with which Persius declares that he has not visited the sacred places of poetic inspiration, not even in dreams (*nec ... nec*), might derive from the verses, also choliambic, with which Callimachus answers the charges of his detractors, admitting, not without pride, that he had not mingled with the Ionians, nor ever been to Ephesus, Hipponax’s native land and therefore an obligatory place of pilgrimage for any iambic (and choliambic) poet: fr. 203, especially 11–12 Pf.: οὐτ’ Ἴωσι συμμείξας | οὐτ’ Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν (the fragmentariness of the text should not prevent us from observing in line 15 the mention of the “stomach,” γαστήρ, in the context of poetic inspiration; cf. Prologue 10–11). Therefore, the incomplete poetic identity of Persius, expressed by the epithet *semipaganus*, would find an interesting precedent in Callimachus’ “imperfect” professionalism. Already in Callimachus the refusal of the pilgrimage to Ephesus signifies that the poet is avoiding the worn-out customs of the poets: or, at least, he is not able to recognize himself fully in them.

It might seem a paradox that those who, like Horace, write in such a socially exposed genre as satire, should manifest reluctance towards mixing with the masses, in particular along the public thoroughfare. In the discussion of the legitimization of his own satirical action, we have already seen how Horace dissociated himself from two street preachers, Sulcius and Caprius, both “hoarse” from voicing their interminable and repeated invectives, the feared nightmare of “any thief” (1.4.65–67), and always accompanied by *libelli* capable of acting, clearly, on all of the Roman people – “and why should you fear me? | I want no shop or bookseller to have my books” (1.4.70–71). It is for his epodic register that Horace reserves the aggressive pose of the poet who, standing in the street, denounces vice: the clearest example is *Epode* 4 in which the parvenu (left anonymous: assuming that the character, however representative, is not fictitious) is targeted: “Don’t you see, while you pace the Sacred Way | with a six-foot toga, | how from every side the faces of the passers-by are distorted by | the indignation of those who are truly born free? (*liberrima indignatio*)” (8–11). Here the voice of the iambic poet situates itself in the very heart of the city: the Sacred Way, on which the parvenu drags his pretentious toga. It should be noted, however, that even in his role as iambist Horace avoids too direct an attack: after formulating his enmity with the unnamed adversary in individual terms (2: *tecum mihi discordia est*), he observes how his indignation is shared among his fellow citizens. Yet the Horace of the *Satires* has a different manner on the same Sacred Way. In the incipit of 1.9 (*Ibam forte uia sacra*) we see the satirical poet crossing it completely absorbed in his own inner world: Horace, for his part, would seem not even to have noticed the

passers-by, had he not found himself hounded by the pest. The whole satire tells of his continuous flight, and there is no sign of anger or indignation: on the contrary, Horace compares himself to a “victim” under the knife of the sacrificer (74).

If Lucilius, a near-perfect iambist in the eyes of Horace, or if a comedian of Old Comedy, had been capable of attacking even the most important citizens, going through the entire people of Rome “tribe by tribe” (*Satires* 2.1.70), Horace himself refers to his own potential as satirical poet as a weapon which he might possibly use, but only in legitimate defence: “but who | comes to upset me – better not to touch me, I tell you! –, | he will regret it and his name, famous, will resound throughout the city” (2.1.44–46). Horace will never carry out this threat: rather it had been Lucilius, using also non-hexameter meters, who had “sung” through the city the names of his adversaries, while Horace even in his iambs will at most resort to pseudonyms or allegories. Habitually, the reader has to imagine the satirical poet Horace aloof, closed in an inner dimension of reflection, in conversation with his closest friends, and rather unwilling to recite his own verses in public, far removed from the interests and logic of the “market” of books and culture: who could fear such a satirist? (cf. especially *Satires* 1.4.70–74 quoted above). In Book 2, indeed, Horace will often set his own satires, and his own satirical *persona*, in the Sabine countryside, thus removing the satire from that urban dimension that should typically be proper to it (Braund (1989a)).

From the first words of his hexametric “debut,” we understand that the pages of Persius are written pages: after the quotation of the first verse, even assuming that it might not be from Lucilius (which remains, in any case, likely), it is clear that the poet has a reader in mind. Indeed, the poet asks himself: *quis leget haec?* (2). Again in lines 44–45 it is clear that what we are reading is the fiction of a poet who explicitly presents it as such: the voice of the interlocutor is invented by the declaration of Persius himself. However, towards the conclusion of the satire, it appears that Persius is the subject of what Horace would perhaps have considered an epodic temptation: he asks himself another, now more courageous question, which would seem to claim to be extended to all the citizens – *auriculas asini quis non habet?* (“who does not have the ears of an ass?” 121). In reality, Persius will decide to avoid public spaces: he will bury the secret in his *libellus*. By following his own very original path, Persius found Horace again.

The Juvenal who inaugurates the first Satire, and therefore expounds his satirical program, also distances himself, as we have seen, from professionalized, highly frequented, literature. In general, commentators and interpreters refer here to the proliferation of recitations at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century CE. Yet a by no means negligible stimulus comes, once again, from Horace, who in *Satires* 1.4 had distanced himself from

the recitations that had already begun to spread in Rome (though in restricted circles: 1.4.73–74). The same programmatic word *indignatio* is found already at *Epodes* 4.10 quoted above (*liberrima indignatio*), but it is the whole of the scenography of Juvenal's first Satire that is comparable with the fourth Epode. Indeed, Juvenal seems to want to put himself squarely in the place of those libellers who were the object of Horace's derision, declaring himself ready to fill enormous wax tablets at the crossroads (lines 63–64). Unlike Persius, who seems to situate himself in the indefinite and abstract space of the written page, Juvenal goes down into the streets of Rome.

This choice of Juvenal's might seem to go against Horatian (and Callimachean) principles. However, this is, in reality, above all a way of saying that the dimension of the "circle," with the protective figure of Maecenas, belongs to the past (he will return to this question, bitterly, at *Satires* 7.94: *quis tibi Maecenas?* and so on). Indeed, from the golden Augustan past emerges the profile of an irremediably degenerate Maecenas whom Juvenal observes with the anonymous eyes of the embittered wayfarer: *et multum referens de Maecenate supino* ("posing as a recumbent Maecenas," 66) – almost as if to say that depravity itself is the object of imitation (notice: *referens*), and by a character who is a "falsifier" by profession (67). Already in Persius, 1.88–91, that "votive tablet" that guaranteed the authenticity of the life of Lucilius (Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.33–34) had degenerated into the deceptive choreography of a beggar and impostor.

This is why Juvenal can allow himself the bitter irony of concluding the formulation of his own poetic principle (we are returning, for the last time, to the celebrated passage) in the following way: *facit indignatio uersum | quaecumque potest, quales ego uel Cluuienus* ("indignation makes verse | of whatever kind it be, such verse like mine or like Cluvienus", 79–80). Juvenal's invention consists precisely in imagining that a "typical" Horatian satirical poet, or, at least, a poet formed according to Horatian satirical ideals, is cast into the fray of the world, among the thousand vices of men. And at that point it will be no surprise that the humble "pamphleteer," the indefatigable street satirist, uncontainable in his capacious wax tablets, should be able to express his bitter truth concerning the same Augustan master: *satur est cum dicit Horatius "euhoe!"* ("Horace is full up when he sings 'euhoe!'" – as Juvenal will say in 7.62. Horace could allow himself to be a polymorphous poet, to shout a Dionysiac (and lyrical) *euhoe!*; but *satur*, sarcastically, can mean here for Juvenal only the physiological satiety of the client-poet, certainly not the quality of a true satirical poet.

It is not therefore necessary to talk of departing from Horatian principles in the case of a satirical author who uses Horace's concepts so pointedly, and who shows such great depth of understanding of his satirical project. Rather than departure from, or even polemic with, one might speak in terms of validation.

The urgency of *indignatio* that Juvenal recovers from the Horace of the *Epodes* becomes a reason for poetry. Indeed, it enables Juvenal to resolve the fundamental question posed by Horace, of whether satire “is or is not regular poetry”: *indignatio* produces “verses,” however poor the quality is. Juvenal’s rhetorical justification is simply this: if Horace could afford to do without it, or in any case to criticize such a satire of the “crossroads,” in the present age it becomes necessary, and therefore aesthetically tolerable (perhaps, even, desirable). For this reason there is no discrepancy between the poet who starts out despising the enormous volumes of contemporary poets and then begins filling *cerae capaces*: what fills them is the series of vices that show how Horace’s times have passed. Juvenal does not seek narrow, inaccessible ways, as the Callimachean precept would demand: his space is an open field, in which at least one chariot had already passed by, that of Lucilius (19–20).

8.7 Refuges, Corners and Arenas

That which in Persius represented the point of access to his particular satirical invention, silence, in Juvenal emerges as a precaution against the powerful: *digito compesce labellum* (“I seal my lips with my finger,” 1.160). Yet the same Juvenal, despite all his “indignation,” ends up choosing for himself a solution that is not so unlike that of Persius. This time it is not the *libellus* that becomes analogous to a “hole,” where the poet buries his secrets, as in Persius 1.119–23. In Juvenal it is the satirical targets who are “buried”: their ashes lie under the Flaminian and Latin roads (170–71).

Both imperial satirists thus reinterpret the Horatian conception of the book as a refuge or casket, an instrument for protecting the thoughts and the individuality of the poet. It can be said that Horace taught the two successive satirists how the book, being a sort of (eternal?) alter ego of the poet, must reflect life and experience. The satirical poet, his satire, and the very book that contains it, all inhabit a sheltered dimension, averse to the clamor of the common life of humanity: they are strongly attracted to the *angulus* which often coincides with the country. Persius, when he isolates himself physically in *Satire* 6, and Juvenal, when he retires to Aquinum at *Satire* 3.318–19 (see below), prove to be heirs of an Horatian tradition.

There are two especially subtle and clever passages in which both Persius and Juvenal show that they have understood, though reinterpreting it freely, the model of the satirical poet that Horace had conceived. In the first, Persius insists on the advantages of those who are able to “live with themselves,” and concludes epigrammatically: *tecum habita; noris quam sit tibi curta supellex* (“live with yourself; and you will know how poor is your furniture,” 4.52). The ideal of “autonomy” (i.e. “self-sufficiency”), which Horace was shown to have

put into practice with his own style of life in *Sat.* 1.6, especially line 118: *Campana supellex* (the humble Campania “furnishings”), has become the metaphor of true inner freedom; but in the case of Persius a “furniture” that was not so much modest as defective (*curtus* has the sense of “broken,” “defective”) is the stimulus to do more and to do better (add also *Epist.* 1.5.7 quoted by Kissel (1990) 565 *ad loc.*). In the second passage, Juvenal has his friend Umbricius say that he is ready to go and visit him when the poet goes to Aquinum: “of your satires, if they are not ashamed of me, | I will become a listener, I will come in my boots to your cold countryside” (3.321–22). One can deduce, as Umbricius must be well aware, that Juvenal’s *saturae* can be read and listened to in the country: it might seem to be a colorless, or perhaps obvious, fact, but the detail, once again, refers to Horace’s satiric setting on his Sabine farm (think especially of *Satires* 2.3, as interpreted by Miller in this volume, Chapter 14).

Juvenal himself occasionally uses, in his own way, one of the images that in Horace produce a contrast with “shelter”: that of the “duel” or “gladiatorial game” (think, in particular, of the beginning of the *Epistles*; but also of 1.19.45–49; 2.2.92–101; and a sort of “poetic contest,” with lots of “challenges,” already in *Satires* 1.4.13–16). Thus, in the final part of the first Satire, when Juvenal’s fictitious interlocutor echoes a proverbial attitude, in order to say that the satirical poet should think very carefully before “launching himself” into the struggle, that is, to battle against the (often rather dangerous) dissolute: “with your helmet on your head it is too late to change your mind about the duel” (169–70). In the later seventh Satire, in which Juvenal again touches directly upon literature, poetry, and poets, again a gladiatorial image closes the poem: in this case it is the schoolmaster who is compared with the gladiator in the arena – *haec inquit cura: sed cum se uerterit annus, | accipe uictori populus quod postulat aurum* (“deal with these things: but when the year is over, | take the gold that the people invoke for the winner,” 7.242–43) – as if to say that having to do with so many restless schoolboys is an enterprise worthy of a (great!) gladiator, a practically impossible enterprise (note that a much clearer sarcastic effect would be produced in line 242 by *cura et* of the codex Burn. 192, a reading that deserves consideration: see Housman’s apparatus (1931) 72; for hiatus, in the same rhythmic context, see 12.110). It is hard to imagine a clearer way of expressing the humiliation of an Horatian satiric poet.

8.8 *Totus Noster Callimachus*

We cannot know with certainty what Horace meant when, in the above-cited passage of *Epistles* 2.2, he defined his adversary as “Callimachus”: the

traditional interpretation, which considers the adversary to be identifiable with Propertius, would lead us to think of the etiological aspect. Yet it was in many respects precisely Horace, more than Propertius, who took the role in Rome of *alter Callimachus*.

Like Callimachus, Horace was able to find effective literary symbolism: he provided all the material for subsequent writers, who were able to develop ever new variations. The poet Statius, who, as we have seen, was not spared Juvenal's own irony, when he characterizes the satirical form, resorts to an image for which he is rather indebted to Horace: *Silv.* 1.3.103 *liuentem saturam nigra rubigine* "satire livid with black rust" (the more so if one accepts K. Wachsmuth's conjecture, *nigra loliginis* "black squid"; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.100). And the same Juvenal, in naming at the beginning of *Satire* 15 the Egyptian bird that feeds on snakes, *saturam serpentibus ibin* (3), inevitably refers the reader to Callimachus' Ibis, but probably mixed with various Horatian allusions (the last two words of the *Satires*, *serpentibus Afris*, and the incipit of the *Epodes*, that is *Ibis*, but in the sense of "you will go": Heyworth (1993)). Even a technical writer like Columella, in the age of Seneca, introducing his tenth book in which he translates into verse a theme omitted by Virgil in the *Georgics*, shows traces of Horatian irony. Thus Columella writes: "Of the interest (*fenoris tui*) that I promised you, Silvinus, when you demanded it, this is the last small payment. With the nine preceding books I have already paid off the entire debt, of which remains only this last part which I now settle" (10 *praef.* 1). The image of the usury loan, in which the addressee is compared to a *fenerator*, introducing a poetic book of horticulture, acquires extra resonance from the fact that in Horace's *Epodes* 2 the passionate *laus ruris* (praise of country life) is pronounced by the *fenerator* Alfius, as the reader discovers at the conclusion of the poem (Columella, moreover, shows elsewhere that he is quite familiar with *Epodes* 2). Horatian ambiguity and irony have in this way become reason for intellectual play.

It was Horace who spread the principles and ideas of Callimacheanism in Latin literature and culture, rendering them easily usable, and it was Horace who was master in Rome, in the soon-to-be "classicized" period of Augustan literature, of *polueideia*, "plurality of genres"; it was Horace who showed how it was possible to mingle, superimpose, and at times set in contradiction the various forms and themes of poetry: iamb, hexameter, lyric poetry. The Late Republican experiences, in particular of Catullus, who had already cultivated a plurality of poetic forms, had to wait for Horace in order to achieve a stable codification: in his only mention of Catullus, Horace hardly was encouraging to those who were too intent on imitating Catullus (*Satires* 1.10.18–19).

That Saturnalian identity which is so typical of Roman satire, a literary form always ready for dissimulation, the play of perspectives, and the change and exchange of roles and masks, finds nutriment in the irony with which

Callimachus treated the ways and conventions of the various literary genres. Proof of this is to be found in the fact that on the question of “how one must imitate the great author,” crucial for all the authors of the Imperial Age, Horace had structured his discussion, especially in *Epistles* 1.19, in profoundly Callimachean terms, and that it was precisely Callimachus he intended to answer. In asserting the need for imitation that does not limit itself to inertly reproducing arguments (*res*) of the predecessor, Horace’s *Epistles* 1.19 does no more than repropose the attitude of Callimachus, who had introduced in the first *Iamb* a “purified” Hipponax (fr. 191.3–4 Pf.), and who in *Iamb* 13 had said that he had not felt any need to “go to Ephesus.” In *Epistles* 1.19, moreover, the conception of “true” poetic innovation in contrast with a plethora of imitator-poets, as much as it corresponds to a typically Horatian requirement (recall, for example, the irony of *Satires* 1.4.141–43), is still authorized by Callimachus, e.g. *Iamb* 1, fr. 191.26–28 Pf.

The case of the poetic dream shows to what extent Latin literature was always pervaded by Callimacheanism: even father Ennius, in his day, and then Lucilius, must have thought of themselves as heirs of Callimachus. The satirical poet, for his part, can do no more than renew the Callimachean requirement, showing how Ennius and, above all, Lucilius, although worthy, represented a primitive stage of refinement: that is to say, it is necessary to leave behind the great Republican masters, but to continue along the way they had marked out, Callimachus’ “narrow path.”

We have seen how Callimachus’ ideals and attitudes are also linked to a key component of Roman satire, namely that introspective component that so fruitfully contrasts with the aggressive impulses that are held to be typical of a literary form that aims at moral censure. This is, it would seem, a personal interpretation that Horace gave to Callimacheanism, emphasizing especially the values of moral self-sufficiency: an interpretation that is taken up again and intensified by Persius. In reality in Callimachus it was also easy to recognize a master of polemical aggression, though one restricted to the sphere of literature and, above all, to men of letters (the “pedestrian pasture of the Muses”). From this point of view, he could be considered an anticipator of themes that are commonly traced back to Roman satire, and in particular to Juvenal: I am referring to the theme of the “mendicant Muses,” forced to live a life of privation (especially *Iamb* 1, fr. 191.92–93 Pf.), or the correlated idea of the “mercenary Muse” (fr. 222 Pf.); recall, moreover, Callimachus’ criticism of homosexuality as a source of earnings (*Iamb* 3), or of a harassing homosexual, such as that of the master who abuses his pupils (*Iamb* 5).

Precisely in Juvenal’s first *Satire* we see clearly how the two components, aggressiveness and reflection, coexist and give rise to a lively dialectic. On the one hand, there is the image of the satirist as “charioteer,” master of a field to which the poet comes as an epigone (19–20); on the other, the satirical

themes are imagined as the object of a *Venusina . . . lucerna*, as Juvenal says in the much debated line 51. Thus, the battling pose of the knight Lucilius stands side by side with that of Horace, the poet of Venusia, vigilant over his papers, capable of casting the light of reason on human imperfections (Courtney (1980) 97 *ad loc.*). Indeed, in *Satires* 2.1 Horace had confessed that he had had difficulty in sleeping at night, and that this was why he had been forced to occupy himself with poetry: *uerum nequeo dormire* (2.1.7). That “insomnia” was a characteristic of the great poet, devoted to formal refinement, had already been asserted by Callimachus, in the celebrated epigram in honour of Aratus (27.4 Pf. = *Anth. Pal.* 10.507.4 Ἀρήτου σύντονος ἀγρυπνίη, “the tense insomnia of Aratus”). And Horace’s insomnia was not a banal physical problem, a result of anxiety or fear, but his genuine passion for poetry, an idea confirmed many years later, in *Ars Poetica* 268–69: *uos exemplaria Graeca | nocturna uersate manu, uersate diurna* (“you, the books of the Greeks | read them night and day”; also *Epist.* 1.2.34–35, 2.2.54). Ancient Homer sometimes dozed, and the father Ennius indulged in dreams, but the satiric poet has to stay awake at night.

The whole of Latin literature, from its birth, is profoundly indebted to Callimachus, and to that Hellenistic culture of which Callimachus was one of the most significant representatives. Horace selected and reinterpreted some aspects of Callimacheanism, which were collected and amplified, despite so many divergences, by Persius and Juvenal, contributing substantially to their later proliferation. Roman satire was thus able to play a relevant role in passing on at least some of Callimachus’ ideas to western culture.

FURTHER READING

For the complex relationship between satire and the Roman ritual context, especially the festival of the Saturnalia, see Graf (2005); the Saturnalian rite, with its upsetting of social roles is, in any case, clearly linked to that “distortion of the familiar” which is one of the most typical satirical effects: Braund (1992a) 4. Regarding “style and public” (two closely correlated aspects) in satirical authors the reading of Rudd (1986) 82–125 is valuable. On the importance of Callimachus in Latin literature, still fundamental is Puelma Piwonka’s volume (1949), in German, later supplemented by another work, also in German, Wimmel (1960); from recent times we also have the attractive volume by Hunter (2006). Specifically on Callimachus and Horace, in particular his satire, Scodel (1987), Freudenburg (1993), and Zetzel (2002), especially 44–45, are valuable. On the particular “Callimacheanism” of Persius see the discussion by Bellandi (1996) 62–71; specifically on the Prologue, D’Alessio (2006) 137–62. On the importance of the Horatian model in Persius, a useful overall picture is Rudd (1976) 54–83. For the ways in which Persius and Juvenal perceive Horace’s attitude towards Lucilius, in particular regarding the approach to the social and political context, see Freudenburg (2001).

CHAPTER NINE

Self-Representation and Performativity

Paul Roche

This chapter considers self-representation in Persius and Juvenal – the poetic speaker’s assumption of particular roles, *personae*, or faces – and some related aspects of satire’s generic predilection for playing roles, performing, and performativity. The act of self-representation and satire’s manifest sense of its own performance emerge from the continual engagement of Persius and Juvenal with the satirical tradition they had inherited from Horace and Lucilius. For perhaps the most urgent priority of that satirical tradition was the construction and definition of a speaking “I.”

In imperial satire, this process must recognizably operate within the dynamics of the same genre as that essentially constituted by Horace (himself reducing, reconstituting, and redefining the notion of satire after Lucilius: see e.g. Freudenburg (2001) 15–71, esp. 23–27, 49–52, 59–63; Gowers (2005a) 48–57; Hooley (2007b) 46–52), but must nevertheless extend that same tradition into the individual concerns and experiences of each poet’s own constructed identity and social context. One of the most prominent strategies of self-representation after Horace was the poet’s staged exchange with interlocutors and other speakers (see below). This phenomenon simultaneously illustrates satire’s affinity with drama, underscores the enduring influence of Horace’s *Satires* 2, and mirrors the larger dialogue in play between each of our imperial satirists and their own generic past (on which see also in this volume Cucchiarelli, Chapter 8, and McNelis, Chapter 11). In each moment of their self-representation, through a process of receiving and privileging specific moments within earlier satire, Persius and Juvenal each suggest particular pathways back through their received satirical tradition and plot new teleologies forward into the social and generic contexts of their own

imperial present. From each new vantage point of the emerging self, the deck (as it were) is reshuffled and new tendentious genealogies of the speaker's voice emerge out of the previous corpus of satiric predecessors. The individual voice constituted through the various strategies of self-definition is neither static nor unchanging. Each speaking identity is capable of developing along its own trajectories, subjecting and exposing itself to ironic perspectives, or momentarily modifying its position in relation to its own expediencies and poetic agendas.

In the present chapter, I consider the identity and status of the speaker in Persius and Juvenal; Lucilius' influence upon later satirical self-representation; the presence of unreliable speakers, narration and narrators in Persius and Juvenal; imperial satire's use of interlocutors, other speakers and addressees; and the more generally performative aspect of imperial satire: its potential as performance "script."

9.1 Identity and Status

Although the construction of a speaker's *persona* is a cumulative process in each of our satirists, autobiographical reminiscences are a prominent convention of the genre (see especially Keane (2002b)). Persius offers quite explicit details – particularly in *Satires* 3 and 5 – which suggest the status, identity, personal history, and moral character of his speaking *persona*. An interlocutor in *Satire* 3 presents him as an owner of familial estates (3.24–25; see also 6.1–17), comfortable in terms of his wealth (3.25, 74), enjoying equestrian status (3.29), as the patron of Italian clients whom he has represented in court (3.74–75) and as well educated, particularly in Stoic and Pythagorean philosophy (3.52–57). Persius operates most explicitly in the autobiographical mode in *Satire* 5, when he recounts his youth and education. His freeborn status is emphasized by his wearing of the *toga praetexta*, the *bullae*, and then the *toga virilis* (5.30–33; these details later lend authority to his moral position on the civic incorporation of manumitted slaves, 5.73–131). He also projects his own impeccable morality: as a young man he surveyed the Subura *impune* ("without risk" 5.32). Even so, it was a morally risky age (5.34), and he entrusted himself to the Stoic teacher Cornutus: an action which he presents in terms strongly suggestive of surrogate fatherhood (5.36–37 with Lee and Barr (1987) *ad loc.*). His philosophical credentials stem from Cornutus' friendship and instruction. His crooked ways (details of which are conspicuous by their absence) were straightened out; he submitted his mind to reason and himself to serious dedication and to chaste relaxation in the company of his teacher (5.37–44). Details and nuances in Persius' recollection are carried over from two extended passages of Horace's own reminiscences regarding his education,

at *Sat.* 1.4.103–43 and 1.6.65–88 (on the latter see especially Oliensis (1998) 33–34): the tender age of the poet; his moral and sexual vulnerability; the role of the father (Horace’s actual father facilitates the paternal coloring of Cornutus); the morality and innocence of the student (Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.69–71, 82–85), and the chaste frugality of the student’s lifestyle (1.4.103–8). The larger moral agendas to be treated in each corpus as well as the ethical parameters of the satirist figure are anticipated in each vignette (Keane (2002b)). Persius’ purpose as a satirist is explicitly defined by Cornutus as scraping sick morals and nailing fault (5.14–16; see below); the irate vehemence and self-imposed isolation from society with which he pursues this agenda is the keynote characteristic of his self-representation.

Juvenal, on the other hand, has aptly been called “the most impersonal and elusive of the Roman satirists” (Rimell (2005) 87). He offers no such extended autobiographical reminiscences as those at Persius 5, or Horace 1.4 and 1.6. At 1.15–18 he is the recipient of an elite education (Braund (1996a) *ad loc.*): he has been caned by schoolmasters and has participated in declamatory exercises. Juvenal’s notion of corporal punishment also revisits a prominent moment in Horace’s own self-representation, the recollection of his cane-happy teacher, Orbilius (*Epist.* 2.1.70–71), while his emphasis on declamation reworks the similar memory of Persius’ interlocutor at 3.44–47. Elsewhere the status and identity of Juvenal’s speaker have to be recovered from the point of view he adopts and from incidental details which imply a comfortable equestrian existence: leisure, a freestanding home in the city in addition to property in Tibur and Aquinum, and disinterest in poetic patronage (see in this volume Armstrong, Chapter 3). At 4.96–98 he claims he would prefer (*malim*) to be a son of the earth (i.e. of no status): an image which picks up Persius’ claim (6.59) that his family descends from a son of the earth, and a station well below that suggested by Armstrong’s evidence for Juvenal’s secure equestrian lifestyle. In *Satire* 5 he implies first-hand experience of the houses of the great (see the insider’s perspective at 5.66–73); at 8.163–64 he is clearly no longer a young man. In high contrast to the paucity of indications of status and identity, his approach and outlook are prominent throughout the poems: the keynote of his early self-representation is a seething anger based on indignation. This anger is expressed by frequent outbursts, questions, and exclamations, and it proceeds through ranting tirades against socially and sexually transgressive groups, social climbers, a decadent and morally enervated aristocracy, and outsiders. This impersonal presentation has a somewhat disorientating impact upon Juvenal’s readers, who must contend, particularly in Books 1 and 2, with a barrage of images and topics which stem from no explicitly articulated voice: the onus of interpretation falls with peculiar force upon Juvenal’s readers, who must negotiate for themselves the relative authority of each utterance and its place within each poem, book, or his unfolding oeuvre (Rimell (2005) 86–87).

A further strategy of self-representation is the speaker's rejection of various poetic identities. In his Prologue, Persius denies that he suddenly became a poet, either by drinking from Hippocrene or sleeping on Parnassus (*Pr.* 1–2); likewise the Heliconidae and the fountain Pirene (*Pr.* 4) are rejected. These are abandoned to a succession of poetic predecessors whose busts are now venerated with ivy (*Pr.* 5–6). Hesiod (*Theog.* 22–28) had claimed an encounter with the Muses on Helicon, and later Hippocrene was specified by Callimachus (*Aet.* frag. 2.1–2 Pf.) as the location of that encounter. Callimachus had himself claimed a similar poetic initiation, and had dreamt of a youthful conversation with the same Heliconian Muses (*Aet.* frag. 2 Pf.). Thus in his opening gambit, Persius rejects the poetic *topos* of initiation by the Muses in favor of unadorned “hard facts”: cash and hunger, not dreams on Helicon, make poets (*Pr.* 10–14). Persius here reworks Horace's claim that, after Philippi, when he was stripped of his ancestral property, bold poverty impelled him to write verses (*paupertas inpulit audax | ut uersus facerem*, *Epist.* 2.2.49–52). Persius thus clears space for himself as a Roman poet aloof from the pretensions of his revered predecessors – such as Ennius (*Ann.* 208–10 Sk.; cf. *Lucr.* 1.117–19) and probably Gallus (cf. *Virg. Ecl.* 6.64) – who had adapted this Hellenistic *locus* of poetic self-definition (see Hunter (2006) 16–28 and also in this volume Cucchiarelli, Chapter 8).

This same set piece echoes back through Persius' predecessors. It was already a concern of Lucilius, who seems to have engaged with Ennius on the same subject matter: *quantum haurire animus Musarum e fontibus gestit* (“as much as the mind desires to draw from the springs of the Muses,” 1061 W); he seems to have been similarly wary of describing his own poetry in pretentious terms: *qui schedium facio* (“I, who make ramshackle poetry,” 1131 W). Horace too had reworked the same theme in the context of his own initiation in *Satire* 1.10:

atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,
uersiculos, uetuit me tali uoce Quirinus
post mediam noctem uisus, cum somnia uera:
“in siluam non ligna feras insanius ac si
magnas Graecorum malis implere cateruas.”
(*Hor. Sat.* 1.10.31–35)

And indeed, when I – born on *this* side of the Mediterranean – was writing some little Greek verses, Quirinus appeared to me after midnight (when dreams are true) and forbade me in such a speech: “To carry wood into the forest would be no more insane for you than to prefer to swell the great crowds of the Greeks.”

The dream has moved from Helicon to Rome. So too, Roman Quirinus displaces the Greek Muses; but the model is clear. Horace's “initiation” explicitly

marks him apart from his self-styled generic predecessor: its immediate context is the shortcomings of Lucilius to be rejected in Horace, especially Lucilius' predilection for mixing Greek and Latin vocabulary (Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.20–21, 30). Horace's Romanization of the tradition – his total reorientation of the terms of the poetic debate here from one of scale and genre in Callim. frag. 1.21–24 Pf. and Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3–5 to one of Greek verse and native Latin (Zetzel (2002) 39–40) – is in itself reflective of his self-definition as a poet, and anticipates Persius' own antipathy to showy Greek aesthetics articulated in the Prologue and in *Satire* 1 (Dessen (1968) 18–19). Both poets deploy Hellenistic models and Callimachean techniques to distinguish themselves from a Hellenizing poetic milieu. Juvenal ironically visits this same *locus* in *Satire* 7. The (fallible) speaker confirms the low status attaching to the “dream on Helicon” motif when he caps a sequence of tired clichés regarding poetic inspiration (Braund (1988) 40–42) with the claim that the outstanding bard is one who is *aptus bibendis* | *fontibus Aonidum* (“fit to drink the springs of the Muses,” 7.58–59).

Each speaking voice within the satiric tradition after Lucilius negotiates its own liminal status. The first positive identification claimed by Persius emerges from his self-proclamation as a *semipaganus* (approx. “half-countryman | half-caste,” *Pr.* 6). It is as such that he negotiates his own place within and entry into the poetic community, which he frames as bearing a *carmen* (“song” or “poem”) to the *sacra uatum* (“rites of the poets” *Pr.* 7, echoing the ivied *imagines* of poets at *Pr.* 4–6). By invoking the Paganalia (see Stek (2009) 171–86) and by styling himself as *semi-paganus*, Persius evokes a stance of rustic or georgic virtue and old-school Roman morality (Dessen (1968) 19). The lines of opposition are drawn between himself and a decadent Hellenistic poetics. Simultaneously, Persius clears space for himself to participate in the production of poetry while asserting a claim to his own marginalized status, just as before him Horace had defined himself, *qua* satirist, as standing outside the ranks of the true poets (*Sat.* 1.4.39–42). Here, by emphasizing his poetic production as the offertory of a *semipaganus*, Persius maps in miniature the coordinates of outsider and insider status which organize Horace's first book of *Satires* (Zetzel (1980a) 59–70). Later, Persius revisits and modifies his status as a *semipaganus* bearing sacrifices on behalf of the community, at the conclusion of *Satire* 2:

quin damus id superis, de magna quod dare lance
non possit magni Messalae lippa propago?
compositum ius fasque animo sanctosque recessus
mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.
haec cedo ut admoveam templis et farre litabo.
(Pers. 2.71–75)

So why don't we give the gods what the runny-eyed descendant of great Messalla cannot give from his great dish? Justice and right blended in the spirit, the mind pure in its inner depths and a breast imbued with noble honour. Let me bring these to the temples, and with a handful of grits I shall make acceptable sacrifices. (trans. Braund (2004b))

The *semipaganus* has now moved from the regional context of the Paganalia to the absolute centre of the imperial community at Rome. Persius diagnoses the inefficacy of luxurious offerings, provides remedies for what (he claims) the scions of the patrician aristocracy are incapable of providing, and prescribes the only truly acceptable sacrificial offering on behalf of the community. Does he, then, momentarily transcend the Horatian satiric position of being socially and verbally powerless (Schlegel (2010) 259–61), or else mark a moment of transitioning from outside to inside (see below)? Not quite. He knows the remedy but must ask permission to act on his knowledge. His *persona* – arch-conservative, aggressive, and marginalized – remains safely untouchable and untested behind its own potentiality. Persius' speaker, unlike Horace, never actually seeks inclusion: “this will be Persius' unHoratian ambition, not to be the accepted insider, but the self-declared outsider, poet in exile” (Hooley (2007b) 92).

Juvenal's liminal status is likewise claimed from the outset, but in contrast to that of Persius, it is quickly abandoned for a viewpoint of total immersion in his own contemporary society. The speaking voice erupting from *Satire* 1 immediately locates itself as somewhere between reciting poet and exasperated member of the audience. The speaker explicitly refers to himself as an *auditor* (“listener”) and as someone who has not yet written his own poetry for recitation. It is as though dissatisfaction at a tedious ongoing recitation has prompted him to turn to those beside him and hiss the opening sequence of indignant questions at 1.1–18. These questions in effect mirror the Persianic opening strategy of rejecting contemporary literature, but here on the grounds of its hackneyed rehearsal of clichéd material; at 1.51–62 and 162–70 its social irrelevance will also underpin its rejection.

By adopting this strategy to begin his first *Satire*, Juvenal maintains an ambiguous position between his own as yet unfulfilled potentiality as satirist and the unfolding text of the first poem in his book of *Satires*. So far from the Persianic strategy of isolation from an unsatisfactory contemporary society, however, Juvenal quickly locates himself in its midst and at street level. By line 30 the speaker's point of view seems physically to have moved from the recitation, with his concerns about contemporary literature, to the street outside, to focus on contemporary urban *mores*, to observe a passing parade of miscreants (1.30–50), and from there to proceed to various physical locations throughout the city: the *quadriuium* (63–72), the threshold of a rich man's house where handouts are being made to his clients (95–126), the

forum (127–34), the evening meal at the patron’s house (135–46). We are a long way from Persianic isolation, emblemized in the notion of satire down a hole (*cum scrobe*, Pers. 1.119). In his later work (*Satires* 7–16) Juvenal will rethink both the seething anger and the strategy of immersion which characterize his initial output. Both of these exhaust themselves in the extended tirade of *Satire* 6 and yield in the later books to a kind of detachment and isolation predicated upon multiple and philosophically based perspectives: world-weary cynicism, moral superiority, and condescending irony (Anderson (1982) 197–395; Winkler (1983) 73–82; especially Braund (1988) 178–96; and further below).

9.2 Lucilian Individuality and Imperial Satire

The role and influence of Lucilius upon the construction of the self in imperial satire is problematic. The fragmentary state of his thirty books inhibits a nuanced appreciation of his *persona*, since it is uncertain in most fragments whether it is the main poetic voice or an interlocutor who speaks, or whether it originates in ironic or fallible contexts and perspectives. It is, further, difficult to measure the degree to which our perception of Lucilian individuality, or the versatility of the roles he adopted within his *Satires*, is influenced by his fragmentary survival. A more visible distorting influence is to be found in Horace’s redefinition of Lucilius and its own influence upon imperial satire. Certainly Persius and Juvenal preserve the multiple viewpoints and voices recoverable in the genre’s originator.

Lucilius only explicitly defines himself in a handful of extant fragments. At 287–88 W he travels from Sicily to Sardinia, perhaps (but not necessarily) implying estate ownership in either or both. At 625 W he is the owner of a faithful slave; at 650–51 W he will not exchange being Lucilius for being a tax farmer in Asia; at 763–65 W he is apparently broken (*me ruperim*, “I have burst myself”) from continual exertion; at 791–92 W he writes poetry *studiose* (“learnedly”) and *sedulo* (“industriously”) for the benefit of the *populus Romanus*; at 814 W he seems to provoke someone involved in a love affair. At 929–30 W he is *improbis Lucilius*, invited to a dinner with friends, and the charge appears to be repeated elsewhere (1077 W); in both cases the point of view embedded within the adjective *improbis* is obscure to us (it belongs to the subject of the verb *audiuimus* “we hear” at 929 W, and to the addressee of 1077 W; cf. e.g. Gratwick (1982) 164) and need not be any more authoritative than other apparent self-definitions. Book 12 (455–64 W), apparently dealing with Lucilius’ family and father, is tantalizingly obscure, especially in view of Horace’s emphasis upon father figures in *Satires* 1, his partial construction of his father from literary models (Leach (1971) 616–32; Schlegel (2000)), and

Persius' own variation on father figures in *Satire 5* (see below). Lucilius claimed to have no wish to be read by the very learned, nor by the completely ignorant (632–35 W). Many of these statements could easily be accommodated as programmatic, self-characterizing, or reflexive statements about “Lucilian poetry” (cf. e.g. Anderson (2003) 153–54 on 650–51 W; Goldberg (2005) 166–71); even at his most apparently autobiographical, poetic agendas might obtrude.

He had most prominently (and virtually encyclopedically) foregrounded the values and concerns of the aristocracy: the law (e.g. 47, 599, 607–8 W), governance (53–93 W), *ambitio* (“electoral canvassing,” 1193–95 W), and aristocratic prodigality (269–71 W). He had treated *laus* (“praise,” 94–95 W), *amicitia* (“friendship”) and its social obligations (186–99 W), *gloria* (“honor,” 240 W with Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 10.398); *virtus* (“excellence”): both his own possession of it, stemming from his poetry (especially 245 W) and the concept more generally (1014 W, especially 1196–1208 W); *fides* (“loyalty,” 750 W); the passing of *pudor* (“shame,” 1046–47 W); the pernicious effects of *invidia* (“envy,” 766–67 W); and demagoguery (273–74 W). His speaker apparently placed himself in the retinue of Scipio Aemilianus (254–68 W, 424–39 W). He criticized L. Aurelius Cotta (440–44 W), a certain Gaius Cassius (445–47 W) and, in a seeming parody of aristocratic *elogia*, Q. Opimius, (450–52 W; cf. e.g. *CIL* 1².6.7 E 13). He was averse to business (647–49 W), and prejudiced against freedmen (652–53 W). He was alive to the transgressions of the senatorial order (772–73 W), whose actions in the forum he denounced along with the people (1145–51 W).

This apparently consistent outlook expands outwards to encompass multifarious points of view and subject matters. He was privy to a council of the gods (e.g. 5 W; cf. Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 10.104); he was a literary critic who devoted whole satires to poetic and oratorical style (e.g. Book 10) and whose purview encompassed Ennius (e.g. 413 W), Accius (Porph. *ad Hor. Sat.* 1.10.53), Homer (408–10 W), Isocrates (191–92 W), and many others. Book 26 contained satires devoted to tragic poetic usage (665–75 W) and historiography (e.g. 700, 707–19 W). His philosophical concerns extended to the opposition of country and city life (149–71 W; 200–251 W); table luxury (336–46 W); upright living (489–90 W); the value of the praise of a few wise men versus widespread popularity (491–92 W); the quiet life (493–94 W); the mutability of fortune and human endurance (769–90 W); elements and first beginnings (805–11 W); the passions (855–56, 962–63 W). Books 15 (507–43 W) and 16 (676–88 W) contained satires devoted to Cynic and Stoic philosophy: their cure of superstition and their recommendation of the simple life. Elsewhere he had adapted Plato's *Charmides* (957–60 W). Clearly, Lucilius' speaker was neither concerned with exclusively ethical philosophy, nor with a particular school (Knoche (1975) 50). Regarding sex and sexual

mores, he could speak with an easy frankness and blunt obscenity (e.g. 335, 1182 W; 910–28 W; 1048 W). He could include crude comments against marriage (639 W), and misogynist posturings more generally (567–73, 747, 1179 W). Elsewhere he advises on soliciting aged and ugly prostitutes (359–60 W), describes their bodily movements (361 W), and writes of his own incontinence (1183 W). In high contrast we encounter the antiquarian intellectual, explicating origins (347–49 W), the grammarian (366–410 W), the humane slave-owner (623–31 W).

The cumulative construction of Lucilius' varied *personae*, his points of view, and the purview of his satiric gaze, were affected by an amalgam of literary influences; conspicuous are comedy and philosophy (Muecke (2005) 42–47). Also influential was perhaps the relative freedom of his own early position within the genre, and certainly his independent social status (Goldberg (2005) 170). The speaker emerges as “a seemingly autonomous inhabitant of a vividly realised world” (Muecke (2005) 106 on Horace's *persona*), but this is not to say that these fragments represent an unmediated reflection of Lucilius' actual real-world experience. Anderson's ((1982) 13–28) suggestion that Lucilius had adopted the constructed poetic identity of an urbane raconteur – even if we incline either to modify or nuance this basic position, or expand it to become nothing more inhibiting than a constituted “Lucilius” – is suggestive of how these voices can be viewed as a rhetorical construction.

The poetic identity of Lucilius receives its fullest and most explicit treatment as a self-interested, Horatian construction. Horace endeavors to refocus the satirist's *persona* around a more restricted number of issues. He foregrounds Lucilius' aggression, his debt to Athenian Old Comedy, and his garrulity (*Sat.* 1.4.1–26, 1.10.46–51) in order to contrast his own retreat from (his claims of) the genre's impulse towards invective and attack, his own concomitant debt to New Comedy, and to carefully restricted utterances. He later emphasizes Lucilian autobiography (*Hor. Sat.* 2.1.30–34) in order to press his own cultivation, polish, and self-imposed limits (Schlegel (2010) 261). Nevertheless, the protean shape of the Lucilian *persona* is still reflected in the variety of mutable and fallible constructed voices adopted by Horace: a soapbox diatribist only tenuously in control of his material (Freudenburg (1993) 32–33), a moral *exemplum*, an “autobiographical” narrator, an apologist, a “victimised interlocutor” of other satirists (Muecke (2007) 106). Threading through each role is a developing sense of voice that progresses from abstracted disembodiment to the incorporation of explicitly autobiographical material within its constructed *persona*; a voice progressing inwards in a social sense, from a position of exclusion to integration (Zetzel (1980a) 68–69) only to cede its hard-won place to other speakers and finally, by the end of the second book of Satires, absenting itself altogether (Hooley (2007b) 81–84).

The construction of Lucilius is a constituent element within the construction and contextualization of the speaker's own poetic identity in imperial satire. Persius returns to Lucilius at key moments to create poetic space for his own *persona*. At Pers. 1.114–15 – *secuit Lucilius urbem, | te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis* (“Lucilius ripped into Rome – you Lupus, you Mucius – and broke a molar on them”) – Lucilius transcends in aggression even his Horatian caricature. The phrases *secare urbem* and *genuinum frangere* are striking, physical, somatic metaphors for poetic style. The former is a figurative extension of the surgeon's incision (*OLD secare* 4a; an image used by Lucan of Sulla's radical surgery on Rome, Luc. 2.141–42). But the second image develops the first into a much more primal, animalistic – indeed, cannibalistic – poetics: Lucilius as devouring his satiric objects, as though *secare* were a metaphor from butchering a carcass (as at *OLD* 2a “to carve meat”). At the conclusion of the first Satire, Persius returns to Lucilian poetics to negotiate his own place within the tradition:

audaci quicumque adflate Cratino
 iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,
 aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis.
 inde uaporata lector mihi ferueat aure,
 non hic qui in crepidas Graiorum ludere gestit
 sordidus et lusco qui possit dicere “lusce,”
 sese aliquem credens Italo quod honore supinus
 frerit heminas Arreti aedilis iniquas,
 nec qui abaco numeros et secto in puluere metas
 scit risisse uafes, multum gaudere paratus
 si cynico barbam petulans nonaria uellat.
 his mane edictum, post prandia Callirhoen do.
 (Pers. 1.123–34)

Any of you inspired by bold Cratinus or growing pale at angry Eupolis and the Mighty Old Man, take a look at this too, if you perhaps have an ear for something rather boiled-down. As my reader I want someone set on fire by those authors with his ears steamed clean, not the crude man who loves jeering at the sandals of the Greeks or who can say “One-eye!” to a one-eyed man, thinking he is Somebody because, stuck up with provincial importance, as aedile at Arretium he broke up short measures, not the rascal who knows how to make fun of sums on the counting board and cones in the furrowed dust, ready to take huge delight when a cheeky tart tugs a cynic's beard. To these I recommend “*What's On*” in the morning and *Callirhoe* after lunch.

Rudd ((1976) 63–64) has shown that Persius' negative example of provincial mentality at 128–30 has its model in Aufidius Luscus, the self-important

provincial magistrate whom Horace and Maecenas had derided at Fundi (Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.34–36); and that the cheeky tart who tugs a Cynic’s beard is, as it were, a sexed-up inversion of the insolent boys (*lasciui pueri*) who tug on a Stoic’s beard at Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.133–34. Persius also transparently revises and expands Lucilius on his own ideal reader:

... <ab indoctissimis>
 nec doctissimis <legi me>; Man<ium Manil>ium
 Persiumue haec legere nolo, Iunium Congum uolo ...
 (Lucil. 632–34 W)

... that I should be read by the very unlearned nor by the very learned; I don’t want Manius Manilius or Persius to read all this, but I do want Junius Congus to do it ... (trans. Warmington)

And in this place where Horace and Lucilius echo so prominently, Persius renegotiates elements of Horace’s own portrait of Lucilius. Athenian Old Comedy is emphasized as the relevant generic forebear to Persius, not (as in Hor. *Sat.* 1.4) to contrast with a more muted sense of attack, but to isolate his poetry from contemporary productions, and to signal the incorporation of these same “Lucilian” elements of aggressive irascibility and direct attack (see Braund (1992b) 34; Hooley (1997) 59–61, 228–29).

Given the restricted output of Persius, it would be misleading to assume his abandonment of the kind of variety found in Lucilius. Persianic *personae* too operate within multiple contexts and concerns: the literary critic (*Satire* 1) competes with the moral guardian (*Satire* 1) and advocate of Socratic self-knowledge (*Satire* 4). Elsewhere a diatribist hijacks a *genethliakon* (*Satire* 2); a hung-over student, lapsed into torpor, becomes “the victimised interlocutor” of another’s moral sermon (*Satire* 3). These too share space with the tender friend (*Satire* 5), the autobiographical narrator (*Satire* 5), and the geographically isolated, absent epistolographer (*Satire* 6).

Juvenal’s own reduction of Lucilius also facilitates his self-construction. He twice characterizes his own outlook in terms of imperial satire’s picture of Lucilius, but Juvenal’s version is an epic warrior: to write satire is *decurrere campo*, |*per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus* (“to charge across the same plain where the great protégé of Aurunca steered his chariot,” 1.19–21), and Lucilius himself blazes and roars as if brandishing an unsheathed sword (*ense uelut stricto* ... *Lucilius ardens* | *infremuit*, 1.165–66). Juvenal usurps the diction and register of remote epic for contemporary, urban satire (Braund (1992a) 43; later explicitly drawing tragedy into the mix), and frames its exponent as one of epic’s enraged warriors (1.169–70): a righteous moral avenger, even if Juvenal immediately retreats from Lucilian freedom of attack on contemporary targets (1.170–71).

Juvenalian individuality partly consists in his “carnavalesque role-swapping” (Rimell (2005) 89): literary critic (*Satire* 1), audience member (*Satire* 1), street-corner diatribist (*Satire* 1), irate moralist (*Satire* 2, especially 65–78, 153–63), detached, Socratic listener (*Satire* 9), epic narrator and faux court-poet (*Satire* 4, esp. 34–36), indignant, encyclopedic misogynist (*Satire* 6: see Braund (1992b); Watson (2008)), momentary optimist (*Satire* 7, esp. 1–21), knowledgeable nihilist (*Satire* 8), didactic sermonizer (*Satire* 10), would-be “self-consistent” host (*Satire* 11), mock-consoler (*Satire* 13), philosophical parental advocate (*Satire* 14), popular philosophical “generalist” (*Satire* 15).

Across such voices and points of view the tone and approach develops from the unbalanced anger and savage indignation of someone who is immersed in the fabric of the society he is subjecting to criticism (*Satires* 1–6) to a more subdued and at times more knowledgeable voice offering multiple perspectives and detached ironies and punctuated by moments of seeming optimism (7.1–21; see Braund (1988) 69–129). Even across a single book, the lens of the satirical gaze expands and contracts: in Book 1, it identifies with the client in *Satire* 1, but inculcates both client and patron in *Satire* 5 (Braund (1992a) 46). In Book 3, both client and patron are targets in *Satire* 7, while in *Satire* 9 the client is once again the exclusive focus of attention. The rants of *Satires* 1–6 accordingly yield to more rational structures in the later satires (for *Satire* 7 cf. e.g. Townend (1973) 152; *Satire* 10); in these, the indignation of Book 1 rebounds upon the speaker, now figured as the internal audience of the angry ranting of the client Naevolus (*Satire* 9) or the defrauded Corvinus (*Satire* 13). In *Satires* 10–15 new, philosophically informed points of view emerge: Democritean detachment in the pursuit of tranquility and self-consistency trumps Heraclitean engagement (10.28–53; Braund (1988) 184–89). The degree to which the voice has progressed is marked by the rejection of anger in *Satires* 13 (175–82) and 15. Juvenalian satire comes to an incomplete terminus in the superiority, cynicism, experience, and detachment of its speaking voice.

9.3 Unreliable Voices

The frequent unreliability of these speaking voices is a distinguishing characteristic of satirical self-representation. We are naturally obstructed from a clear view of Lucilius’ influence upon this tendency, and of his own capacity for suggesting the fallibility or unreliability of his *persona*. We might however consider the description of himself as *improbus* as suggestive of a playful admission of critical assessments of the author (929–30 W, 1077 W). Likewise, his spelling suggestions (384–87 W) have been called intentionally ludicrous (Gratwick (1982) 167). His celebrated definition of *uirtus*, lacking assignation within his corpus, need only have been uttered in an incongruous location

for its ostensible seriousness to dissolve (1196–1208 W). More broadly, the influences of comedy and popular moralizing upon Lucilius suggest fertile ground for moralizing buffoons (Coffey (1976) 54–56; Muecke (2007) 42–47). Overall though, the same fragmentary view of self-representation naturally extends to the ironically charged undercutting of that same self.

The fallible nature of Horace's constructed self is pervasive; indeed self-parody has long been recognized as fundamental to Horatian satire (e.g. Anderson (1982) 28–49). Kirk Freudenburg ((1993) 8–39, 204–11) has illustrated the various protean manifestations of the fallible speaker in *Satires* 1. The speaker's role as moralizing philosopher in 1.1–3 is performed with a lack of consistency and control over his material, and his survey of literary history at 1.4.1–7 is a flawed and anachronistic reduction of the tradition. Elsewhere emerges a “frivolous clown”: his role apropos Maecenas vacillates between “low-life parasite” (*Sat.* 1.5), “noble advisor,” and “Epicurean sage” (both in *Sat.* 1.6), before his status tracks downwards again for *Sat.* 1.7. The social climber of 1.9 invites us to rethink the speaker's own transition from outside to inside the circle of Maecenas, and to consider how far the speaker is himself removed from the pest (“standing back from Book 1, we see the image of the satirist himself,” Freudenburg (1993) 211); the joke is anyway explicitly on him, who is in any case too accommodating to fend off the pest for himself (Zetzel (1980a) 71). Ellen Oliensis has furthermore highlighted Horace's own attack mounted via the speakers of *Satires* 2 upon the poet of *Satires* 1 (Oliensis (1998) 41–63, especially 51–63). We see, for example, Horace in 2.6 as the sequel of the social climber of 1.9, whom he had prefigured in 1.1–6; the Horace of *Satires* 1 as dispossessed like Ofellus in 2.2, as reduced by “self-inflating social ambition” to the profession of satirist like Damasippus in 2.3, as having forfeited his freedom to another man like Davus in 2.7 (esp. 80–82), as a grasping social aspirant and proponent of potentially unwanted didactic precepts like Nasidienus in 2.8.

From the opening moment of Persianic self-representation in the Prologue, readers are left to negotiate for themselves whether his misplacement of the traditional locale of the poet's initiating dream on Helicon to Parnassus (*Pr.* 2) is a sign of his disdainful contempt for details or a slip. More prominent inconsistencies complicate self-representation throughout. The marginalized position he occupies in the Prologue, as well as the rejection of society claimed for the speaker in *Satire* 1, comes into conflict with other viewpoints of the speaker: at 3.24–29 he enjoys a comfortable and well-integrated position within society as an owner of familial property (3.24), bedecked with equestrian trappings before the censor at the ceremonial parade of the *transuectio* (3.29) and as having clients indebted to him for his advocating on their behalf (3.75). His desire to offer up to the gods justice, duty, a pure mind and a heart steeped in noble honor, at the end of *Satire* 2 (70–75) – an offering by which

Persius trumps the pretentious offerings of the decadent aristocracy (see above) – is deflated by its juxtaposition with *Satire* 3, at the opening of which he is figured as a serially (*nempe haec adsidue*) hung-over and whining student (3.1–19). As *Satire* 3 unfolds, the interlocutor revisits Persius' emphasis upon *sancta mens* within his proposed offertory (2.73–74) – itself picking up the *mens bona* of the hypocrite's prayer at 2.8 – and casts it in his teeth at 3.20: *effluis amens* ("you're dribbling away like a madman"). His image of Persius as soft, wet mud, urgently in need of being shaped on the potter's wheel (3.23–24), stands in high contrast to the speaker's own claim at 5.37–40 that Cornutus had already straightened him out when he had assumed the *toga virilis*, and that his mind was precisely molded under the thumb of Cornutus (5.40). The catalogue of his passions at the end of *Satire* 3, which is provoked by the speaker's mistaken assumption of the irrelevance of the speaker's sermon to himself (3.107–9) and which culminates with an anger that even Orestes would consider insane (3.109–18), at once underscores the basic aggression of the Persianic *persona* which has been developing consistently since the first *Satire*, and undercuts the results of Cornutus' benign influence, from which the poet in *Satire* 5 claims to have benefitted. So far from trumping the moral decay of an enervated aristocracy, the interlocutor's sermon in *Satire* 3 erodes Persius' own differentiating position and reveals him as, precisely, a scion of a decadent, over-privileged upbringing.

The contradictions at the heart of the Juvenalian speaker have been well examined. The speaker's notion in *Satire* 5 that corruption expands outward from the core of society to taint everything in it (a notion informing e.g. *Satires* 2, 3 and 4: Braund (1992a) 46), could easily map onto the consistency of the speaker's own self-representation. The indignant voice that quickens Juvenalian satire into existence and insists upon its own *ira* ("anger," 1.45) nevertheless claims *ratio* ("reason," 1.21); his eyewitness point of view in *Satire* 1 competes with the rhetorical set pieces and clichés which occupy his line of sight; he lingers lovingly on the sordid details of the vices he denounces, and they keep him awake at night (1.77–78); his hyperbolic claims to treat the totality of human experience – "prayers, fears, anger, pleasure, joys, hustle and bustle" – across all time since the primordial flood (1.81–86) are immediately exposed as ludicrous: he restricts himself to contemporary vice (1.87); even his insistence upon the contemporaneity of his subject matter, the basis of its relevance in the face of other genres at the beginning of his first *Satire* (1.51–62, 162–70) is bathetically withdrawn at the deflationary end of the same poem (1.170–71). Braund ((1992a) 42) is succinct on the total effect: "The first person, quasi-autobiographical presentation encourages sympathy with the speaker's view of the world, but the discrepancies provide some distance and perspective which enable us to view the speaker as a ridiculous pessimist obsessed with money and sex." His

interlocutors fare similarly. Umbricius, in many respects a doublet of the author's own *persona* (see below) and “an embodiment of how Juvenal's satire works” (Jones (2007) 154) – ranting against the morally pernicious influence of Greeks as he departs to Cumae, the oldest Greek colony in Italy and doorway to the fleshpots of Baiae (Jones (2007) 85) – is blind to the essential difference between his own identification with old-school Roman virtues of a distant, more respectable age and his own simple failure to succeed (Winkler (1983) 220–23; Braund (1996a) 233; and in this volume Armstrong, Chapter 3, who builds a detailed case for Umbricius as unreliable narrator).

9.4 Interlocutors, Other Speakers, and Addressees

In his second book of Satires, Horace moved beyond the mainly dynamic trajectories of self-representation he had employed in *Satires* 1 (see e.g. Zetzler (1980a) 59–77). Instead, he displaced himself from the position of central speaker or observer to assume a more static, non-developing, increasingly passive, and marginalized role within his own poetry: as consultant (2.1), as addressee (2.3, 2.4, 2.7), as a reporter of others' words (2.2, 2.6), as someone who learns of events elsewhere through third parties (2.8), or is absent altogether (2.5) (see e.g. Muecke (1993) 6–8). It was an extremely significant moment for the genre, and posited dialogue as a fundamental strategy of self-representation for his successors.

Persius' *persona* is defined with unusual clarity in *Satire* 3 via his exchange with an anonymous interlocutor drawn from his circle of friends (*unus comitum* 3.7; see 9.1 above: “Identity and Status”). It is a dialogue which revisits the dynamics of Horace's opening exchange in 2.3 with the interlocutor, bankrupt art-dealer, and newly minted exponent of moral philosophy, Damasippus, who had framed Horace as being unproductive and enervated through an over-indulgence in wine and sleep (*uini somnique benignus*, 2.3.3). Persius, *qua* wayward student, is sleeping off a hangover (1–9, 58–59). When Persius rouses himself to action, he is discouraged by his writing implements:

tum querimur crassus calamo quod pendeat umor.
nigra sed infusa uanescit sepia lympha,
dilutas querimur geminet quod fistula guttas.

(Pers. 3.12–14)

Then we start whining: the liquid hangs from the nib too thickly, but when water's added, the black cuttle ink thins and we whine that the reed keeps globbing together the diluted drops.

This puerility becomes the dominant characteristic within the exchange, and it evokes the interlocutor's upbraiding of him as a spoilt child (3.15–18). When Persius stands his ground on the same point (*an tali studeam calamo?* “But how can I work with a pen like this?” 3.19), it becomes a flashpoint for his friend's extended lecture. Persius' self-indulgent pettiness amplifies the same moment in Horace:

dic aliquid dignum promissis. incipe. nil est.
culpantur frustra calami inmeritusque laborat
iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.

(Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.6–8)

Sing something worthy of your promises. Begin. It is no use. The pens are blamed in vain, and he pounds the undeserving wall, born under angry gods and poets.

Both poets are told by their interlocutors that they will be despised (*amens* | *contemnere*, Pers. 3.20–21; *contemnere miser*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.14). Damasippus had asked Horace whether his plan was to placate *invidia* (“envy”) by abandoning *uirtus* (“excellence,” 2.3.13); Persius' friend states that the worst punishment the father of the gods can inflict on savage tyrants is for them to see *uirtus* and to watch it perish (3.35–38, blending Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.58–59 and Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.13: Rudd (1976) 66). At the end of each poem, a catalogue of ethical shortcomings and transgressions is leveled at the speaker: for Horace, building, his too-haughty imitation of Maecenas, his composition of poetry, his anger, his living beyond his means, his mad passion for boys and girls (2.3.307–26); for Persius, greed, desire, luxury, fear, and anger (3.109–118).

In *Satire* 5, Persius self-consciously (*Vatibus hic mos est* “This is the habit of poets,” 5.1; reworking Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.86 *regibus hic mos est*, “This is the habit of kings”) invokes one of the most hackneyed of high-end poetic *topoi*, the multiple voices (ten or one hundred) required to do justice to one's subject matter (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.489), whether in writing tragedy – *fabula* . . . *hianda tragoedo* (“tales to be gaped by a tragedian,” 5.3) – or epic: *uolnera* . . . *Parthi ducentis ab inguine ferrum* (“wounds of a Parthian drawing a weapon from his groin,” 5.4). Persius here cues his reader to a key locus of Horatian self-definition, as he reworks Horace's own *recusatio* from *Sat.* 2.1. There, Horace rejected Trebatius' advice to cease writing satire and to write an epic on the achievements of Caesar:

neque enim quiuis horrentia pilis
agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspidе Gallos
aut labentis equo describit uolnera Parthi.

(Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.13–15)

For it is not anyone can describe the columns bristling with javelins and Gauls dying with shattered lance or the wounds of the Parthian slipping from his horse.

This allusion to an Horatian rejection of epic already marks out Persius' invocation of the hundred-voice *topos* at 3.1–4 as contingent upon ironies, details, or perspectives yet to be fleshed out within the poem. It draws an immediate admonition from the listening Cornutus (or so it seems, since it is Cornutus to whom Persius replies at 5.23, but the speaker's identity is debated: see Kissel (1990) 576 on Pers. 5.5 with references). He interrupts the speaker and accuses him of abandoning the poetic principles that Persius had established in his Prologue and first Satire: where is he headed with this (5.5, re-enacting the interrupted false start of 1.1–2)? Is he composing solid lumps of poetry (5.5–6)? Let would-be grandiose declaimers gather mist from Helicon (5.7; cf. *Pr.* 4–6; Pers. 1.13–23) if they are inclined to the hackneyed themes of tragedy (5.8–9). Cornutus' negative imprint of Persius now becomes explicit:

tu neque anhelanti, coquitur dum massa camino,
folle premis uentos nec clauso murmure raucus
nescio quid tecum graue cornicaris inepte
nec scloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas.
uerba togae sequeris iunctura callidus acri,
ore teres modico, pallentis radere mores
doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.
hinc trahe quae dicis mensasque relinque Mycenis
cum capite et pedibus plebeiaque prandia noris.

(Pers. 5.10–18)

You don't force the wind from your panting bellows while the ore is smelted in the forge, nor do you self-indulgently croak solemn nonsense to yourself, hoarse with pent-up muttering, nor do you strain to burst your swollen cheeks with a pop! You pursue the language of the toga, skilled at the pointed combination, rounded with moderate utterance, clever at scraping sick morals and at nailing fault with well-bred wit. Draw your talk from here and leave Mycenae to its banquets, heads and feet, and make yourself familiar with ordinary meals.

Cornutus proves himself an attentive reader of both Persius and Horace, as he fragments and reconstitutes multiple Persianic and Horatian themes to sketch a poetic identity for his addressee. Persius had already satirized those who write *grande aliquid quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet* ("some grand stuff which only a generous lung of breath can gasp out," 1.14; cf. 5.10); Damasippus berating Horace had counted his poetry as "oil for the

stove" (*oleum adde camino* 2.3.321), activating Cornutus' metapoetic imagery of hastily smelting ore (*coquitur dum massa camino*, Pers. 5.10), which had also been denounced literally as a moral shortcoming of humanity by Persius in 2.66–67. Damasippus too had compared Horace's ambitions to equal Maecenas with a frog who puffs himself up (Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.314–20; cf. 5.13). In the positive half of this sketch (5.14–16), Cornutus' *uerba togae* ("language of the toga," 5.14) mixes the Horatian notions of *sermo propiora* ("near conversational prose," *Sat.* 1.4.42) and the *uerbum notum* ("familiar word," *Ars P.* 47–48), while the notion that Persius is *iunctura callidus acri* ("skilled at the pointed combination," 5.14) famously evokes the *Ars Poetica* (*dixeris egregie, notum si callida uerbum | reddiderit iunctura nouum*, "you'll write well if your clever conjoining renders the familiar word new," *Ars P.* 47–48). Cornutus' sketch of Persius as *ore teres modico* ("polished with moderated utterance") invokes the Horatian interlocutor Davus' picture of the Stoic sage: *in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus* ("totally self-contained, polished and spherical," Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.86). Persius as *pallentis radere mores | doctus* ("clever at scraping sick morals") reiterates the Persianic interlocutor's own definition of Persius' satirical project at 1.107: "*sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere uero | auriculas?*" ("what need is there to scrape tender little ears with biting truth?"), while Persius as *doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo* ("learned at nailing fault with well-bred wit," 5.16) reworks the keynotes of Persius' own portrait of Horace from *Satire* 1:

omne uafēr uitium ridenti Flaccus amico
tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit,
callidus excusso populum suspendere naso
(Pers. 1.116–18)

while his friend is laughing, the rascal Horace touches every fault in him and,
once he's got in, he frolics around the heart, clever at dangling the public from
his cleaned out nose.

Cornutus' final positive injunction, *plebeiaque prandia noris*, intersects with earlier Persianic references to common poetic topics (*prandia regum* "the lunches of kings," 1.67), earlier criticisms leveled by interlocutors at Persius (3.114, his aversion to eating plebeian beet), and the Horatian emphasis on the ethics of moderate consumption. At the conclusion of Cornutus' admonition, Persius reveals the original context of his wish, to sing his friendship and devotion to Cornutus:

hic ego centenas ausim deprecere fauces,
ut quantum mihi te sinuoso in pectore fixi

uoce traham pura, totumque hoc uerba resignent
quod latet arcana non enarrabile fibra.

(Pers. 5.26–29)

At this point I would dare to demand a hundredfold throat, to convey in a clear voice how deeply I have fixed you in the windings of my breast, and to have my words unseal all that lies unutterable, deep in my inmost guts.

The exchange at 5.1–29 thus marks out, with a density of allusion and engagement with the satirical tradition which is typical of Persius, some of the most prominent co-ordinates of Persianic self-definition: his deep friendship with Cornutus, the related matter of his “Stoic idiom,” his moral agenda, and his devotion to Callimachean poetics as filtered through the imagery of Horatian satire (see Cucchiarelli (2005)).

Another excellent illustration of the interlocutor’s engagement with the traditions of imperial satire is found in Juvenal’s Umbricius in *Satire* 3 (on which see also in this volume Armstrong, Chapter 3). The topic of Umbricius’ parting tirade revisits one of satire’s enduring obsessions, dissatisfaction with city life, but having Umbricius deliver this invective against the city saves Juvenal’s speaker the awkward position of delivering a devastating tirade against the city only to remain living in it. In this regard we should consider Persius in *Satire* 6 who has already left Rome for the Ligurian coast. The speaker’s decision to remain in Rome while Umbricius leaves invites scrutiny of his depiction of the city and highlights its many rhetorical commonplaces (Braund (1996a) 230).

Umbricius as interlocutor also functions as a constituted identity in his own right (although, as we have seen above his perspective is fallible): for example, he explicitly casts himself, from the opening of his speech, as an alienated “poor citizen” (3.21–24, 161: aligning himself, it seems, with the speaker of *Satire* 1 at 100–101), bereft of his opportunity to render *officia* and *merita* (“services,” 3.126–30), as *pius* (“dutiful”) in his straitened circumstances (3.144–46), as bristling against a poverty that has rendered him ridiculous (3.152–53). He also directly reflects various aspects of the speaker’s satiric *personae* and themes present within the speaker’s voice in Persius. Umbricius can’t praise a book if it is bad (3.41–42; cf. Pers. 1.53–62). He is the logical, extreme representation of the marginalized position claimed by Persius and re-enacts the final withdrawal from the city made by Persius in *Satire* 6, although without initiating the closure of Juvenal’s book. Umbricius repeatedly fashions himself as victimized (47–48, 119, 290–301). He gives the most blatant explication of the satirical speaker’s bigotry against outsiders and underlings moving in and up (at e.g. 3.58–125 on Greeks; cf. e.g. Juv. 1.103–6, 6.184–99, 295–97; and cf. Persius 5.73–97 on freedmen). Umbricius, expanding on a theme initiated by the speaker at 1.30–39, dwells on losing his “rightful place”: on being shoved

out of the way (3.81–83, 104, 243–53); on being ditched by his patron (3.122–25); on the ascent of enriched new citizens especially to the disadvantage of citizen clients (3.131–34, 188–89). In this last respect, Umbricius is the rightful heir of Horace's Ofellus, who has suffered dispossession of his farm (2.2.126–36), but Umbricius shows none of the ostensibly dignified equanimity with which Ofellus bears the caprice of fortune.

Finally, Umbricius attacks what Juvenal attacks: for example, the adulterer who moves in on the family (3.109–12), picking up Juvenal's attacks on adultery (1.55–57, 77–80, and 2.27–33). Even Umbricius' use of interlocutors mirrors Juvenal's own use of such figures as Laronia (2.36–65) and Umbricius himself to bolster the arguments made by the speaker within satirical attack (see e.g. Braund (1995), esp. 213–15): at 3.153–58 Umbricius introduces an interlocutor to illustrate the idiocy of the *lex Roscia theatralis* by declaring that the best seating is reserved for the sons of pimps. We might also consider how Umbricius, like many of the interlocutors of Horace and Persius, contributes his own definition of the speaker: at 3.318–22 he presents the speaker as an owner of land in Aquinum, as someone eager to leave Rome (*refici properantem reddet*), and as a giver of poetry recitations (opening up new perspectives on the distaste expressed by the speaker at 1.1–18). Further on in Juvenal's Satires interlocutors and addressees mark the distance now separating the speaker's original, indignant anger from his later assumption of a more detached and ironic gaze. We see this clearly in *Satire* 13, wherein the speaker openly condemns the indignation of Calvinus (175–82), whose anger and outburst at 174–75 are characteristic of the speaking voice of *Satires* 1–6 (see Braund (1997a)). The speaker, by contrast, now offers consolation from a calmer and more aloof perspective.

9.5 Imperial Satire's Performance "Script"

Imperial satire insistently presents its reader with its own dramatic or performative possibilities. The popular etymology of the word *satura* had linked it with a form of dramatic performance (cf. e.g. Liv. 7.2; Val. Max. 2.4.4), and both the notion of its generic origin and the ideal of its oral delivery are reflected very strongly in the surviving texts of satirists from Lucilius to Juvenal. Although Lucilius had at times laid emphasis upon reading as the key mode of receiving his Satires (e.g. 632–34, 635 W), he nevertheless clearly foregrounded a relationship with drama both in the iambo-trochaic (i.e. dramatic) meter of his early work (632–1130 W), and in the enduring preoccupations of its subject matter. He had furthermore devoted whole satires to critiquing tragic usage (665–75, 879–886 W), had criticized the diction of the tragedians Accius (Porph. *ad Hor Sat.* 1.10.53),

Pacuvius (879 W), and Ennius (his *Thyestes*, 882–85 W); he had modeled whole Satires on set pieces and scenes of New Comedy (793–814 W), critiqued them as constituent elements in others (887–909 W), and had elsewhere borrowed characters and adapted lines from Terence (991–92 W).

Horace had explicitly linked the notion of his Satires as written scripts with their performance at the recitation (1.4.21–25; cf. 1.4.73–78). He had programmatically defined Lucilius as characteristically operating in the tradition of the Athenian Old Comedians (1.4.1–7) and associated himself as satirist with authors of New Comedy (1.10.16–17, 2.3.11–12: his vacation reading). His own satirical oeuvre had commenced in the artfully contrived appearance of an offhand conversation (1.1.1–3; see e.g. Hooley (2007b) 31) punctuated by different voices (1.1.4, 7–8), and found an ending with the author as a character within the performance, on the receiving end of a report by a friend – a writer of comic drama, as it happens – about a dinner that excelled the *ludi* (2.8.79–95 with Muecke (1993) *ad loc.* “we are meant to recognise the events described as ‘comedy,’ an entertainment”).

Persius insists that fans of the Old Comedians Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes ought to consider his own poetry (1.123–25). He cites popular enthusiasm for the *Bacchae* of Accius and Pacuvius’ *Antiopa* as responsible for the contemporary *sartago loquendi* (“hybrid speech,” 1.82) and at 5.19–20 disavows the aim that his page should swell with dark-robed nonsense (i.e. tragic diction: Rudd (1976) 70). At 3.116–18 Persius surpasses Orestes in his madness, while at 5.7–9 Cornutus sets up the heroines beloved of the tragic actor Glyco as turgid antitheses to Persius’ own *sermo*. At 5.161–74, Chaerestratus, Davus, and Chrysis are introduced for a comedic dialogue adapted from Terence’s *Eunuchus* (46–80). Juvenal forges connections and suggests comparisons for his own Satires with tragedy and declamation (e.g. 1.15–17, 6.634–38, 15.29: see Keane (2006) 13–19), and presents the objects of his satirical gaze as excelling the theater (14.256–57; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.79–85). Moreover, when Juvenal’s Umbricius defines himself as poor at 3.170, it is via the dark-blue hood associated with the poor in Roman comedy (see Courtney (1980), Braund (1996a) *ad loc.*). When Juvenal explains his motivation to write Lucilian satire at 1.19–21 –

cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,
per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
si uacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
(Juv. 1.19–21)

Yet why I choose to charge across the same plain where the great protégé of Aurunca steered his chariot, I’ll explain if you have the time and can listen quietly to my reasoning.

– he draws on the conventions of the comic Prologue, wherein an actor begs the audience for silence to explicate the plot. We see an example of this structure in the Prologue to Plautus' *Poenulus*:

sileteque et tacete atque animum aduortite,
audire iúbet uos imperator histricus . . .
(Plaut. *Poen.* 3–4)

Be quiet and silent, and give me your attention, the general actor bids you listen . . .

and Terence's *Eunuchus*:

date operam, cum silentio animum attendite,
ut pernoscati' quid sibi Eunuchus uelit.
(Ter. *Eun.* 44–45)

Pay attention and concentrate in silence so you'll know what *Eunuchus* has to say.

Persius and Juvenal further manifest their own notions of satire as a scripted performance by various formal strategies: by inscribing the illusion of performed speech and its varying dynamics into the written script; by betraying a preoccupation with and sense of public or dramatic discourse and performance; by preserving or masquerading each satire's fictive origin as a spontaneous performance; by parading a self-consciousness of its own delivery.

The notion of a spontaneous dialogue presents itself with unusual intensity at the outset of Persius' satiric oeuvre (see e.g. Freudenburg (2001) 151–72). In fact, Persius only allows his first Satire one line (and that not his) before inscribing the illusion of an interruption from an interlocutor with whom the speaker then affects to have an exchange on the quality of the satire thus far:

O curas hominum! o quantum est in rebus inane!
“quis leget haec?” min tu istud ais? nemo hercule. “nemo?”
uel duo uel nemo. “turpe et miserabile.” quare?
(Pers. 1.1–3)

O the cares of mankind! O how much emptiness there is in the world!
“Who's going to read these things?”

Are you talking to me? No one for god's sake.

“No one?”

Maybe two, maybe no one at all.

“That is disgraceful and pathetic”

Why?

One thinks of Herington ((1966) 445) on the performativity of Senecan tragedy: “What can a single reciter make of that?” The intelligibility of these lines turns to a considerable degree on the ability of the reader/listener to distinguish the various voices represented within the written “script” (see e.g. Ehlers (1990) 171–81; Reckford (2009) 16–25). The text itself demands, at least, that the reader perform different types and tones of voice to assist. If, as the scholiast (*ad Pers.* 1.2) suggests, the opening line itself quotes the opening book of Lucilius – if, as may be the case, it quotes an outburst against the human race by one of Lucilius’ gods (cf. Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 10.104; Freudenburg (2001) 152) – we might pause to consider how this would prompt a different vocal register to that used elsewhere in the Satire (for example, that which expositis Persianic poetics at 1.63–91) in order to separate it from its opening, archaizing backward glance to the genre’s founding father. One constitutive aspect of Persius’ difficulty (and a perennial editorial headache (cf. e.g. Housman (1913) 17–18 and his influence on who converses in Persius 3, tracked e.g. in Hooley (1997) 202–5 and Reckford (1998) 337 n. 1) is precisely the density and attribution of interjecting voices within his poetry, but it is important to note as well the performative versatility of (Persianic) satire in this respect; each new performance of the “script” has the potential to foreground differing and latent nuances. Consider, for example, the resulting effect if *each* of the interjections from Pers. 1.1–3 were to be given a different voice. The speaker now no longer negotiates with a single critic, but reacts defensively before a collective hostile audience. Likewise, Juvenal can assume the role of a dramaturge who produces the fourth Satire by summoning a character within it (Crispinus) to perform his role (4.1–2). Consider too *Satire* 1, and the indignant outbursts and appeals to the audience framed as direct questions (28 direct questions in 171 lines), interjections (as at 91–92, 109–10, 140–41), and exchanges (101–9, 125–26, 150–53) which comprise our first impression of Juvenal’s speaker. Juvenalian satire is brought into existence and is itself constituted at a basic level by these strategies of dramatized speech:

semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam
 uexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
 inpune ergo mihi recitauerit ille togatas,
 hic elegos? inpune diem consumpserit ingens
 Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri
 scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?

(Juv. 1.1–6)

Shall I always be stuck in the audience? Never retaliate for being tortured so often by hoarse Cordus’ *Song of Theseus*? Let them get away with it then? – this one reciting to me his Roman comedies, and that one his love elegies? Let them

get away with wasting my whole day on an enormous *Telephus*, or an *Orestes* written on the back when the margin at the end of the book is already full – and still not finished?

This performative potentiality also presents itself via demonstrative pronouns and their use. When, in the explicit context of a recitation, Persius writes *scribimus inclusi numeros ille, hic pede liber | grande aliquid* (“we shut ourselves away and write something grand, that person in verse, this person in prose,” 1.13), and when Juvenal writes *inpune ergo mihi recitauerit ille togatas, | hic elegos?* (1.3–4 quoted above), physical gestures towards the ideal or presumed audience of the recitation, suggested via the demonstrative pronouns *hic* and *ille*, could have added a further dimension to the performance by thus incorporating the poet’s actual audience in the fictive setting of the satirical performance (cf. Skinner (1993) 66). Such a gesture is made virtually explicit at Pers. 1.28: *at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier “hic est.”* (“But it is a beautiful thing to be pointed at and for people to say ‘That’s him!’”). Persius is here in dialogue with an important moment in Horatian self-representation. He condenses *Odes* 4.3.27–28, wherein Horace thanks the Muses, *quod monstror digito praetereuntium | Romanae fidicen lyrae* (“because I am pointed out by passers-by as the minstrel of the Roman lyre”; see Rudd (1976) 56–57). Juvenal reverses the same trope when at 7.53–59 he speaks of an ideal poet, the likes of which *he cannot point out*, but can only construct in his imagination (*hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum*).

A related matter is the speaker’s apostrophe to the audience. Horace had suddenly turned on his external audience and their pre-scripted response to a diatribe which had been directed to an internal addressee (Maecenas) at 1.1.69–70: *quid rides? mutato nomine de te | fabula narratur* (“Why the laughter? Change the names and this story is about you”). Persius regularly breaks the illusion of self-contained performance by addressing the imagined audience of his recitation. At 1.11–12 the speaker apostrophizes the audience *tunc tunc – ignoscite (nolo, | quid faciam?) sed sum petulanti splene – cachinno* (“then, then – excuse me (I don’t want to, I can’t help it) but I’ve got a cheeky temper – I cackle”); that this is not part of his exchange with the interlocutor is clear from the plurality of the verb *ignoscite* (“excuse me”). This form of address can adopt a more formal tone. At Pers. 2.61–63 the speaker’s address to his audience takes on both the subject matter and the rhetorical apparatus of an impassioned philosophical harangue: *o curvae in terris animae et caelestium inanis, | quid iuuat hoc, templis nostros inmittere mores | et bona dis ex hac scelerata ducere pulpa?* (“O souls bent earthwards and void of celestial thoughts, what help is it to unleash our ways upon the temples and to infer the gods’ values from this wicked flesh of ours?”; for tone and content cf. e.g. Pl. *Resp.* 568a; Sall. *Cat.* 1.1; Sen. *Ep.* 90). This formality reaches its extremity

in moments such as the address of Juvenal's Umbricius, as at a *contio*, to the Roman people:

quae nunc diuitibus gens acceptissima nostris
et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,
nec pudor obstat. non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam Urbem.

(Juv. 3.58–61)

The race that's now most popular with wealthy Romans – the people I especially want to get away from – I'll name them right away, without any embarrassment. My fellow-citizens, I cannot stand a Greekified Rome.

Imperial satire blurs its internal subjects and external audiences. When Persius writes at 1.30 *ecce inter pocula quaerunt | Romulidae saturi quid dia poemata narrent* (“look, the sons of Romulus, stuffed full, are asking in their cups what is new in divine poetry”), the primary nuance of present visibility in the interjection *ecce* (OLD 1a) no less than the pun *saturi* (Gowers (1993b) 185) maps the *Romulidae* and their inquiry about new poetry onto the ideal audience of an actual recitation at which Persius is, precisely, thinking through the poetics of (his new version of) satire.

The notion of a scripted performance is enshrined in the crafted spontaneity of our texts. Lucilius appears to have passed over material at 973 W in order to cut a long story short (*ne ego multis loquar*). Consider Pers. 1.1–3 (quoted above), wherein the incipit of the satirical performance yields immediately to a defensive exchange with (a) member(s) of the audience; consider the premeditated hesitancy in Pers. 1.8 (*a, si fas dicere . . .* “ah, if only I could say it . . .”) or 1.11–12, where the speaker wonders aloud whether he should say what he is about to say. It is precisely *as performance script* that imperial satire is quick to manufacture a break in the illusion of its own polished composition. In a different manner, Juvenal's Umbricius parades spontaneity as a structural ligature at 3.114, when he passes over the gymnasia and onto the subject of Publius Egnatius Celer *simply because* he has already started on the Greeks (*et quoniam coepit Graecorum mentio*). Our texts masquerade as scripts in what might be called the meta-performative nature of such moments as when Persius makes transparent to the reader/listener the fictive and constructed nature of the interlocutor with whom he is in dialogue: *quisquis es, o modo quem ex aduerso dicere feci* (“You, whoever you are whom I've just created to put the opposite case,” 1.44); he is equally transparent about the internal addressee of his last Satire: *at tu, meus heres | quisquis eris, paulum a turba seductior audi* (“But you, my heir, whoever you are, come a bit further from the crowd and listen,” 6.41–42). Juvenal plays the same game when in his eighth Satire he addresses the

concern that its subject matter is nothing more than a rhetorically constructed performance: *quod modo proposui, non est sententia, uerum est* (“what I’ve just set down is no rhetorical cliché – it’s the truth,” 8.125).

9.6 Conclusion

In Persius and Juvenal the poetic speaker’s identity – whether explicitly detailed for the reader in autobiographical mode (as in Persius) or pointedly withheld from view (as in Juvenal) – is cumulatively constructed in dialogue with the tradition of verse satire they had inherited from Horace. Indeed, many of their strategies of self-representation likely draw on Lucilius, whose multifarious viewpoints and voices are observable in each of the verse satirists. Moreover, the imperial construction of Lucilius is itself a key locus of both self-definition and the definition of the genre itself.

Since at least Horace and probably Lucilius, the ironic deflation of the speaker’s constructed identity was a basic strategy of satirical self-representation. Relevant to both the construction of a coherent self and its subversion is the poet’s staged exchange with interlocutors: these function as constituted *personae* in their own right, but they also variously observe, expose, and embody aspects of the poetic speaker’s identity, and prominently foreground some of satire’s obsession with its own performativity. This is pervasive, and can be seen in its enduring interest in dramatic conventions and discourse, in its inscribed illusion of performed speech, in its varied strategies of including the fictive or ideal audience of its own performance, in its crafted spontaneity, and in its meta-performative showcasing of its own construction as “script.”

In all of these strategies, the dialogue that exists between satirical oeuvres and arcs across the history of the genre mirrors and embodies the prominence of dialogue itself as a fundamental strategy within satire since at least Horace’s second book. Each self-representative move in the imperial satirists locates itself within a matrix of previous satirical moves and self-representations. Each new moment in Persius and Juvenal modifies its author’s constructed genealogy and negotiates his own entry into the tradition of verse satirists.

FURTHER READING

For accessible introductory remarks on the concept of self-representation in first-person Latin poetry (with some comments on satire), see McCarthy (2010). For the construction of the speaking voice in satire specifically, I recommend Zetzel (1980a), Anderson (1982), Braund (1996b), and Keane (2006). Hooley (2007b) has many valuable and accessible observations on *personae* in Horace, Persius, and Juvenal (and

more generally: it is an excellent introduction to the genre). Reckford (2009) has many observations on the *persona* in Persius; Braund (1988) and Jones (2007) offer detailed studies of Juvenal's *persona*. For Lucilius and his legacy in imperial satire, see e.g. Freudenburg (2001). For unreliable speakers and characters in satire, Anderson (1982) 28–49, Freudenburg (1993), especially 8–39, 204–11, and Oliensis (1998) 41–63 treat Horace, while Braund (1992a) succinctly treats many aspects of this in Juvenal; many of her observations in this earlier book are illustrated or expanded in her commentary on *Satires* 1–5 (Braund (1996b)).

For orientation on performance in satire, see Oliensis (1998) on Horace, Reckford (2009) on Persius, and Jones (2007) on Juvenal. For performance and Latin poetry, Lowrie (2010) is an excellent place to start; from there one might proceed to Lowrie (2009). Readers may also find the following study (on Baudelaire's narrative poetry) stimulating and helpful: Maclean (1988), esp. 1–70. For the concept of performance more generally in classical antiquity see Duncan (2006).

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CHAPTER TEN

Persius, Juvenal, and Stoicism

Shadi Bartsch

10.1 Introduction

Roman satire, as a source of common-sense commentary on the foibles of one's fellow men, was not a natural home for the more rarified perspective derived from the philosophical schools. Accordingly, the satiric view of philosophy tended to be complex; while satirists might echo some of the more common wisdom of the Epicurean and Stoic schools, they maintained an ironic distance from doctrinal niceties and those who preached them. Horace, for example, mocked the Stoic view that the wise man is king (*Sat.* 1.3.124–42), and while he engages with Stoic interlocutors in *Satires* 2.3 and 2.7 – the recent convert Damasippus and his own slave Davus – they are undercut by the non-Stoic mishmash of rationalizing they use to present their views, and the satirist is comically dismissive of both them and himself. We see the same tendencies in almost all the other Roman satirists. Gaius Lucilius in the second century BCE derides the Stoic sage (fr.1189–90 W) and waxes scornful on philosophers in general: “If you’re asking: a cloak, an old nag, a slave, a wrapper are all more useful to me than a philosopher” (fr. 508 W). Likewise, although Varro’s Menippean satires had their origin in the writings of the Cynic Menippus, they present a jaundiced view of the formal tenets of Stoic and Epicurean philosophy at Rome (see, e.g., Sigsbee (1976)). And in the first decades of the second century Juvenal joins the *melée* with his proud announcement that he has neither read the Cynics and Stoics nor taken up Epicurus as his own (*Sat.* 13.121–23). To be sure, the most basic doctrines of the philosophical schools, commonsensical as they were, easily found their way into satiric commentary and criticism: money doesn’t buy happiness, living moderately

is best, know you're not perfect, make the best of what fate brings. But in general, the philosopher and his teaching were in satire more often the butt of criticism than held up for imitation (e.g. Mayer (2005); Cucchiarelli (2005)). This generic characteristic is no surprise: after all, Roman satire prided itself on being *tota nostra*, a product original to Rome (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.93), while philosophy was traditionally associated with Greeks and their quibbling ways (see, e.g., Crassus in Cic. *De or.* 1.102).

10.2 Persius and Stoicism

But there is an exception to this general rule, and that is the mid-first-century satirist Persius, whose short satiric opus regularly endorsed a Roman version of Stoic doctrine. Although scholars of Persius have not reached agreement on the level of his commitment to formal Stoicism, the combined evidence of our sources and of the satires themselves provides a clear indication of the Stoic framework of his thought – or at least of his self-presentation. The short Life of Persius included in manuscripts of the poet proclaims that “When he was sixteen years old he became such a close friend of Annaeus Cornutus that he never took leave of him, and by him he was to some degree initiated into philosophy” (3). The Stoic Cornutus presided over a school of philosophy at his home in Rome until he ran afoul of the emperor Nero late in his reign (Dio Cass. 62.29; Cornutus’ major surviving work is a philosophical treatise featuring the typically Stoic etymological interpretations of divine names). Even if we discredit the trustworthiness of this biographical information, the picture is reproduced in Persius’ description of how he entrusted himself to Cornutus’ “Socratic embrace” in *Satire* 5 (5.30–51), and the presence of a point of view that repeatedly and fervently preaches a form of wisdom based on self-knowledge, self-control, and indifference to worldly pleasures, confirms the picture. Moreover, in Persius alone among Roman satirists, the Stoic philosopher is not a figure of fun – at least not from the satirist’s perspective – but a speaker of wisdom.

Now, the most obviously Stoic elements of these satires are those which echo the basic doctrines of the school. So for example in *Satire* 2 Persius mocks men’s prayers to the gods for wealth, heirs, and a healthy old age, and declares that purity of intent is more pleasing to the gods than lavish sacrifices. *Satire* 3 lambasts the lack of self-control of the lazy and the irascible, and the self-indulgence of those who need to be shaped much as if they were wobbly clay on the potter’s wheel. These men know Stoic teachings, but cannot put them into practice; they should reflect instead on their role in life, what it is right to desire, what to bestow on friends and family, whom the god wishes them to be. *Satire* 4 in turn takes up the themes of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Alcibiades*

I and revisits the figure of the young Alcibiades, chided by Socrates for his unfounded ambition: how can Alcibiades hope to lead the state when he has as yet no self-knowledge? His focus on wealth, luxury, and fame as the chief goods reveals his moral weakness, and he would do better to dwell with himself and reflect on his limitations. In *Satire* 5 the satirist recounts his own apprenticeship to the Stoic philosopher Cornutus, who molded Persius' soul with reason. By contrast, the man who says of his course of philosophy "I will start tomorrow" is a fool, for tomorrow never comes. The second half of this *Satire* dwells on the Stoic paradox that only the wise man is free; although the ex-slave vaunts his freedom, he – like the general walk of mankind – is at the mercy of his passions, the real "masters" (*domini*) of the non-Stoic. He needs to learn how to separate appearance from truth – the metaphor here is to distinguish a gilded coin from one that is truly gold – and to live with death in his mind – two principal teachings of the school and the common focus of exercises in self-mastery. (On judging appearances correctly, see e.g. Sorabji (1990); on the *askesis* or *meditatio* practiced by the aspiring Stoic, see Newman (1989).) And of course he must ignore the promptings of avarice, ambition, and superstition. Finally, the sixth *Satire*, taking an Epicurean turn, abjures excessive self-denial in the interests of one's heirs: addressing his putative descendant, Persius rebukes him for gasping at seeing his future inheritance spent and mocks a life spent in the pursuit of profit.

These points are quintessentially Stoic, even with the Epicurean tincture of the last *Satire*. However, beyond this orientation towards such tenets as the necessity for self-control and self-knowledge, the unimportance of indifferents like wealth and status, and the folly of the non-philosopher, Persius' Stoicism shows a particularly Roman and first-century bent. For Persius is no Chrysippus or Zeno, teaching equally the ethical, logical, and physical doctrines of this philosophy, or emphasizing that spirit (*pneuma*) and flesh are coextensive in each of us, or lingering on the propositional content of *lekta* ("sayables" that exist in accordance with a rational impression). (On Greek Stoicism, see generally Rist (1969).) Instead his *Satires* reflect the orientation and emphases of a form of Stoicism we know from Seneca and Epictetus in particular; among all three writers certain philosophical themes are emphasized, some more Platonic than Stoic. These include the treatment of the body as a debased container for the mind rather than a neutral material coextensive with it; the interest in self-shaping and self-improvement via the *meditatio* and/or internal dialogue; support for a retreat into the self and for disregarding the opinions of the crowd (and politics generally). In addition, both Persius and Seneca (Pers. 3.21–24; Sen. *Ep.* 108.6–7) explicitly express disdain for seductive approaches to pedagogy, thus drawing a sharp line in the sand between themselves and the Epicurean Lucretius, another philosopher-poet, and the

characterization of his verse as honey on the cup of philosophy (*DRN* 1.931–50, repeated partially at 4.1–25). And finally, both share a repeated emphasis on the fact that the author himself is a student (*proficiens*), not a master, and as such imperfect. This is not to say that Persius’ *persona* in the satires is not complex and even self-contradictory rather than straightforwardly philosophical or pedagogical. As we will see, he emerges now as a writer of a curative poetry for his peers, now as an isolated voice in the wilderness; now as a promising student, now as a man all too susceptible to the weaknesses of his fellow Romans. But although Persius’ self-presentation is varied, the content of his critical views, the point of his poetic imagery, and the dialogic quality of his verse place him squarely among his fellow first-century Stoics.

10.3 Persius on Poetry

The language and imagery of the first Satire provide us with our first, startling entrée into Persius’ philosophical views. For the Satires ease us into Stoicism via the route of literary criticism, the ostensible topic of *Satire* 1’s programmatic introduction to the book. In the imaginary dialogue that provides the framework for this Satire, we find the *persona* assumed by the satirist (whom I shall simply call Persius) engaged in debate with an imaginary interlocutor (“whoever you are whom I have made speak in opposition,” 1.44) who is waxing enthusiastic on the poetic tastes of the day. Our satirist will have none of it. In startling imagery that takes the idea of *ut poesis poeta* (the poet is like his verse) one step further, Persius describes the effeminate poetry of his peers as a tasteless product that brings both the poets and their audience a debased and sexual pleasure. In his outraged description of a poetic recitation, he describes this verse as penetrating and thus titillating its squirming listeners (1.19–21). To his interlocutor’s protest that it’s nice to win public acclaim, Persius offers a withering response. These poets’ style represents a “stewpot of speech” (1.80) to be contrasted to his own less voluble, “more boiled-down” verse (in the comparative form *decoctius*, 1.125; we will return to this word), and their extravagant style and clichéd topics go hand in hand with other forms of self-indulgence, effeminacy, and luxury (1.32–35, my translations unless otherwise stated):

hic aliquis, cui circum umeros hyacinthina laena est,
rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus
Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, uatum et plorabile siquid,
eliquat ac tenero subplantat uerba palato.

Next some fellow, with a purple cloak around his shoulders,
says some rancid little thing with a nasal lisp

and strains out a tale of Phyllis or Hypsipyle, or any sob story of the poets, mincing his words in his delicate mouth.

The poets collect “gobbets” of verse to feed to other people’s ears, and Persius’ description of these seductive tidbits – as well as his comments on their destination, the audience’s hindsides – thus mix several conceptual fields together, the sexual, the culinary, and the aural, in a way that will allow our satirist to blast all such vices in the name of a more salutary Stoic poetry. (On Persius’ imagery in general, see Bramble (1974) 26–58; Dessen (1968).)

But first we must linger on this non-Stoic poetry, whose stylistic vices include *decor* and *iunctura* (“charm” and “smoothness,” 92). These are laden terms, both for their Horatian echoes and for their rejection by our Stoic poet. *Iunctura* literally means “joining,” and whether it refers to the absence of hiatus (the pause that occurs when two vowels across a word-boundary are pronounced separately), or the propriety of images and metaphors, the term is important because it allows Persius to take up a stand against his predecessor. Horace praised such smoothness as the mark of good poetry: in the *Ars Poetica* he characterized the “clever joining” as the mark of a good poet (47–48), and later in the same poem he praised poetry composed *ad unguem*, literally “to the fingernail” and figuratively “to perfection” (294). But Persius blasts the poetry that is so smooth that the fingernail glides over its joints (1.63–65) – a poetry that wouldn’t exist, he says, if we had a strain of our fathers’ testicles alive in us (1.103–4). (For an argument that Persius misinterprets Horace’s usage here, see D’Angour (1999).)

In contrast, Persius’ own verse is too unpleasant to be heard – or so claims his opponent:

sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere uero
auriculas? uide sis ne maiorum tibi forte
limina frigescent.

(1.107–9)

But what’s the use of scraping tender little ears
with the biting truth? Watch that the thresholds of the great
don’t shut you out.

This verse is abrasive rather than luxurious, titillating, or smooth, and it speaks a “biting truth” (*mordaci* . . . *uero*, 107). Indeed, no one wants to listen to it, and so the satirist admits that his audience will be small: his interlocutor’s question “Who’ll read this?” elicits, “Are you speaking to *me*? No one, by Hercules.” “No one?” he asks again, and Persius answers “Either two, or no one” (1.2–3). In a city where men have no ears for the wisdom that this Satire can bring, the best

course is for the poet to mutter his output into a ditch, and so Persius resolves to do at the end of this Satire (1.119–20). Significantly, Persius’ difficulty in finding an audience is shared by the other speakers of truth in these Satires, the philosophers, against whom voices of protest and mockery can be heard here and there: Pulfennius the centurion will deride the teachings of a philosopher who ill-advisedly tries to find an audience at Rome (5.189–91), as will the rest of Pulfennius’ musclebound ilk (3.77–87), and you can even find men who will laugh when an old Cynic’s beard is pulled (1.132–33). The common run of man won’t listen to what the philosopher tries to preach – a fact echoed by Persius’ contemporary Seneca in his advice to his friend Lucilius:

There is no reason why pride in advertising your abilities should lure you into publicity, so that you should desire to recite or harangue before the general public. Of course I should be willing for you to do so if you had a stock-in-trade that suited such a mob; as it is, there is not a man of them who can understand you. One or two individuals will perhaps come in your way, but even these will have to be molded and trained by you so that they will understand you. (*Ep.* 7.9, trans. R.M. Gummere)

“One or two individuals” – Seneca writes *unus aut alter* – is enough for the philosopher; and generally it is all he will get. Although, as Dan Hooley ((1997) 58) points out, satire is “outwardly, not inwardly, directed” and “usually has as its generically legitimate forum the larger (literary or social) world,” our Stoic satirist, like his Stoic contemporaries, evinces a total lack of interest in this forum (cf. also Anderson (1982)).

There is much else in *Satire* 1 that has philosophical significance. For one, these same “little ears” (*auricula*) for whom Persius’ verse was too stringent turn up elsewhere in the Satire in contexts that make it clear that they too function as not just a literary, but also a philosophical, trope (cf. 1.22, 1.121). Horace earlier had commented that philosophy cleans out one’s ears (Horace *Epist.* 1.2.51–53, 1.1.4) but in Persius both philosophy *and* satire are said to have this function, precisely because his verse itself is philosophical and corrective. Unlike your average Roman, the Stoic’s ears are clean; they have been washed out by the biting vinegar (*mordax acetus*) of listening to philosophy (4.86). But the term *mordax*, “biting,” is as we saw the same adjective that his opponent used to characterize Persius’ verse: “But what’s the use of scraping tender little ears | With the biting truth?” Like Stoic philosophy, these Satires offer truths that are stringent – and hard on the ears. This is why Persius can hope that *his* reader will have a similarly clean ear (1.126; on the ear metaphor, Reckford (1962)).

A similarly functioning term in this assimilation of poetry to philosophy is the adjective *acer*, sharp or piercing. In *Satire* 1.4, Horace had compared his

poetry to comedy precisely because both *lack* a cutting spirit, an *acer spiritus*. Likewise in *Satire* 2.1, he begins a self-defense with the concession that “there are some to whom I seem too sharp in my satire.” He spends the rest of the *Satire* explaining why he is not, in fact, too sharp. But Persius embraces this quality of sharpness that Horace has declined to identify with his own poetic output, and indeed his teacher Cornutus praises it in his verse (5.14–16):

uerba togae sequeris iunctura callidus acri,
ore teres modico, pallentis radere mores
doctus.

You pursue everyday language, clever at the sharp (*acer*) joining,
rounded with a moderate tone, learned at scraping
sickly habits.

Unlike the smooth verse that characterized the bad poets, Persius’ verse (with its sharp jointures) scrapes. And that this scraping has a salutary effect is suggested again when it recurs in a context that is explicitly about self-improvement. For when the satirist himself cannot get out of bed in the morning to do his work, a harsh voice has advice for him, and warns him that he has much progress to make before he is properly formed (3.21–24):

sonat uitium percussa, maligne
respondet uiridi non cocta fidelia limo.
udum et molle lutum es, nunc nunc properandus et acri
fingendus sine fine rota.

The earthenware sounds flawed when struck,
and, being ill-baked with green clay, gives a tinny response.
You’re damp and squishy mud: quick, you should be rushed along,
and shaped on a sharp (*acri*) wheel without end.

It would be difficult not to see in this *acris rota* a reference to Persius’ own poetry of sensory assault, and in the mud, of course, us, his listeners. We are, in short, readers who must be shaped precisely by what is *acer* – Persius’ *Satires* – or, in Persius’ pedagogical metaphor, the sharp (or swift) edge of the potter’s wheel (conveniently for Persius, a broad semantic field – bitter, sharp, swift, and even (of remedies) drastic – is covered by the single term *acer*). In short, the literary issues of the first *Satire* as Persius describes them prove to be equally philosophical, for the ruination wrought by bad poetry

maps onto the divide between the Stoic and the non-Stoic as well: on the one side, titillating verse, effeminate reciters, eager audiences, luxury and folly; on the other, harsh realities and a wisdom that scrapes or shapes its audience, but is hard put to find listeners.

10.4 Self-Shaping and Imaginary Interlocutors

Let us turn here to the idea of shaping oneself or one's interlocutor, which figures large in the Stoic philosophy of the first and second centuries CE, in Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. It is seen as the main goal of such practices as internal dialogue or the *meditatio*, the daily exercises in which Stoics reflected on such topics as what was or was not under human control, the correct valuation of externals, the fact that death was not to be feared. (On these "spiritual exercises," see Hadot (1995); Newman (1989).) By such reflections the aspiring Stoic would reach the correct frame of mind for the proper practice of his philosophy. Seneca, for example, describes his own self-examination every evening in *De Ira* 3.36.3–4, and uses the metaphor of shaping oneself or his interlocutors in his letters to describe his own aspirations and those of his interlocutor Lucilius. As he writes of his efforts at the opening of *Letter* 6, "I understand, Lucilius, that I am not only being corrected, but reshaped" (*Intellego, Lucili, non emendari me tantum sed transfigurari*, *Ep.* 6.1), and he likewise bids Lucilius to "fashion himself worthy of a god" (*Ep.* 31.11). It is a laborious process, he concedes, and yet we must begin to shape and set straight our mind before its wickedness hardens it beyond molding (*Ep.* 50.5–6). A similar language of self-formation characterizes Lucilius' progress: he is fashioning himself into a person in whose presence he himself wouldn't dare to sin (*Ep.* 25.5). We saw this shaping activity reflected in the words of Persius' interlocutor when he noted that the lie-a-bed poet needs to be formed (*fingendus*) like a shapeless pot on a potter's wheel; it is also seen as the work that Cornutus, Persius' Stoic teacher, undertakes on behalf of his pupil (5.36–40):

teneros tu suscipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu. tum fallere sollers
adposita intortos extendit regula mores
et premitur ratione animus uincique laborat
artificemque tuo ducit sub pollice uoltum.

You take up my tender years, Cornutus,
in your Socratic breast. Then, your rule, skillful at being undetected,
straightens out the twisted character to which it is applied,

and my spirit is molded by reason, and works at being persuaded,
and takes on a crafted look under your thumb.

Our poet, an aspiring Stoic, paints himself here as a student still taking shape under the thumb of the wise Cornutus. As Kenneth Reckford notes, Persius “is not yet a ‘whole man.’ He is, in Stoic terms, a *proficiens*, not a *sapiens*: an advanced student, not an imperturbable sage . . . We might call *Satire 3* an exercise in Stoic self-fashioning or, more precisely, *self-composition*” (Reckford (2009) 350–51). At the end of the day, then, poetry and philosophy, satire and Stoicism, isolation and work on the self come together as partners in Persius’ literary enterprise to make a better Stoic at least of himself – if no one else will listen.

For the Stoic Seneca, one path to such self-shaping is through an imaginary dialogue held with the self, a frequent element in his letters and essays. In Seneca, the dialogue form highlights a deliberation on one’s desires and can be couched in terms of a dialogue the self holds with the self, or with a friend (such as Lucilius), or with an imaginary opponent. Using this device, he posits possible objections and meets them, as, for example, in *Letter 20*. Here we read a dialogue which Seneca imagines between himself and Lucilius: to the exhortation that a man’s words and deeds should match, the imaginary Lucilius raises various protests, including the unpleasantness of poverty, each refuted by Seneca with Stoic wisdom. (On Stoic internal dialogue, see Bartsch (2006) chapter 5, *passim*.) Likewise, we saw Persius’ fondness for the imaginary dialogue already in the first *Satire*, where he made explicit reference to “you whom I have made speak in opposition” (1.44). Persius’ interest in the dialogic form may also owe something to the Cynic diatribe form, in which second-person address (and insults) were a common feature; another famous precedent, of course, is the Platonic dialogue. (On the relation of diatribe to satire, see Mayer (2005) 149–50; Freudenburg (1993) 16–21, and (2001) 110–13; Reckford (2009) Appendix 2.)

The use of dialogue is not limited to *Satire 3*, but pervades the entire book; in *Satire 2* between Persius and a farmer who prays for prosperity; in *Satire 3* when Persius himself is told to shake a leg and stop lazing about; in *Satire 4*, which opens with an imaginary dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades; and in *Satire 5*, where Persius and Cornutus exchange words on poetry and philosophy. A longstanding debate among scholars asks just how such “dialogues” are to be interpreted when the attribution of voices becomes too ambiguous to follow: are they meant to represent an internal dialogue within Persius, an imaginary dialogue with another, or a real dialogue with another which the poet is reporting? One might fairly argue for any of these options at a given point in one poem or another, but the identity of the interlocutors often becomes unclear, as does the poet’s status as criticizer or

criticized. This is particularly true of *Satire 3*, over which pots of scholarly ink have been spilled. A.E. Housman argued already in 1913 that the first person plural verbs indicated that Persius himself was divided into “the whole man,” “his higher nature,” and “his lower nature,” and that the voices show how he “holds parley with himself” (Housman (1913) 18). Whether or not we accept these particular divisions, here and elsewhere the confusion over attribution is part of the point: such voices in concert mimic internal debate, and in *Satire 3* the “interaction” between the rebuking voice (“Get up! Time’s a-wasting!”) and the whining voice (“My head hurts”; “I can’t work like this”) is surely familiar to anyone who has had a hard time getting up in the morning. (On internal dialogue in *Satire 3* see Reckford (1998); Relihan (1989); Smith (1969).)

Persius’ satires, then, in their use of inner dialogue in conjunction with the poet’s avowed need for moral self-improvement, echo Seneca’s Stoic practice of self-review and of imaginary conversation with various interlocutors, real and imagined. J.C. Relihan ((1989) 147) sums up the impact of this usage:

We must take Persius’ Stoicism seriously: Persius has lived in his own house, and offers advice based on his own self-examination. And Stoicism itself advocates private meditation as a path to self-discovery: Seneca recommends as a cure for anxiety a dialogue within oneself, in which one imagines all of one’s fears and thus overcomes them (*Ep.* 24. 2). It is inner dialogue and confession that I find most compelling as an informing principle in Persius; . . . such a concept of the value and function of satire, as self-examination rather than social correction, is in fact at the heart and not at the periphery of verse satire.

Self-examination emerges as at the center of both Seneca’s project and Persius’.

A further influence on Persius’ practice here is surely Horace, who experiments with self-dialogue in *Satires* 1.4 in a way that has similar ramifications for the question of ethical self-improvement. Horace’s responses to interlocutors and his counsels to himself turn on the fact that his own Satires are the product of a poet who sees his own faults as well as those of others; he acquired this wisdom through the instruction of his father, who “shaped” him with words (*sic me|formabat puerum dictis*, *Sat.* 1.4.21–22). (See further Schlegel (2000).) In Persius, of course, it is first Cornutus, then the satirist himself who has this formative responsibility, while the social responsibility of the satirist in his verse is more consistently inwardly directed than in Horatian satire. However, the link between Horace’s practice of writing “shaping” satire and Persius’ attribution of a pedagogic role for his own verse is clear. Horace would eventually move away from a model in which his own voice is authoritative, providing here too a possible model for Persius; in the second book of the *Satires*, he relies heavily on the dialogue form while abjuring the role of the

teacher figure. Many of this book's poems feature less-than-authoritative figures taking the helm in distributing ethical advice, such as the ersatz philosopher Damasippus (*Sat.* 2.3), the poet's slave Davus (*Sat.* 2.7), and the rustic Ofellus (*Sat.* 2.2). (On self-dialogue in Persius, see further Reckford (1962) 494–95; Jenkinson (1973); Kissel (1990) 368–73; Hooley (1997) 202–7; Mayer (2005).)

10.5 Persius, Philosophy, and Food

The comparison of rich language to rich food had a long pedigree in antiquity; Plato, for example, analogized rhetoric to food because both had no curative value for their consumer (as opposed to dialectic and medicine, their healthy counterparts). At the same time, satire itself seems to have drawn its name from a culinary term, the *lanx satura*, or dish crammed full of different foodstuffs. So, as Emily Gowers concludes in *The Loaded Table*, “*Satura* was originally some kind of mixed dish named by analogy with a person or his stomach, mixed with a great variety of things and bursting at the seams” (Gowers (1993b) 110). And indeed, Persius and Cornutus, like the poets they criticize, do not practice their discipline without the accompaniment of food – and of culinary metaphors. As we shall see, Persius, however, keeps his distance from the overstuffed derivation of satire, and sets himself firmly down on the side of the simple rather than the elaborate foodstuff, the vegetarian rather than the meaty, the scanty table rather than the overloaded one.

There is no moderation to be seen in the culinary sybarites of the Satires. They are literally and metaphorically obsessed with rich food – and most of all, with meat, which is linked in Persius both to the content and genre of bad poetry and to what rich men serve at recitals. So in *Satire* 5.5–12, Cornutus rebukes Persius for his preliminary strivings in this direction:

quorsum haec? aut quantas robusti carminis offas
ingeris, ut par sit centeno gutture niti?
grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto,
si quibus aut Procnes aut si quibus olla Thyestae
feruebit saepe insulso cenanda Glyconi.
tu neque anhelanti, coquitur dum massa camino,
folle premis uentos nec clauso murmure raucus
nescio quid tecum graue cornicaris inepte . . .

Where are you heading with this stuff? How many gobbets of sturdy song
are you serving up, to be worthy of the effort of a hundred-fold throat?

Let those who want to pronounce lofty things gather clouds on Helicon,
 if Procne's pot, or Thyestes' is a-bubble for anyone,
 to be served often to tasteless Glycon.
 Don't compress the air with a gasping bellows while your lump cooks
 on the hearth, nor, hoarse with a constricted murmur,
 squawk some pompous nonsense to yourself.

The bard's output here is not just about disgusting meatstuff (both Procne and Thyestes, after all, cooked up their children), but is itself characterized *as* a foodstuff, and as we read on, the metaphor is sustained. The pot is cooking on the hearth, the poet is the chef, and the tragic actor Glycon is there to "eat" the unsavory mess of this hackneyed poetics. Meaty plates also grace the home of the rich reciter in *Satire* 1, whom our poet excoriates for serving up rich food – the paunch of a sow – and seeking flattery for his bad poetry in return. Persius offers to tell him the truth: "You're a trifler, baldy, and your fat pig-belly sticks out a drooping foot and a half." Indeed, the reciter himself is endowed with an *aqualiculus*, a stomach that the scholia and Isidore (*Orig.* 11.1.136) identify as properly being that of a pig. Meat, bad poetry, and bad poets thus participate in a figural world in which the output of the last is identical with the first. And such a rich diet is truly sickening: in *Satire* 3.88–106, dyspepsia causes a fat man's untimely death in the baths. (On the negative associations of food in *Satire* 1, see Gowers (1993b) 182–85; Bramble (1974) 84–85, 87; Miller (1998) 267; in *Satire* 2, Flintoff (1982).)

As we might expect, there is a significant difference in the foodstuffs of philosophers. There isn't a bite of meat to be found on the Stoic plate as Persius describes it; the young men who stay up all night studying Stoicism in his corpus subsist on pulses and barley rather than (say) sow's paunch and tripe (3.53–55). Persius and Cornutus, just like those sleepless young students of philosophy, also stay up into the wee hours poring over their books (5.41–44), and what Cornutus the farmer-philosopher plants in his student's ears is Cleanthean legumes rather than epic or tragic meat. As Persius says to his mentor:

at te nocturnis iuuat inpallescere chartis;
 cultor enim iuuenum purgatas inseris aures
 fruge Cleanthea. petite hinc, puerique senesque,
 finem animo certum miserisque uiatica canis.
(5.62–65)

But it pleases *you* to grow pale over your nocturnal papers;
 a farmer, you sow the weeded ears of the young
 with Cleanthean pulses. Seek from here, boys and old men,
 a set limit for your mind and provisions for your wretched grey hairs.

The ethically superior nature of vegetarian produce to meat that is suggested here is a philosophical commonplace already for the Pythagoreans, who urged abstention from (or restraint in) the consumption of animal flesh. And the morally dubious status of meat is a central theme of the second Satire as well, in which men who sacrifice animals to the gods are depicted as both financial and religious fools. Not only do these worshippers destroy their herds and flocks by making such sacrifices even as they pray to the gods to increase them, but they project onto the gods a desire for the same kind of food (“lungs and greasy tripe,” 2.30) that they, the mortals, value. Like idiots, they don’t realize that guessing at the wants of the gods by means of our own fleshy desires is futile.

What to do with these sickly carnivores? Our satirist, of course, has the cure, itself figured as a foodstuff:

positum est argente catino
durum holus et populi cribro decussa farina:
temptemus fauces; tenero latet ulcus in ore
putre quod haut deceat plebeia radere beta.
(3.111–14)

A hard vegetable
is served on a cold dish, and flour sifted in a common sieve;
let us try out your jaws; a rotting ulcer hides in your tender
mouth, of the sort that (no doubt) a plebeian beet shouldn’t scrape.

The beet here has a scraping effect, which we formerly saw associated with listening to – or for that matter, swallowing – the kind of poetry that has an *acris iunctura*, a sharp-edged joining. In short, beets and simple food provide an analogy to Persius’ verse. They are also the correct foodstuffs for the Stoic philosopher: it is at a “modest table” (5.45) that one is to eat. As Gowers aptly comments ((1993b) 180–81):

Unlike Horace’s sunny Epicureanism, Stoicism is an uphill struggle, a goal with a strict regimen attached: sleepless nights, a morbid pallor, and stodgy meals. Horace’s *securum holus* (safe vegetables) is no *durum holus* (hard vegetables), the Stoic’s diet of unappetizing beets and heavy lentils . . . Instead of soothing his readers, [Persius] stings them with a biting solution of vinegary truth or purges them with hellebore.

Persius’ verse wishes to heal us, not please us. And as such it is the appropriate kind of poetry for a philosopher to be writing: a harsh production that does not titillate, but medicates, and medicates by dint of being harsh. It is the rich man’s disdain for this kind of cold vegetable dish that will be his undoing, just

as he prefers to listen to the effeminate dandyish poetry of Persius' peers rather than get down a good helping of cold, scraping Satire.

Persius' refusal to sweeten his teachings – his preference for beets rather than honey – recalls Strabo's remark that the aim of poetry is *didaskalia*, not *psychagogia* (*Geography* 1.2.3): to teach, not to lure the soul into learning. The idea also finds a specific parallel in Seneca's view of appropriate Stoic pedagogy. Seneca criticizes, for example, the school of Attalus the Stoic, where students come "not to learn, but to hear" and to delight in the pleasure of their ears (*Ep.* 108.6–7). What need have we of pleasant words, we who need to be cured by philosophy?

A sick man does not call in a physician who is eloquent; but if it so happens that the physician who can cure him likewise discourses elegantly about the treatment which is to be followed, the patient will take it in good part. For all that, he will not find any reason to congratulate himself on having discovered a physician who is eloquent. For the case is no different from that of a skilled pilot who is also handsome. Why do you tickle my ears? Why do you entertain me? There is other business at hand; I am to be cauterized, operated upon, or put on a diet. That is why you were summoned to treat me! (*Ep.* 75.6–7, trans. R.M. Gummere)

And indeed, cauterizing, operating, and putting the non-philosophers on a diet are some of Persius' favorite surgical and culinary moves in these satires. As we saw, this is in contrast to Lucretius' honeyed cup; but it is also a response to Horace's injunction in the *Ars Poetica* that poetry both delight and instruct. How else to appeal to readers? But Persius makes no such concessions: you are sick, and a bitter medicine awaits you: eat up.

The medical analogies upon which Persius relies here had a long history in Stoic philosophy, where they were elaborated on beyond the common notion that philosophy was the healer of the soul. Chrysippus specifically equated the medical art and the philosophical one (*SVF* 3.471), as does Cicero's Stoic interlocutor in *Tusculan Disputations* 3.6. Seneca notes that he commits salutary advice to writing because, like prescriptions of helpful drugs, they can minister to his "sores" (*Ep.* 8.2). (See Nussbaum (1994) 316–58; Foucault (1988) 54–58.) So we should not be surprised by Persius' comparison of his verse to a curative medicine, an analogy which is only confirmed by his use of the charged term *decoctus*, or "boiled-down," to describe his poetic output:

audaci quicumque adflate Cratino
iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,
aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis.
inde uaporata lector mihi ferueat aure.

(1.123–25)

To all you who, inspired by bold Cratinus,
grow pale at angry Eupolis and the old man of genius [Aristophanes],
look at these lines too, to see if you can hear anything of a rather boiled-down sort.
Let *my* reader be warmed with a steamed-out ear from that source.

As J.C. Bramble ((1974) 139) points out, the term *decoctus* sets up a literary contrast between Persius' terseness and epic bombast: "Normally used of boiling down or cooking, *decoquere* describes the refined density of Persius' manner, the opposite of the undigested style – the *crudum* or *turgidum* – of his opponents" (see also Gowers (1994)). In using this term Persius returns to the familiar culinary sphere that he so often deploys for damning the bad writers of epic and tragedy – but this time the metaphor is medical as well as culinary. This is because most ancient medicines were simultaneously foodstuffs; moreover, the several hundred uses of the term *decoctus* in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* books 23–32 and the four books of Celsus' *De medicina* show that the boiling-down of foodstuffs and herbs such as hyssop, vervain, or linseed was particularly common as a way of making medicine. When Persius calls his poetry *decoctius*, then, he shores up the threefold analogy between his satire, philosophy, and medicine. As Reckford aptly summarizes, "The moral faults and passions that disturb our lives are like diseases; they grow upon us stealthily, from small to great, and even show physical (or psychosomatic) symptoms; and they urgently require the attention, care, and advice of the philosopher, as of the doctor – advice that must absolutely be followed" (Reckford (1998) 339).

10.6 The Degraded Body

Stoic teachings on the human body emphasized that (as also in nature) spirit and matter were coextensive within it: the *pneuma*, or divine breath, in which the soul consisted – a breath identical to the *pneuma* of the universe and of the deity – extended throughout the physical material of the body. The *pneuma* permeating the body was divine, a part of God, and endowed us with rationality, but the matter of the body was not, for all this, treated as inferior or "earthly" as opposed to divine. This latter opposition, familiar to us from Christianity, was to be found not in Greek Stoicism but in the writings of Plato and his followers, which feature vivid renunciations of the body-as-shell based on the notion that the human body is a prison for the soul, a set of chains around it. (Plato in turn was influenced by Orphism; cf. the Orphic pun *sōma sēma*, "the body is a tomb," which he refers to at *Cratylus* 400c.) Roman Stoicism seems to have taken its cue from the Platonic precedent rather than from the teachings of its own school; while

Seneca and Epictetus certainly paid lip service to Stoic orthodoxy, the metaphors they use are consistently negative on the matter of human flesh. The body is at best in Seneca the mere clothing of the soul (*Ad Marc.* 25.1); worse, it is seen as a temporary and makeshift dwelling (*Ep.* 70.16–17) which is gloomy, dark, unpleasant (*Ep.* 65.17), ramshackle and decrepit (*Ep.* 58.35), a veritable prison housing the soul (e.g. *Ad Marc.* 23.2). It is a chain around our mental freedom (*Ep.* 65.21; *Ad Marc.* 24.5), and altogether unworthy of the mind (*Ep.* 120.14). How can we hope that from this putrid and perishable shell, Seneca asks, we might give birth to anything solid and eternal? Clearly, he says, this is the meaning of the ancient command to *Know thyself*: it reminds us that the body is merely an earthenware vessel (*uas*) that breaks when it is shaken, a thing unable to bear cold or heat, doomed to decay, quick to sicken and quick to rot (*Ad Marc.* 11.1; see further *De Ira* 2.28.4; *Ep.* 58.35).

The body according to Persius, too, is abjectly material, a fleshy surface that conceals the soul within, just as Alcibiades' good looks in *Satire* 4 function as a disguise that misleads his audience, the democratic citizenry of Athens, as to the state of his poorly furnished soul (4.14, 4.52). While the body functions as a clay vessel which we might knock on to see if it is sound within (5.24), the soul is described as internal and (potentially) divine: what we *should* offer to the gods are "the holy recesses of the mind" (2.74–75). This is a contrast heightened when Persius' interlocutor claims to know him "both skin-deep and internally" (3.30). But the souls of Persius' targets have a hollow where that divine interior should be, however, and our satirist laments that his fellow men are "souls bent over the earth and empty of the divine" (2.61); so lodged are they in their "wicked flesh" that they hypothesize about what the gods want based on their own carnal needs (2.62–63). *Pulpa*, Persius' word for flesh here, usually refers to animal flesh rather than human, a usage parallel to Epictetus' use of the Greek word *sarx* for human bodies. And Persius' protagonists are certainly fleshy: corpulent and pig-bellied, they are unable to bubble up to their own surface, wheezing and yellow, breathing out foul fumes even as they call for more food. We have already seen how elsewhere, in *Satire* 3.21–24, Persius' interlocutor compares him to ill-baked clay and suggests that he needs to be shaped on the wheel like an uncooked pot. Both in Seneca and Persius, then, man is mere earthenware, since Seneca too has occasion to write (*Ad Helv.* 11.3): "What is man? A vessel easily broken by any shaking, by any toss." Persius' bodies, like those of Roman Stoicism, are fragile, grotesque, needy, readily abused, and decidedly unheavenly. (On the human as vessel, including in Lucretius, see further Reckford (1998) 340–44; (2009) 88–91. On grotesque and sterile bodies in satire, see Miller (1998).)

10.7 The Stoics on Poetry

What of Persius' poetic medium, hexameter verse? While Epicurus was unambivalently negative on the pedagogic value of poetry (a notorious crux for scholars of Lucretius), the Stoic position seems to have been somewhat more nuanced. Stoics claimed to detect their own cosmology in Homer and Hesiod and used allegory and etymology as interpretive devices. Persius' Stoic contemporary Seneca, however, rejected allegory and etymology as approaches to poetry, preferring to focus on mining texts for philosophical precepts that can be quoted to the young (*Ep.* 4; *Ben.* 1.3). In general, the collected evidence from Epictetus, Strabo, Plutarch, and others suggests that the Stoics felt that poetry, if properly interpreted (whether by allegory or other means), could be regarded as a sort of "first philosophy" for the young and inexperienced, a preparation for the more serious teachings to come (Strabo 1.2.3; De Lacy (1948)). But it had to be supplemented with guidance of a philosophical commentary to provide correct teachings, as Plutarch emphasized in his essay "How a Young Man Ought to Listen to Poetry." So, for example, a reader reacting to the misfortunes of tragedy should recognize that they were not really misfortunes, but were only thought so by the protagonists. And meter too could be useful: as reported by Seneca, the Stoic Cleanthes held that the force of meter and music added greater impact to the content of the verse (Sen. *Ep.* 108.8–11). Without interpretive guidance, however, the influence of poetry and its stories would be pernicious: the Stoics complained that the poets were indifferent to ethical truth and that the weakness and emotional upheavals of their dramatic or epic characters could infect an untrained viewer. In the end, only a Stoic wise man could really be a good poet, because only he would know to avoid such representations.

We can put some of this theorizing aside in addressing the question of Persius' own poetry, since the Stoics were for the most part talking about two specific genres, epic and drama (Staley (2010)). In addition, it bears pointing out that if Persius wished to be taken as responding in any way to the concerns and topics of Horatian satire, the hexameter was unavoidable. But still, given that the Stoics did not normally assign to poetry any curative power, Persius' stance in the Satires – his analogy between his own verse and philosophical medicine, that is – is unusual. And what are we to make of the contrast between this notion of a poetry that cures versus Persius' own self-representation as a poet who reaches no one? And we might also be perplexed by Persius' apparent distance from the Stoic view that language should in general be simple and direct, as close a match between *res* and *uerba* as possible. For the Stoics, the virtues of expression lay in clarity, elegance, concision, propriety, and correctness (see e.g. Diogenes Laertius 7.59; Quint. *Inst.* 4.64). Cicero went so far as to say that the Stoic sect avoided all use of figure (*Paradoxa Stoicorum Praef.* 2)

and famously made fun of these Stoic strictures in his speech in defense of Murena (*Mur.* 60–66). And Persius’ contemporary Seneca several times emphasizes that Lucilius should worry about content, not expression (*Ep.* 75.6; 115.1–2; also *Tranq.* 1.13). But Persius’ verse hardly fits the bill. Despite the fact that he describes his linguistic usage as *uerba togae*, or “everyday language” (5.14), Persius’ poetic style is notoriously crabbed, and most of his commentators and translators have noted the difficulty of his verse, which is dense, abrupt, often metaphorical, and jarred by abrupt transitions. *Verba togae*, then, is an expression which may be accurate from the point of view of *register* – that is, Persius’ vocabulary is not highfalutin or epic in tone, but quite the contrary, taking what it needs from all walks of life and willing to wade in the gutter, investigate digestive tracts, describe sexual proclivities, and so forth – but not in terms of figure, abstraction, or abruptness, which abound in Persius.

Some scholars suggest that despite his obscurity, Persius’ conciseness reflects the Stoic endorsement of brevity; others have hypothesized that his use of metaphor reflects a connection to Stoic interest in allegory; others still feel that the fact that his style is both concise and dense in figure represents a failed Stoic appeal to the mind rather than to the passions – “one that is carried to such extremes in its departures from clarity and simplicity that it ends by obstructing the very didactic objectives intended” (so W.S. Anderson in his introduction to W.S. Merwin’s translation (1961/1981) 34–45). We could sidestep these considerations by pointing out once again that Persius is writing verse, not prose; satire, not epic or tragedy; and that there are no Stoic guidelines for what such a genre should look like. Perhaps, then, the best explanation of both Persius’ style and his claim that his satires are curative is simply that his view of the content of his verse, as well as its difficulty, precludes the problematic issues of mythological falsehoods, the pleasures of narrative and figure, and any notion of forgetting oneself in a story. If anything, one is repeatedly reminded of oneself and one’s failures. In all of this one wonders if the parallel to Seneca’s own lapidary and metaphor-laden prose style could be instructive; both authors seem to share a fundamental belief in the value of jolting their readers out of any complacency by a farrago of self-dialogue, startling images, and pithiness of expression.

Persius, after all, clearly sees himself as offering a benefit: as Marcia Colish ((1985) 201) observes, “Persius presents a clear conception of himself as a moral counselor and of poetic satire as a vehicle for ethical instruction, themes that are visible in practice throughout his works and which he also discusses expressly in some of them.” But what sort of moral counselor is indifferent to the presence of an audience? What might we say in response to Relihan’s observation ((1989) 146) that “The recurrent metaphor of doctor and patient in the Satires describes an ideal state of affairs, but Persius seems to have no

interest in the patient's cure"? The answer is that he is a doctor to himself, and as such a model for our own self-doctoring; Persius' work on himself is to provide a model for self-policing in anyone who does choose to read him. That is to say, Persius stages the drama of his self-address and self-excoriation as an *exemplum* for a sort of internalized dialogue that – in all its harshness, vividness, and abuse – we might wish to take up as a motivating force for our own change. And Persius tells us as much: the last line of *Satire* 4 tells us not to look for ourselves in any external place, but within (cf. 1.7) – just as the satirist himself does. There could be no sentiment more consonant with Stoic philosophy.

10.8 Juvenal and Philosophy

When we come to Juvenal's satire, our picture of philosophy's place in the genre must largely revert to type: a complicated and varying picture, to be sure, but not one in which a consistent, if nuanced, representation of one particular philosophical school can be found. Indeed, although his critics have variously detected Stoic, Epicurean, and even Cynic traits in the Satires, Juvenal does not employ a consistent *persona* across the different books, rendering a search for his true sympathies – and of course for any biographical evolution – largely moot. And Juvenal is nowhere preoccupied with the issues that characterize Persius' work, such as reflexivity, internal dialogue, or the efficacy of the philosopher/doctor. Instead, he or his characters will now voice criticism of the Stoics, now disavow any philosophical interest, and at other times borrow heavily from the more commonplace doctrines of the schools.

Criticism of the Stoics – or at least the would-be Stoics – is most striking in *Satire* 2, in which Juvenal turns his attention to the numbers of pretend-Stoics at Rome and lambasts them for their hypocrisy: even though their houses are crammed with plaster casts of Chrysippus, founder of the school, they themselves use the appearance of a philosopher to conceal their sexual perversions (2.1–15). Juvenal thus participates in an anti-Stoic discourse for which there is other evidence among his near-contemporaries; Martial, for example, writes epigrams that are similarly lewd in their attack on hypocritical philosophers. In *Epigram* 9.47 he addresses a philosopher who is constantly lecturing about the great minds of Greece, but whose buttocks are as hair-free as those of a young boy, and elsewhere he advises the wild divorcee Galla to be careful if she dates a philosopher: they look stern and hairy on the outside, but under the rustic appearance lurks a *cinaedus*, a “pansy-boy” (7.58). Elsewhere, the speaker has harsh words for Publius Egnatius Celer, the Stoic who informed on Barea Soranus in 66 CE (Juv. 3.116), and it is interesting that Seneca – who appears in 5.109, 8.212, and 10.16 – is not introduced for his philosophical views, but as Nero's wealthy tutor and eventual victim.

On the other hand, if Juvenal nowhere emerges as engaging seriously with Stoicism in Persius' manner, there are nonetheless thematic concerns in Books 4 (*Satires* 10–12) and 5 (*Satires* 13–16) that have seemed to readers more philosophically oriented than the topics of *Satires* 1 to 9 (Braund (1988); Dick (1969); Keane (2007b)). *Satire* 11, for example, urges that we not waste our money on gourmet luxuries or on lavish dinner parties; Juvenal cites the famous command to “know thyself,” a Stoic sentiment, but ends with the Epicurean observation that pleasures indulged in less often bring more enjoyment. In *Satire* 13 Juvenal writes that his remarks come from one *not* trained in the Stoics, Epicureans, or Cynics (13.120–23), but the *consolatio* he offers here to a friend defrauded of his money develops themes shared also by the Senecan consolations, such as taking the broader view and remembering the possibility of far greater misfortunes. The *Satire* relies on audience familiarity with these consolatory tropes for its broadly parodic effect; the small sum of money lost and the speaker's ultimate failure to console his addressee contribute to the parody (Braund (1997a)). Of course, many such tropes are not specific to philosophy, such as the notion that someone who does wrong will be troubled by his conscience (a good illustration of the difficulty of ascribing *loci communes* to particular philosophical schools). Other satires may also contain a philosophical sentiment or two, as in *Satire* 8, which argues that noble birth counts for little next to virtue, a common Senecan theme (cf. *Ben.* 3.28.2 and *Ep.* 44.5).

It is *Satire* 10, on the vanity of human prayers, that deserves above all the others the designation of a philosophical poem. The satire begins with a critique of men who cannot tell true benefits from false ones and who feel fear or desire without the guidance of reason – lines strongly reminiscent of Stoic teaching. Juvenal then remarks on the pre-Stoic Greek philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus (10.28–30), the former of whom laughed at human folly while the latter wept, and avows a preference for Democritus' perspective; a similar invocation of the two can be found in Seneca *De Ira* 2.10.5 and *Tranq.* 15.2–3, and in the latter, Seneca, like Juvenal, bids us side with Democritus. The entire *Satire*, in fact, is a singularly consistent representation of views found in both Seneca (especially in *Ep.* 60) and Juvenal's predecessor Persius, who treated the theme of misguided prayer in *Satire* 2; he too excoriated the folly and irrationality of praying for what will do you no good.

Satire 10 proceeds through a list of the many things men pray for that will be their ruin: wealth is a common desire, but just consider how Seneca died because of Nero's greed for his property; no man is scared in a garret, and no man drinks poison from an earthenware cup. Political ambition may seem like a good, but it killed Sejanus, just as their eloquence killed Demosthenes and Cicero. The military glory won by Hannibal and Alexander also contributed to their deaths. Death, in fact, shows us that we are mere weak bodies (*corpuscula*,

10.173). Priam, that exemplar of old age, lived to see his kingdom in flames, and the mother who prays for beauty for her children forgets that chastity and good looks rarely go hand in hand – and ditto for good character in high-born wives.

All of these are Senecan themes, and Dick (1969) identifies the many precise parallels in Seneca's letters and essays (e.g. confusing benefits and evils (*Ep.* 45.6), misguided prayers for riches (*Polyb.* 4.2) and complaints about the brevity of life (*Brev.* 1.1; *Ep.* 101.10), murder committed for money (*Ep.* 119.6), the idiotic prayers of nurses and parents for their children (*Ep.* 60.1)). The protagonists of the dramas, too, will often voice such sentiments, as Thyestes does as he contemplates his exile at *Thyestes* 451–53: "A hovel sees no murder, | the fare upon a humble table's safe to eat; | poison comes in cups of gold." Juvenal's conclusion likewise evokes Seneca: let the gods decide what is good for us, but if we must pray for something, let us pray for a sound mind in a sound body; Seneca writes (*Ep.* 10.4): "pray for a good mind, and for good health for your soul and for your body." (Persius, characteristically, leaves out the body: 2.74–75.) Juvenal also suggests we ask for a mind free of strong passions and unafraid of death, and points out that since the path to happiness is through virtue, we have it in our own power to make ourselves happy (10.363–64). The satire thus ends on the same Stoic note that it began: "Make *yourself* happy," writes Seneca (*Ep.* 31.5), returning us to the idea so characteristic of Plato and his Stoic epigones: man's happiness lies in himself and not in the stars.

The fact that it is Juvenal's *indignatio* that drives his verse (especially in the first book of Satires), and not the philosophical concerns so evident in Persius, results in a satiric corpus that eschews philosophizing, pedagogy, and self-knowledge in favor of an externally directed political diatribe that is not afraid to name names. Where Persius was original in fusing the satiric tradition with Stoic philosophy and in turning the satirist's censure inwards, Juvenal's originality lies in returning satire to the political concerns that Lucilius was famous for addressing and that Horace shied away from. Juvenal's cure for society will not be the self-knowledge garnered by using verse as the site of self-inspection, but by blaring verse out as an indictment of the powerful, who will "sweat with the consciousness of their sin" (1.167). His "powerful" are long since dead, but the very act of naming the dead rather than the living works itself as an indictment of the political conditions of his time; and name is what Juvenal does: no ditch is the receptacle for his secrets. When Persius mutters in his first Satire, "Who at Rome does not have – ah, I wish I were allowed to say it" (1.8), it is the scholiast who has to explain that Persius wishes to say that his peers have ass's ears, so corrupt is their taste in poetry; when Juvenal has the same reaction to the poetasters of his day, he trumpets out his disapproval loud and clear, and announces his intention to practice, not their epic dabbling, but a poetry with real political referents.

FURTHER READING

Readers interested in Stoic philosophy should consult the general studies by Rist (1969) and Sandbach (1975), which include chapters on the logical and physical aspects of Stoicism as well as its ethical thought and its founders. Seneca's form of Stoicism is well illustrated by many of the essays in Bartsch and Wray (2009); Stoic exercises for the self are treated by Newman (1989). Excellent general studies on Persius include Bramble (1974), which concentrates on *Satires* 1 and 5; Dessen (1968), Reckford (2009) and the chapters in Freudenburg (2001). Hooley's *The Knotted Thong* (1997) explores in detail Persius' use of Horace as an intertext to the Satires. Relihan (1989) is a good study of Persius' treatment of self-knowledge; Persius' view of the human body is the focus of Behr (2009), Miller (1998), and Reckford (1998); food and digestion more generally form the topics of Gowers (1993b, 1994). On satire and philosophy, see Mayer (2005). On Stoicism in Persius, see Cucchiarelli (2005), Martin (1939), Reckford (1962) 490–98, and (2009) *passim*; Stoic views of poetry are studied by Colish (1985), Nussbaum (1993), De Lacy (1948), and (for Seneca) Staley (2010).

Braund (1988) is an excellent study of Juvenal, with emphasis on the changing *personae* of his books. Highet (1949b) argues that the satirist is an Epicurean, but his stance depends on treating the satires as biographical information and on assuming they represent a single *persona*. Dick (1969) is a careful consideration of the Stoic nature of *Satire* 10 with numerous parallels from Seneca.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Persius, Juvenal, and Literary History after Horace

Charles McNelis

Poets write literary histories in ways that guide readers. When Horace calls Ennius a second Homer (*Epist.* 2.1.50) or when Julius Caesar dubs Terence a “half-Menander” (Courtney, *FLP* 1.1 *dimidiate Menander*), they call attention to the origins of particular genres in a way that frames an understanding of their predecessors’ poetry. Nearly all genres of Roman literature were similarly situated within a tradition that stretched back to the Greeks (e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.20–10.2.22), but satire is unique in that it was viewed as a genre that was distinctly Roman (e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.93; cf. Van Rooy (1965) 1–27; Coffey (1976) 3). Horace himself seems to endorse such a notion when he suggests that the genre was untouched by Greeks (*Sat.* 1.10.66). However, Horace also states that Lucilius depended heavily on Attic comedy (*Sat.* 1.4.1–6), and later in the same poem, he imagines that a Roman audience says about him something similar to what was said about a deprecatory poet in Callimachus’ iambic verse (*Sat.* 1.4.34 referring to *Iamb* 1.79). Old Comedy and iambic poetry, genres which were treated analogously despite the fact that the nature of their relationship is unclear (e.g. West (1974); Degani (1984); Rosen (1988)), thus form a privileged backdrop for Horace’s construction of a literary history for Roman satire (see Hunter (2008) 322–23).

This chapter situates imperial satire within Horace’s construction of an iambo-comic tradition. While such a large topic can only be partially addressed in this essay, by focusing on Persius’ Prologue and the start of his first Satire, I hope to provide an illustrative framework for some broader strategies of imperial satire. In the case of Persius, his programmatic Prologue develops a poetics of abuse by deeply engaging with the archaic Greek iambic poetry of Hipponax and with that of Callimachus, for whom Hipponax is a fundamental

model. Persius' reworking of his literary predecessors illuminates his own poetic techniques – and thus his view of satire and the production of poetry. I will then look at passages in which Persius and Juvenal draw upon the comic tradition of Aristophanes in a manner that self-consciously calls attention to the artifice that lies behind a censoring voice and its position within the social fabric. The reworking of the literary past thus provides a template or model against which the satirist both constructs significant aspects of his voice (or *persona*; cf. Braund (1988) 1–23 for *persona* theory and satire) and, in constructing that voice, reconfigures his own genre.

My focus on the relation between satire and three Greek poets is not meant to limit the range of intertexts for Persius and Juvenal. Lucilius, Horace, Virgil, Plato, Stoic philosophy and others are all of fundamental importance for understanding imperial satire. Nonetheless, by engaging with earlier Greek poetry, Persius and Juvenal (re)create a poetic matrix in which they confront the tradition that Horace (and, presumably, Lucilius) had created. This reconstructed literary history of their genre allows the imperial satirists both to comment upon that tradition and to claim their own spot in it (see Tzounakas (2005) for a discussion of Persius' relation to his Roman forebears).

11.1 Persius' Prologue

Persius' Prologue is a natural starting point:

nec fonte labra prolui caballino
 nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
 memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.
 Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen
 illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt
 hederæ sequaces; ipse semipaganus
 ad sacra uatum carmen adfero nostrum.
 quis expediuit psittaco suum "chaere"
 picamque docuit nostra uerba conari?
 magister artis ingenique largitor
 uenter, negatas artifex sequi uoces.
 quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi
 coruos poetas et poetridas picas
 cantare credas Pegaseium nectar.

I neither washed my lips in the nag's spring, nor do I recall dreaming on the twin peaks of Parnassus so as to become a poet suddenly. I leave the Heliconian Muses and the pale spring of Pirene to people whose statues clinging ivy licks. I, something of an outsider, bring my song to the sacred rites of poets. Who

provided the parrot with the word “Hello” and taught that magpie to attempt human speech? The master of art, the bestower of talent, the belly, an expert at copying voices that were denied to them. Just let the hope of deceitful money shine, and you would think that raven poets and magpie poetesses were singing the nectar of Pegasus. (trans. based on Braund (2004b))

While these verses are not uniformly positioned at the start of the collection in all manuscripts, they do begin the collection in many manuscripts (Clausen designates the group as Φ) and are thus treated as a Prologue by modern critics. For my purposes, the essential point is that the verses provide a view, whether prospective or retrospective, that directs a reading of Persius’ poetry (Freudenburg (2001) 139–40 is helpful on literary implications of the position of the Prologue).

In many ways, the Prologue has been well combed for its views about poetry (e.g. Miller (1986)) and particularly for its relationship to Callimachus (e.g. Wimmel (1960) 310–11; see also Cucchiarelli in this volume, Chapter 8). The first three verses in particular have attracted interest because a dream and a drink from the Hippocrene are features of poetic initiation scenes in Hesiod and especially Callimachus, whose influential description of his entrance into the world of poetry in the *Actia* Prologue seems to be taken up by Ennius and Propertius in scenes that recount their own poetic awakenings. Persius’ Prologue engages with these predecessors (e.g. Kambylis (1965) 195–99). The periphrastic reference to the Hippocrene evokes the elaborate language of the initiation scenes of Callimachus (*Aet.* fr. 4.1 Massimilla) and Propertius (3.3.2 “the water of Bellerophon’s horse” *Bellerophonteï ... umor equi*). Further, *somniasse* (“to dream”) recalls that Callimachus was transported to Mount Helicon while sleeping (*Aet.* fr. 3–4 Massimilla) and then, like Hesiod (*Theog.* 22–35), conversed with the Muses; once again, Propertius’ dream on Helicon is a crucial intermediary (3.3.1–6). Persius’ scene, however, takes place on Parnassus, not Helicon, and in that sense he reworks the Callimachean scene, perhaps with Ennian influence (for the vexed question, see Skutsch (1985) 149–50). Finally, *memini* (“I remember”) recalls Ennius’ inspiration (*Ann.* fr. 11 Skutsch) and the tradition that associates the Muses with memory (e.g. Hes., *Theog.* 60).

Ultimately, however, Persius denies that he had such a poetic experience, and the break from tradition is reinforced by his diction. For example, *prolui* (“I washed”), a rare verb before Horace, is at home in satire (e.g. *Sat.* 1.5.16; 2.4.27; cf. Kissel (1990) 75), and the scholia record that Persius’ *caballino* (“of a horse”) is a low word that is appropriate for satire (*caballino autem dicit, non equino, quod satirae humiliora conueniunt*). Persius’ generically appropriate language has been thought to undercut the kind of elevated poetic inspiration that appears in the *Actia* Prologue (e.g. Sullivan (1985) 92 writes that Persius’

Prologue constitutes “the most devastating rejection of Callimacheanism in the poetry of the Neronian age”).

Persius’ stance in the opening of the Prologue has also been related to the criticisms of other poets that appear throughout the satires. For example, at 1.30–35, he disparages poets who employ Greek words and literary *doctrina*:

ecce inter pocula quaerunt
Romulidae saturi quid dia poemata narrent.
hic aliquis, cui circum umeros hyacinthina laena est,
rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus
Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, uatum et plorabile siquid
eliquat ac tenero supplantat uerba palato.

See, while they drink the sated sons of Romulus ask about what brilliant poems have to say. Then someone, who wears a hyacinth cloak on his shoulders, relates some awful stuff from a lispng nose and filters Phyllises and Hypsipyles, the pathetic stuff of poets, and he trips up the words on his soft palate.

According to Persius, well-worn erotic myths (Phyllis, Hypsipyle), Grecisms (*supplantat*; cf. Lucil. 859 W = 915 M, *supplantare aiunt Graeci*; Non. 36.4), language that is grandiose (*Romulidae*, on which see Bramble (1974) 32) and archaic (*dia*) are all inappropriately combined in ways that produce precious, overwrought poetry that has a (literally) strange, Greek sound. For J.E.G. Zetzel, this fictional poetry both describes the tradition of Callimachean poetry and reflects something of the actual poetic milieu in imperial Rome. Persius, however, recognizes “the revolting possibilities of Alexandrianism” (Zetzel (2002) 49) and shuns that tradition along with his contemporaries who develop it.

On the other hand, Persius’ poetics have been thought to engage deeply with Callimachus. In its “general polemic . . . [and] specific hostility towards current orthodoxies,” Persius’ Prologue looks “precisely like a work of Callimacheanism” (Thomas (1999) 212). For instance, its emphasis upon *ars* (“skill”) seems consonant with poetic ideals that are associated with Callimachus (Thomas (1999) 213). Moreover, Propertius (2.1.3–4; 4.1) and Ovid (*Ars am.* 1.25–30) also make programmatic statements that reject certain aspects of the Callimachean tradition while embracing others (Thomas (1999) 213), so Persius had precedents for a selective use of that tradition. And Persius’ poetry could be construed as Callimachean in other ways. For instance, Persius displays a consistent disdain for the general population (1.15–21; 6.12; see also Bramble (1974) 5), a contempt that aligns with Callimachus’ hatred towards all things popular (*Epigr.* 28.1). Also, Persius’ constant reminders of the work that is entailed in creating poetry (e.g. *Prolog.* 3; 5.40) ring a Callimachean bell (e.g. *Epigr.* 27.4). In both

general attitude and practice, as well as in his programmatic Prologue, then, Persius seems Callimachean.

Such diametrically opposed views coexist in part because the *Actia* Prologue deals with subjective terms. What is innovative at one moment may become tired at the next, and so one generation has one “Callimachus,” the subsequent another (Ross (1975) 142). This kind of aesthetic relativism allows for a whole range of items to be included (or not) under the label of “Callimachean,” and thus Persius is sometimes said both to reject and to accept aspects of Callimachus’ poetry (e.g. Glauthier (2009) 249, 266; Reckford (2009) 53). This critical position makes good sense, yet it is often predicated upon a shifting set of aesthetic criteria. In this regard, the current framework of identifying artistic values that line up with Callimachus’ aesthetics seems to offer limited benefit, and it may be more fruitful to read Persius in light of Callimachus’ generically relevant *Iambi*. Some of the work here has already been done. M. Puelma Piwonka ((1949) 362), for example, discusses Persius’ engagement with the *Iambi* and specifically notes that Persius’ parrot links the Prologue with Callimachus’ *Iamb* 2. Although Puelma Piwonka problematically attempts to reconstruct Lucilius through Persius, he usefully discusses Persius’ relationship to Callimachus in a way that does not rely too much upon ever-changing (re)definitions of subjective terminology. The relationship of the Prologue to Callimachus’ *Iambi* has also been briefly hinted at by Kirk Freudenburg, who describes the situation in Callimachus’ first *Iamb* as one in which “a hard-edged cynic . . . rails in choliambics against an inspired, bird-like literary/philosophical jet-set” (Freudenburg (2001) 141). The relevance of this summary for Persius is manifest, and indeed it hits upon two concrete links (the choliambic meter; the significance of birds) between the two poets. Each item merits further discussion, and will be addressed in turn.

11.2 Persius and Iambic Verse

A choliambic verse is the same as an iambic trimeter except that it lengthens the penultimate syllable of the verse. The meter is thus revealed within the word that occupies the final position in the opening verse. In Persius’ case, that word is *caballino*, whose satiric (and lowly) nature is clear from both the scholia and its root *caballus* (Lucil. 153 W = 163 M; Varro *Sat. Men.* 388, 478.1; Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.59, 1.6.103; *Epist.* 1.14.43, 1.18.36; Juv. 3.118, 10.60, 11.195). Though *caballus* itself was adopted from Latin by Romance languages (e.g. Sp. *caballo*; Fr. *cheval*), it may have been a loan-word from Greek or another language (*TLL* III.3.40–43); but regardless of that, *caballino* does have a foreign aura. This suffix *-inus* was native to Latin, but its application to a noun that denotes an animal finds parallels in other words that derive from a Greek noun

(e.g. *camelinus* (Pliny *HN* 11.261), from κάμηλος, “camel”; *pantherinus* (Plaut. *Epid.* 18; Pliny *HN* 35.138) from πάνθηρ, “panther”; *tigrinus* (Pliny *HN* 13.96) from τίγρις, “tiger”). Latin artificially creates such adjectives, for often there was no corresponding Greek adjective (Butler (1971) 60–61; however, -ῖνος is an ending for Greek nouns denoting animals: ἔχινος “hedgehog,” ἰκτίνος “kite,” κορακίνος “raven”). Indeed, the artificial formation is reinforced by the fact that, as the scholia indicate, *equinus* was an alternative; it even had a satiric pedigree (Lucil. 218 W = 193 M). However, a fundamental difference (other than number of syllables) between the two words is that *equinus* was widely used, whereas *caballinus* was a neologism. The adjective *caballinus* is exotic, and its formation places it among a class of adjectives formed from Greek nouns.

The final word of the first verse of Persius’ Prologue thus points to not just one but to two conspicuous hallmarks of the poetry of Hipponax. Firstly, it is with *caballino* that the meter is revealed as choliambic, and the ancients overwhelmingly associated this rhythm with Hipponax (e.g. Call. fr. 203.13–14 with Pfeiffer (1951) *ad loc.*; Hunter (1997) 41; Freudenburg (2001) 138–42; Keil *Gramm. Lat.* 6 index s.v. *hipponactium metrum*); indeed, Cicero connects Calvus’ use of the meter with Hipponax (Calvus *FLP* (Courtney) fr. 3). Moreover, since Hipponax was a harsh poet and wrote in this meter, the rhythm came to be synonymous with abusive verse (for the connection between a metrical pattern and content, see Ovid, *Am.* 1.1.1–2; Fowler (1982) 74; Conte (1986) 94). In addition to the association of choliambic verse with Hipponax, it is clear from what survives that Hipponax’s verse was full of foreign words from his homeland of Ionia (e.g. fr. 38 W; 125 W; 127 W). Such words may have mimicked everyday language of Lydia and thus created a low stylistic register that corresponded to a debased subject matter (Masson (1962) 31–32). Whatever Hipponax’s motivations may have been, the ancients were certainly aware of his propensity for unusual and/or foreign words. His verse, the subject of critical enquiry starting in the Hellenistic period and continuing well into the imperial Roman world (e.g. Masson (1962) 36–38; Rotstein (2010) 114–15), featured in a massive treatise on foreign words and names written by the Alexandrian grammarian Pamphilos (first century CE). This work was eventually epitomized by the Roman aristocrat L. Iulius Vestinus during the reign of Hadrian (for Vestinus, see *PIR*² 1.622–24), so while there certainly was creative imitation of Hipponax in imperial Roman literature (e.g. Petron. *Sat.* 138 and Hipponax fr. 92 W; Miralles and Pòrtulas (1988) 71–120), Romans were also sensitive to the peculiarity of Hipponax’s vocabulary. Persius’ *caballino* thus not only discloses that he follows Hipponax’s meter, but it also evokes Hipponax’s recognized technique of employing exotic (and low) words.

While points of meter and diction in the first verse link Persius' Prologue with that of Hipponax himself, the reference to the parrot (*psittacus*) in a discussion of literary critical values evokes a wider tradition of poetry for which Hipponax served as the model. Specifically, Persius echoes the situation found in Callimachus' *Iamb* 2.11, where the bird is mentioned in the midst of a discussion about humans who sound like animals. Callimachus' poem starts with the language of a fairy-tale (*Iamb* 2.1 Ἦν κείνός οὐνιαντός "That was the time . . .") and reveals that in that fantastic time, both humans and animals could speak (*Iamb* 2.1–3). However, Zeus ultimately took that power away from animals (*Iamb* 2.6–7). Yet, in Callimachus' contemporary Alexandria, humans surprisingly speak in the manner of animals such as parrots, asses, and dogs (*Iamb* 2.10–13).

Persius employs this same collection of animals to disparage contemporary poetics. The Callimachean dog and ass reappear in a critique of poor literature at *Satire* 1.58–62 (on which see Bramble (1974) 117–18), and the parrot assumes a central place in the Prologue. Significantly, despite what would seem to be a natural correspondence between the bird and slavish poetic imitators (e.g. *Ov. Am.* 2.6 with Hinds (1998) 4–5; *Stat. Silv.* 2.4.2 with Myers (2002) 189–99), this metaphorical use of the parrot as poet seems unparalleled in Greek literature before Callimachus (Acosta-Hughes (2002) 188). Persius' parrot, then, recalls *Iamb* 2 (Puelma Piwonka (1949) 362). Moreover, Persius includes the parrot among the birds that have been denied the ability to speak, and although he does not specify in what way sounds were denied to animals (critics have assumed that "nature" is meant; e.g. Harvey (1981) *ad loc.*), *negatas* may be explained if it is taken as an allusion to Callimachus' story in which Zeus had stopped animals from speaking (*Iamb* 2.7). That is, the birds no longer speak because, as the Callimachean fable goes, Zeus stripped them of that power.

The larger point is that the bird provides each poet with a metaphorical way to critique his contemporary literary world (for Callimachus' use of the bird to describe others in Alexandria, see Acosta-Hughes (2002) 44–46). In fact, the very tradition in which Callimachus and Persius operate is predicated upon the critique of coeval artists. After all, Hipponax himself attacked contemporary artists (sculptors) such as Bupalus and Athenis (fr. 28 W), both of whom must have enjoyed some renown among Romans after Augustus put their works in the pediment of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and in many other buildings (Pliny *HN* 36.13). Persius even sounds a bit like Hipponax – or, to be more precise, the version of Hipponax that is found in Callimachus' *Iamb* 1 – since each arrives on the scene bringing their poetry (Freudenburg (2001) 142 on *carmen adfero* and its potential reworking of Call. fr. 191.4 φέρων ἱαμβόν). Further, in the opening verses of *Iamb* 1, the Callimachean Hipponax compares Callimachus' antagonists to birds,

specifically the notoriously stupid “sea-birds” (κέπφοι; Kerkhecker (1999) 22). The updated version of Hipponax thus anticipates the avian frame of reference that appears in *Iamb* 2 – and Persius’ own Prologue. All three poets, then, contend with current artists and do so in similar terms.

Persius links his own verse to that of Hipponax, though he highlights Callimachus’ role as the intermediary between his own verse and that of the archaic Greek poet. In doing so, Persius develops Callimachus’ own representation of his relationship with Hipponax. *Iamb* 1, for instance, begins by naming Hipponax and calling upon him to rise up from Hades and to visit Alexandria in order to chastise Callimachus’ critics. The meter of the poem (as of *Iambs* 2, 3, 4) is choliambic, and after a switch of meters in *Iambs* 5–12, Hipponax is reintroduced in *Iamb* 13, another choliambic poem that defends Callimachus against the charge that he failed to write like Hipponax. Additional thematic and strategic connections between Callimachus and his predecessor make clear the importance of Hipponax for Callimachus’ poetry (Kerkhecker (1999); Edmunds (2001); Acosta-Hughes (2002); Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 4–17; Hunter (2008)). Hipponax is thus not only an authority who validates Callimachus’ poetics but also a character whose poetic voice, meter, and themes are (re)created by Callimachus. Indeed, Hipponax’s jarring arrival at Callimachus’ Alexandria on the one hand maintains temporal reality (i.e. Hipponax can only appear in Alexandria by being summoned from the dead), but on the other hand suggests ways in which the tradition has been collapsed and fused (i.e. Hipponax’s voice is remade by Callimachus). Hipponax has become, in some sense, what Callimachus makes him out to be, and Callimachean iambic is in another sense Hipponactean. This generic synthesis suggests that Persius’ engagement with Callimachus amounts to a reworking of a larger tradition. Like Callimachus, Persius uses the previous generation(s) to create a poetic matrix in which to situate his own verse.

This Hipponactean/Callimachean template probably sheds some light on another important part of the Prologue, namely Persius’ claim that the belly (*uenter*) provided the motivation for birds to imitate human sounds. Since the literary background of the birds in Persius’ Prologue connects them to poetic production in general, it seems as though here Persius deals with the old (Hes. *Theog.* 26) and satiric (Lucil. 70 W = 75 M; Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.37–38; Juv. 11.19–40) idea that the stomach may inspire poetry (cf. Katz and Volk (2000) 127). While Persius appears to dissociate himself from that form of inspiration (Miller (1986) 162), it is not entirely clear that he does so (e.g. Reckford (1962) 502; Relihan (1989) 151–52). Without attempting to offer a solution to this argument, I suggest that the debate itself may be the point. That is, the ambiguity surrounding Persius’ mention of the *uenter* – does it inspire Persius or not? – may rest upon another dimension of the iambic tradition, namely that insults involving the stomach may be hurled by and/or against the railing poet.

While archaic blame poetry attacks avaricious men and their bellies (e.g. Hipponax fr. 118 W, 128 W; Archilochus fr. 124 W), that target may be turned against the abuse poet in as much as “what goes into the mouth and what comes out turn out to be very closely related” (Steiner (2002) 297, 300–302). Indeed, abusive poetic speech is regularly equated with an uncontrolled impulse to eat (Nagy (1979) 225–27). Like an excessive eater, the critical poet runs the risk of exceeding the bounds of oral decorum. Hipponax does represent himself as hungry (fr. 39 W), though he does not explicitly link his hunger and poetic composition in the extant fragments. However, it seems that some of Callimachus’ imagined critics do pejoratively link his belly with his poetic inspiration at *Iamb* 13.15 ἀλλ’ εἴ τι θυμὸν ἢ ’πὶ γαστέρα πνευσ[(“but if it at all inspires spirit or stomach”). The reading πνευσ[is not certain, but it seems to come from πνέω, “blow” or “breath,” a word that Callimachus uses elsewhere to describe poetic inspiration (*Epigr.* 8.3; the compound ἐμπνέω is used in a similar sense at Hes. *Theog.* 31). Since the spirit (θυμός) is a traditional seat of poetic inspiration (e.g. *Od.* 8.45), it would be appropriate if Callimachus were treating the belly (γαστέρα) as a means of poetic inspiration. If so, Callimachus would be a generically pertinent example in which the stomach becomes a target for the poet’s enemies, a way to mark the blame poet as excessive and problematic.

The difficulties in discerning how Persius himself relates to the stomach allow for the possibility that he, like his Greek predecessors, overindulges in violently abusing his target, even at the risk of the sort of social marginalization that is implied by *semipaganus* and is explicitly articulated when he says, developing a Horatian idea (*Sat.* 1.4.22–23), that no one reads his work (1.2; cf. Reckford (1962) 500–504 on Persius’ isolation). He is a satirist who draws upon the traditions of abuse poetry, and by invoking that tradition, he calls attention to one way in which a satirist may acquire a liminal social position.

Persius’ Prologue thus invokes a number of generic features that appear in Hipponax and Callimachus, and this literary backdrop creates a frame of reference for reading the Satires themselves. In fact, a sequential reading that moves from Prologue to the first Satire reveals further connections between Persius’ techniques and those of his Greek predecessors. Even the first word of the satires proper, the interjection *O*, seems charged. A natural assumption is that Persius’ interjection anticipates a vocative, the name of an addressee. Indeed, satire frequently names its addressee in the opening verse (Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.1, 1.6.1, 2.5.1; Pers. 2.1, 6.1; Juv. 8.1, 9.1, 12.1, 14.1), though no verse begins with the interjection. But Greek iambic poets regularly address themselves to someone, whether to a community, their friends, or even detractors, and such salutations often begin with the placement of the interjection at the beginning of a verse (e.g. Archilochus fr. 48.7 W; Hipponax

fr. 118.1 W; Sem. fr. 1.1; cf. West (1974) 32). Moreover, even if one does not accept that Hipponax fr. 1, in which the poet addresses himself to the citizens of Clazomenae, is the beginning of a collection (Masson (1962) 101 argues that it is the start of a poetry book), the interjection ω does start the verse. It also appears in the initial position of Callimachus' fifth Iamb and in the first verse of *Iamb* 3 and 9 (the interjection also appears in the sixth verse of *Iamb* 1, a verse which is the start of the poem proper since the first five verses introduced the character of Hipponax). Persius' interjection fits with this tradition.

The possibility of a named addressee is immediately undercut, however, as the words *curas hominum*, an echo of Lucretius (2.14 *O miseris hominum mentes*), reveal that the cry is not directed at an individual. Indeed, *Satire* 1 will have no explicit addressee. Persius has discarded the archaic representation of a direct relationship among poet, addressee and a knowledgeable (and potentially friendly; see Nagy (1979) 251) audience. Concomitantly, Persius also abandons the monologue – a marked feature of the poetry of early Greek iambic poetry (West (1974) 37) – in favor of a dialogic structure, a point that is underscored in the second verse of the satire (*min tu istud ais*; “are you talking to me?”) as well as by the bewildering string of quotations that starts *Satire* 1 (Edmunds (2001) 91 notes the role of quotation in post-archaic iambic verse). Plato, Lucilius (835–42 W = 742–50 M) and the second book of Horace's *Satires* all provide important models for Persius' dialogic strategies, but Callimachus' influence also seems likely. After all, his numerous dialogic iambs (*Iamb* 1, 4, 5, 9, 13) break with the archaic tradition in a way that reflects the loss of the original performance context in which the poet “spoke” to a community familiar with the poet and his target (Edmunds (2001) 89–93). The rupture between Hellenistic and archaic iambic is further emphasized by Callimachus' insistence upon the textual nature of his verse (e.g. Acosta-Hughes (2002) 51–52; Barchiesi (2002) 59–60), a conceit that features prominently at the start of Persius' first Satire (*quis leget haec?* “who will read this?”). The poet's relationship with his audience depends upon a new mode of production and reception.

The rupture from archaic performance culture(s) creates a “problem” for Persius' satire, as it is clear that he, unlike his predecessors whose vituperative strategies make an ally out of the audience, has no (or, at best, a limited) audience (1.2–3 *quis leget haec ... nemo hercule. nemo? | uel duo uel nemo*; “‘Who will read this stuff?’ Absolutely no one. ‘No one?’ Well, one or two”). Horace constructed a similar situation (1.4.22–23 *mea nemo | scripta legat*; “although no one reads my work”) and adopted the solution of addressing and appealing to a narrow community consisting of figures such as Maecenas and Virgil. Cornutus will be a sort of parallel figure that fills the void for Persius (e.g. 5.43), yet the attention of a single individual is an insufficient audience by traditional standards. Archaic iambic often assails individuals (e.g. Lycambes,

Bupalus) to a broader community, but the dynamic is reversed in Persius (as in Horace): he pillories society at large to a minuscule group of friends. Persius, of course, represents this social isolation with a remarkable degree of self-righteousness, as the misguided aesthetic judgments of the community (i.e. their lack of interest in Persius' verse) reflect their larger moral flaws (Bramble (1974) 16–23). In the logic of the Satires, a failure to read Persius is a failure to behave properly. But a larger point is that there is a gap between the poet and his community (Reckford (1962) 500), and the dynamics of this crucial relationship in Persius' satire are enhanced by an awareness of his manipulation of and departure from formal and thematic features of blame poetry. The generic matrix marks irretrievable losses that have prompted his alteration of the tradition.

At the same time that Persius departs from one generic convention, however, he develops another in the words (*curas hominum*) that follow upon the initial ejaculation. Specifically, the phrase establishes that Persius now writes in dactylic hexameters rather than choliamb. This metrical variety is not problematic for a Hipponactean poet, however, since Hipponax, for all of his association with choliamb, also wrote in hexameters (e.g. fr. 128 W). Indeed, his poetry was likely available in books that organized his poems according to meter (Masson (1962) 17). Moreover, metrical variety is a central feature of satire and iambic poetry. Ennius wrote satires in dactylic hexameters as well as other meters such as iambic senarii and sotadeans. Lucilius also employed a wide variety of meters, including the choliamb and dactylic hexameter, and the metrical richness of iambic verse was certainly not lost on Callimachus, who parades rhythmical variety (e.g. *Iamb* 13.31–32, 44–45), a point that an ancient commentator influentially dubbed *polyeideia* (*Diegesis* 9. 33–36). Persius' switch to hexameters thus reflects a rhythmic polyphony that implicates a broad literary tradition.

A final aspect of Persius' first verse also seems to reinforce the Hipponactean frame. The opening verse of Callimachus' *Iambi* invokes Hipponax himself:

ἀκούσατ' Ἰππώνακτος· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἦκω
ἐκ τῶν ὅκου βοῦν κολλύβου πιπρήσκουσιν
φέρων ἱάμβον οὐ μάχην αἰείδοντα
τὴν Βουπάλειον . . .

Listen to Hipponax: for I have come from the place where they sell an ox for a penny, bearing an iamb that does not concern the fight with Bupalus . . .

Whether or not this opening verse comes from Hipponax's own poetry is a matter of debate (Pfeiffer on fr. 191.1; Masson (1962) 57, 101; Degani (1984) 44–45; Acosta-Hughes (2002) 37–38), but, at the least, Callimachus' diction

is a “Hipponactean pastiche” (Kerkhecker (1999) 30), with Ionic diction (οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ) likely mimicking the language of the Ephesian poet (Kerkhecker (1999) 28–30). Even if it does not quote Hipponax, then, the opening of Callimachus’ first poem revives the style and language of his generic predecessor.

Persius seems to do the same at the start of his Satires. The first verse of the first Satire (1.1 *O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane!*) is, according to the scholia on 1.2, a quotation from Lucilius (*quis leget haec: hunc uersum de Lucilii primo transtulit*; “Who will read this?: He borrowed this verse from the first book of Lucilius”). If the scholia should be right that Persius begins with a quotation from Lucilius, then Persius’ opening verse would replicate the words of his distinguished generic predecessor, a technique that finds a parallel in the opening of Callimachus’ *Iambi*. However, the claim that Persius has “translated” the first verse from Lucilius has provoked serious doubts (e.g. Henss (1954) 159–61; Kissel (1990) 109–12; Sosin (1999b) 281–99) since Persius’ language evokes a satirical passage from Lucretius (2.14 *O miseras hominum mentes*; Krenkel (1970) 104–5) and since the names Lucretius and Lucilius would have been similarly abbreviated in manuscripts (Zetzel (1977) 40–42). Thus the scholia may be wrong about the origins of Persius’ first verse. Alternatively, it has been argued that the scholia refer not to the first verse of Persius’ poem as a quotation from Lucilius but to the second (Henss (1954) 159–61), which would mean that even if Persius does not quote Lucilius in the opening verse, he does appear to quote his predecessor near the start of his first poem. While the issue of whom Persius is quoting and where may not have an easy solution, the abrupt and startling voice of another poet at the start of *Satire* 1 unquestionably finds a parallel in Callimachus’ *Iamb* 1.

The cumulative effect of this extensive reworking of Greek iambic poetry is to foreground the issue of mimesis and imitation. After all, in the Prologue, the negative treatment of the parrot had problematically raised the issue of replication and poetic production, and Persius’ own Satires start with a manifest borrowing. The concern with imitation is further complicated by the introduction of another “parrot” in the fourth verse, where Attius Labeo is said to have produced a work that is widely admired in Rome and preferred to Persius’ own. According to the scholia, Labeo translated the *Iliad* into Latin, and Persius certainly does have the *Iliad* in mind since he claims that it is Polydamas and the Trojan women (a reference to *Iliad* 22.100–105, where Hector fears their criticism if he were to retreat into Troy) who prefer Labeo’s verse to Persius’ work (1.4). It is intriguing that the scholia have preserved a verse from Labeo’s translation: *crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos* (“you may eat Priam and his children raw”). This verse translates *Iliad* 4.35 in remarkably faithful fashion, preserving even the word order of the

Homeric Greek. The scholia note that the translation is “word for word” (*uerbum ex uerbo*) and thus criticize Labeo’s effort (e.g. *ridicule*; cf. *ad* 1.50 *Iliadem Homeri uersibus foedissime composuit*). The Prologue and the beginning of *Satire* 1, then, raise the important question of how one relates to poetic predecessors. To judge from the one verse of his poetry that we have, Labeo’s mimetic strategy consists of faithful and mechanical replication of archaic Greek (and specifically Ionic) models. Persius, however, evidently imitates a Latin model (whether that be Lucilius or Lucretius) within a broad generic tradition that develops and rejuvenates the form in ways appropriate for a poet’s contemporary world.

Persius’ concern with poetic imitation evokes the dramatic situation of Callimachus’ programmatic *Iamb* 13. In that poem, a critic faults Callimachus for not going to Ephesus in order to gain proper inspiration and knowledge for his recreation of Hipponactean poetry. In other words, the charge is that Callimachus is not Hipponactean enough in his diction or meter. Callimachus’ response is not entirely preserved, but in what remains, his response amounts to an argument that linguistic and metrical variation from Hipponax’s practice is not a failure to produce authentically Hipponactean poetry (Acosta-Hughes (2002) 82–103). Rather, variation and innovation, not slavish imitation, constitute deep poetic engagement. Ironically, since the poem is structured as a dialogue, Callimachus is able to conclude by replicating the words of his critics to support – rather than undercut – his own view of mimesis. When Persius sets his verse against Labeo’s, he recreates this Alexandrian dispute for the literary situation at Rome. In this debate, however, the Roman people (sneeringly referred to as Polydamases and Trojan women) prefer Labeo, but Persius’ creative variation shows him to be an heir of Callimachus. The Callimachean tradition of iambic verse sanctions both Persius’ strategies and his relationship to the poetic past.

To sum up, the Prologue and initial verses of *Satire* 1 have indisputably Hipponactean points as well as other features that, though widespread in the poetic tradition, are also prominent aspects of Hipponactean verse. A number of individual aspects of Persius’ poetic strategies are illuminated by his developments of and deviations from this poetic tradition. But perhaps the most pressing point is that this deep-rooted template provides an explanation of the singularly vicious brand of verse that Persius produces. Hipponax’s “anger” was notorious (e.g. Leon. Tar. *Anth. Pal.* 7.408; Hor. *Epod.* 6.14; Pliny *HN* 36.5), and Persius’ engagement with his predecessor’s hostile verse authorizes his own posture. In the world of Roman satire, anger is threatening for the poet himself in that it may lead to alienation (Anderson (1982) 319–26). Indeed, even Horace, who self-admittedly writes temperate criticism (e.g. 1.3.43–75, 1.10.14–16; Rosen (2007) 6), claims that he is shunned because of his poetry (1.4.101–2). Moreover, in the *Epodes* Horace claims that,

if provoked, he will be harsh like Hipponax (*Epod.* 6). From Persius' literary historical perspective, Horace's case is illustrative: if a satirist had been virtually ostracized despite writing mild verse, then there is not much point in waiting to be provoked before writing harsh verse (see Tzounakas (2005) 565–67 for a useful discussion of Horace's career as a model for Persius from a different perspective). The very choice of writing satire of any sort has already compromised the poet's social position. In such a context in which the satirist is doomed to a sort of social exile, Persius reclaims for satire the abusive voice, and in order to do so, he situates his verse within a tradition that goes back to a famous abuse poet who was reportedly exiled by his own community of Ephesus (*Suda* ι 588–90). Indeed, Hipponax's fate in his hometown contrasts sharply with that of Archilochus, another famous practitioner of blame poetry, who was honored as a hero in his hometown (Arist. *Rhet.* 1398b; *SEG* 15.517). By making Hipponax the progenitor of a tradition that flows through Callimachus, Lucilius, and ultimately Horace, Persius, the self-characterized *semipaganus* who does not fully belong to his community, justifies (and perhaps even explains) the intense ferocity that characterizes his satire.

From this perspective, it is possible to discuss Persius' Callimacheanism without limiting the discussion to poetic terminology or aesthetic imagery. Yet his avoidance of those salient features of Callimacheanism may be most telling. After all, Horace recognizes Lucilius' cardinal place in the development of satire but then uses Callimachean terminology to critique his overflowing, abundant style (1.4.9–13; for discussion, see Scodel (1987) 199–215; Hunter (2008) 323 n. 33). In that sense, then, Horace uses Callimachus' poetic imagery to redefine satire at Rome. But Persius, as we see in the first three verses of the Prologue, rejects such a path and instead tendentiously uses entirely different aspects of Callimachus' poetry in ways that establish an authoritative literary pedigree for Persius' particular brand of satire.

11.3 Old Comedy

Old Comedy is another mode of Greek invective that is productive for reading imperial satire and its relationship to earlier Roman poetry. The difficulties in charting an exact relationship between comedy and iambic verse are well known, yet Ionic iambic poetry displays many features of Attic comedy (West (1974) 37) and thus the two forms of criticism were frequently associated in antiquity (Degani (1984); Lasserre (1984); Rosen (1988); Zanetto (2001) 65–76). Plato, for instance, restricts the abilities of both comic and iambic poets to mock citizens (*Leg.* 935e), and Aristotle links iambic and comic poetry since they both employ obscenity (*Poet.* 1336b 12–23). At Rome, a fusion of the two poetic forms likely occurs when Horace claims that comic poets were

able to point out murderers (*Sat.* 1.4.4). As Kirk Freudenburg notes ((2001) 17–18), the claim is tendentious since Aristophanes, for instance, does no such thing in his extant plays. But Hipponax did claim that Bupalus was a murderer (e.g. fr. 1 W). Horace thus not only seems to connect iambic poetry with Attic comedy, but even to impute a practice of iambic poetry to the comic poets. And then he situates Lucilius' caustic verse within his version of the literary tradition. Horace's narrative for the literary history of Roman satire marks Old Comedy as one of its fonts, and one that shared much with the critical tradition of iambic poetry. The remainder of my essay, then, will focus upon scenes in which Persius and Juvenal rework Old Comedy in ways that ratify their satirical strategies (for an account of Old Comedy and imperial satire, see Van Rooy (1965) 145–50; Reckford (2009) discusses Aristophanes and Persius).

To return to *Satire* 1, when Persius discusses Rome's preference for Labeo's poetry, he condemns the ears of Romans (1.8; 1.121). Just ten verses later (1.17–21), he disparages another part of the civic body. In particular, he imagines that at a poetic recitation by a smartly dressed performer, the poetry anally penetrates the audience:

sede leges celsa, liquido cum plasmate guttur
mobile conlueris, patranti fractus ocello.
tunc neque more probo uideas nec uoce serena
ingentis trepidare Titos, cum carmina lumbum
intrans et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima uersu.

You will read from your lofty position when you will have moistened your unsteady throat with a fluid modulation, effeminate with an orgasmic eye. Then you may see huge Tituses without their upright behavior and calm voice quivering when the poetry enters their rears and their innards are scratched by the reverberating verse.

The problems with this recitation are numerous. The speaker, for instance, comes across as grandiose since he publicly recites something that he thinks is impressive (1.14 *aliquid grande*), the converse of Horace's refusal to recite his satire in public in part because of its low style (*Sat.* 1.4.23–25). But it is the eroticism of the passage that is most striking. The sexually charged dimensions of listening to a reading are familiar (e.g. Svenbro (1993) on Plato's *Phaedrus*; *Anth. Pal.* 12.22). However, Persius' imagery finds a direct parallel in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (Kissel (1990) 141; Barchiesi and Cucchiarelli (2005) 219), in which Euripides attempts to enlist the tragic poet Agathon to spy on Athenian women during a religious festival. As the play unfolds, Agathon, who maintained a same-sex relationship with Pausanias even as an adult (Plat. *Prt.* 315d–e; Xen. *Sym.* 8.32), is characterized as effeminate and

thus appropriate for the task of spying (Muecke (1982) discusses the representation of Agathon's sexuality). For instance, Agathon claims that when writing a drama that concerns women, he will wear women's clothes (*Thesmo.* 148–56). Since style reflects the man (or woman), this literal form of mimesis characterizes Agathon and his poetry as effeminately erotic and seductive (Austin and Olson (2004) 98). At the same time, this song provides an erotic charge that Euripides' kinsman feels in his rear-end – a center of sexual passion for a male passive (Austin and Olson (2004) 98–99). Both audience and poet are effeminized.

Persius' audience and reciter are likewise emasculated (Harvey (1981) 22–23). While the verb *scalpuntur* has an amatory or erotic sense (*OLD* 1b), it also appears in a passage of Calvus (a poet famous for political invective) that denigrates Pompey for his unmanly action of scratching his head with one finger (*FLP* Courtney fr. 18). Persius' audience is "scratched" in a different sort of way, but the verb's semantic force builds upon the idea of sexual degradation that appears in Calvus. Further, while the reciter has on the one hand assumed the *toga virilis*, the clothing that typically marks arrival at manhood, on the other he has a number of markers of effeminacy: the calque *plasma* is used by Quintilian in conjunction with unmanly speech (*Inst.* 1.8.2); his ring is effete (Sen. *Q.Nat.* 7.31.2); combed hair (*pexus*) is problematic in the Roman construction of masculinity (Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) on Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.14). Most of all, the reciter is *fractus*, i.e. sexually passive (*OLD* s.v. 8). Like Aristophanes' Agathon, then, Persius' reciter both is effete and creates poetry that emasculates its audience.

This Aristophanic backdrop had been anticipated at *Satire* 1.5–8, where Persius, while discussing the poor literary judgment at Rome, employs the image of weighing verse on a scale and then suggests that it is not worth worrying whether or not something may be wrong with the scale:

non, si quid turbida Roma
eleuet, accedas examenue improbum in illa
castiges trutina.

If addled Rome makes light of something, you shouldn't approach and correct
the balance in the scale.

This image of weighing poetry is indebted to Aristophanes' *Frogs* (Kissel (1990) 117), where Dionysus compares the poetry of Aeschylus to that of Euripides (*Ran.* 1379–1410). Significantly, Euripides' poetry is judged to be feminine in comparison to the masculine compositions of Aeschylus. In particular, Aeschylus likens Euripides' verse to the tricks of a famous courtesan by the name of Cyrene (*Ran.* 1327–28), the very same comparison that is

made of Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (97). Aristophanes thus treats Euripides and Agathon as near equivalents (Rhys Roberts (1900) 50–51), in part because their poetry employed soft rhythms and music. Ancient sources disagree as to whether it was Euripides or Agathon who invented the effeminate style of “New Music” (Austin and Olson (2004) 87–88), but the key point for reading Persius is that the ancients thought that one of them did and linked their stylistic affinities to their effeminate characteristics. That Persius’ verses operate in this kind of dramatic context is reinforced by the fact that, as Hooley has noted ((1997) 39–41), a key intertext for Persius’ passage here is Horace’s analysis of the corruption of dramatic performance by the modern flute (*Ars P.* 208–17). This Horatian background of degenerate music and poetry reinforces and complements the thematic material that Persius takes over from Aristophanes.

In addition to borrowing these two Aristophanic images that conflate sexuality and literature, Persius also takes over the broader dramatic context. After all, in each play, the connection between literary production and social ills is explicit: in the *Frogs*, Dionysus goes to the Underworld in order to bring back a tragedian who is capable of improving an ailing Athens (*Ran.* 1419), and in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, Agathon (and Euripides) problematically devote their considerable talents to a feminine (or feminized), deceitful rhetoric that undermines authority (McClure (1999) 230). The fusion of literary and sexual degeneracy thus connects with social failings and provides a model for Persius. Moreover, it is notable that in Persius, the image of the scale has little if any aesthetic and/or literary critical values associated with it. After all, the Aristophanic passage had been influential for the development of literary critical terminology in the Hellenistic period. In the *Aetia* Prologue, for example, Callimachus borrows heavily from Aristophanes’ language for evaluating poetry, whether it be measuring, weighing, or judging (e.g. Wimmel (1960) 115 n. 1). Persius, however, seems to keep the focus instead on moral terms (e.g. *improbum*). As he does with Horace’s Callimachean treatment of Lucilius and Old Comedy (*Sat.* 1.4.1–13), Persius essentially bypasses literary critical terminology associated with the *Aetia* and instead reconstructs a literary history that returns to an originary moment in the poetic tradition.

Persius’ allusions to Aristophanes ultimately call attention to the problematic nature of the Roman audience. In the *Thesmophoriazusae*, it is Euripides’ kinsman who gets a sexual charge from Agathon’s song. Aristophanes lampoons an isolated individual, and the audience laughs at the attack and thus becomes complicit in it. The poet is part of a broader community. However, the dynamic is quite different in Persius both for the audience and for the narrator himself: no distinction is made between the larger public (1.15) and the Tituses (1.20) who receive sexual stimulation from the reading. This

distribution of the impropriety across a broad social range ensures that Persius is the one who is isolated.

Although Juvenal nowhere makes an explicit declaration of the importance of Greek Old Comedy for his verse, he similarly draws upon that tradition (or at least upon the Roman uses of the Greek comic poets) to explore the relationship between poet and audience from a sexual perspective. At 9.130–33, the narrator tells Naevolus that he will always be able to find a patron in Rome since pathics come (and will come) to the capital from all over the world. A key marker of the sexual perversion of these new arrivals is that they scratch their heads with one finger (9.133 *qui digito scalpunt uno caput*), a phrase whose verb looks back to Persius (and Calvus) and marks the scratcher as effeminate. Further, like Persius, Juvenal conflates inappropriate sexual behavior with the social ills that he addresses in *Satire* 9. However, in contrast to the isolated Persius, here the opposition between Romans and foreigners initially creates a sense of collusion between the narrator and Naevolus. But the poem demonstrates that Naevolus himself is problematic, and thus the reading audience recognizes that the alliance between him and Juvenal breaks down (Braund (1988) 142; Rosen (2007) 242 argues that Naevolus' isolation reflects that of the satirist himself). In the end, Juvenal directs his dialogue to a larger, knowing (and Roman) audience, and in this regard he deviates from Persius' strategy of railing against Romans. This less direct mode of criticism exemplifies Juvenal's employment in Book 3 of an ironic style (Braund (1988) 54–68; *passim*).

Juvenal's subtler reworking of Persius' sexualized recitation is even more developed in *Satire* 7. In the midst of a discussion of the difficulties faced by modern poets because of the lack of patronage, Juvenal notes that Statius may delight the Roman populace when he reads from the *Thebaid*, but in order to make money, he still has to sell his Agave to the famous pantomime actor named Paris (7.82–87):

curritur ad uocem iucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius Urbem
promisitque diem; tanta dulcedine captos
adficit ille animos tantaque libidine uolgi
auditur. sed cum fregit subsellia uersu
esurit, intactam Paridi nisi uendit Agauen.

Whenever Statius has appointed a day and makes Rome happy, there is a rush to his lovely voice and the poetry of his charming *Thebaid*. He captures their spirits with such great pleasure and the masses listen in deep rapture. But when he has broken the benches with his verses, he still goes hungry unless he sells his virgin *Agave* to Paris.

The phrase *curritur ad uocem iucundam* reflects the excitement caused by the recitation, but it is a loaded introduction. On the one hand, *iucundus*, “lovely,” is standard for the (positive) description of an author or his work (OLD 1b). On the other, the adjective is hardly appropriate for an epic context: Statius himself uses it only once in his epic poetry (*Theb.* 8.33), and it likewise appears once in Virgil (*Aen.* 6.363) and Valerius Flaccus (7.336); it never appears in Lucan, Silius Italicus or in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, yet it is found in the latter’s amatory works, and Statius employs the adjective to describe Erato in a poem about the marriage of an elegiac poet (*Silv.* 1.2.49; Ross (1969) 76–80 analyzes the poetic resonance of the adjective). These erotic suggestions are enhanced by the placement of *amicae*, “girlfriend,” at verse end, and then by the enjambed position of *Thebaidos*. The verses create a tension between the sexualized and effeminate context in which a masculine epic (cf. *Od.* 1.1; *Aen.* 1.1; Keith (2000) 8–35) on Thebes is recited. Statius’ voice may thus be “pleasant” (*iucundam*), but its erotic tinge points to another layer of meaning.

This sexualized frame is developed in subsequent verses (Pichon (1902) 6). *dulcedo*, for instance, may encompass erotic desire (TLL V.1.2184.60–64), and the sexual undertones of *libido* are obvious. Moreover, the theme of prostitution continues when Statius is said to sell (*uendit*) his *Agave*, a pantomime script, to Paris in order to receive patronage (7.90). Since this kind of acting required, among other things, men to impersonate female voices (Plin. *Pan.* 46.4–5; Lucian *Salt.* 28; for discussion, see Richlin (1983) 92–93), the genre was consistently disparaged as effeminate and its practitioners were seen as *cinaedi*, “male-passives” (though the term defies easy translation into English; cf. Williams (2010) 175; Hall and Wyles (2010) discuss ancient pantomime, which has little to do with our modern art form). Juvenal’s depiction of sexualized literary transaction and exchange equates the lofty, masculine genre of epic with the lowly, effeminate genre of pantomime. After all, Statius has to sell both types of work, and in doing so, his own status is undermined since he is beholden to a sexually problematic figure. Like Persius’ reciter, then, Juvenal’s Statius is an effeminized poet.

Yet, just as Persius’ performer sexually overpowers his audience, so too Juvenal’s emasculated Statius dominates his listeners. After all, in reworking Statius’ own verses in which he claims that senators attended his recitals (*Silv.* 5.2.160–63), Juvenal attributes a measure of power and authority to Statius in the sense that he has broken (*fregit*) the seats (*subsellia*) on which the audience sits. In fact, Statius’ recitation is a marked improvement over the previous attempt made by an anonymous poet (7.39–45). In this light, *fregit* is understood easily enough as a reference to the power of the recitation, but given the backdrop of Persius’ treatment of recitation in which the speaker was described as sexually enervated (1.18 *patranti fractus oculo*), a sexual interpretation is available here as well (Bartsch (1994) 286 n. 111). But Juvenal’s

use of the verb is not applied, as in Persius, to the reciter but rather to his audience. From this perspective, *subsellia* ("benches") seems pointed: the word itself can be a metonym for those who sit in the seats (*OLD* 1d), and it is precisely the rear-end of the audience that connects spectators to their seats. Further, *subsellia* essentially glosses the Aristophanic ἔδραν ("bench") that appears in the description of the sexual pleasure felt by Euripides' kinsman while listening to Agathon (*Thesmo.* 133). Juvenal's *fregit* thus alludes to Persius' scene, but *subsellia* evokes the source (Aristophanes) common to both satirists and shows that Juvenal more closely follows the suggestive and less graphic model found in Aristophanes.

Juvenal's specific mention of Statius is also redolent of Aristophanes' treatment of Agathon in that both effeminize a popular and contemporary (or nearly contemporary, since Statius was dead) poet. More generally, however, by naming Statius, Juvenal recalls the comic practice of *onomasti komoedein*, of mocking a specific individual by name. Indeed, for Juvenal, this technique is a feature of satiric verse (e.g. 1.153 *cuius non audio dicere nomen?*; cf. LaFleur (1981) 1793) that he associates with Lucilius (Braund (1996a) 108). The importance of the specific citation is corroborated by way of contrast with Persius, who deals with an anonymous reciter and generally avoids mention of specific individuals (likewise Horace tends not to mention real individuals; Fraenkel (1957) 88–89). Again, whereas Persius reconfigures the Aristophanic recitation in a way that points to differences, Juvenal caps Persius by adopting a comic technique that creates yet another point of contact between his poetry and the comic tradition.

Juvenal's manner of criticism in Book 3 deviates from both Persius' strategies and his own previous satires. For instance, poetic recitation was the ridiculed subject of the opening verses of *Satire* 1, and Statius himself is likely parodied in *Satire* 4 (Anderson (1982) 285). *Satire* 7 revises the earlier poems and replaces abusive discourse with subtler criticism in which characters such as Statius garner some sympathy from the narrator. Juvenal's relationship with his (reading) audience has changed in that the less-than-direct criticism depends, in part, upon the reader's ability to perceive and comprehend the irony. Moreover, this audience contrasts with, for example, those listening to the recitation, since the former do not realize what is happening to them (or do they?). Similarly, Naevolus is unaware of the actual dynamics of *Satire* 9. Juvenal's reading audience possesses knowledge that allies them with the poet, a relationship that is, on the one hand, unlike that between the isolated, hyperdidactic and descriptive Persius and his audience yet, on the other, is in keeping with the collusion between poet and audience that generates humor in archaic iambic and Old Comedy. His less vituperative mode of satire revives a strategy of the Greek masters. So whereas Persius has used the Aristophanic model of a sexually charged recitation in a way that marks the distance between his satire

and the comic tradition, Juvenal uses the same image (and even Persius' language) in a manner that creates common ground between his satiric voice and the Greek comic tradition.

Juvenal's send-up of Statius in *Satire* 4 is also enhanced by a reworking of Greek comedy. In the satire, a large fish caught off the coast of Italy is hurriedly conveyed to the capital as a gift to the emperor Domitian. Upon receiving the fish, Domitian summons a council of his key advisors in order to assess how to prepare and cook such an enormous creature. An advisor then suggests that an extraordinary plate be created and that potters become part of the imperial household. The poem mimics epic in general in its diction, in its unusual (for satire) extended third-person narrative, and in its representation of the council (Braund (1996a) 271–72). In particular, Juvenal mentions three councilors who also appear in what seems to be a catalog that was part of Statius' (now lost) *De Bello Germanico* but of which only four verses have been preserved, in the scholia to Juvenal. Catalogs are an essential part of the epic repertoire and often introduce important individuals or communities. By way of contrast, Juvenal's council is clearly called for a frivolous purpose. Epic – and particularly Statius' brand of epic – is thus mocked and diminished by satire. While this epic pedigree is manifestly important and central to the workings of the poem, the naming of the advisors owes something to the comic technique of *onomasti komoedein*, singling out individuals (Griffith (1969) 147–48). Statius' epic catalog is thus not only transformed by the new, absurd context in which it is located, but the very practice of citing individuals by name is transformed in that names in satire are subject to denigration and humiliation rather than epic commemoration and memorialization. Juvenal's satire dismantles both the epic trope of the catalog and its values.

However, it is not just Statius whom Juvenal lampoons in this poem, since the ridiculous amount of planning and concern with the fish also amounts to a satire about the emperor and his inner circle. And once again, the comic tradition plays a central role in creating this parody. The surrendering of a colossal fish to a ruler is not exclusive to comedy (Herod. 3.42.1–2), but a clear model for Juvenal is found in a drama of the “middle” comic poet Ephippus (fourth century BCE) entitled *Geryonis*. In a surviving fragment, fishermen who discover colossal fishes hand them over to the ruler, but they also provide a plate (λοπάς) that is large enough to contain such fish. The poet then describes the extraordinary preparations undertaken to cook the fish (K-A fr. 5). The fragment is full of mock-heroic language, and in this sense both the diction and the themes of the fragment are clearly relevant for Juvenal's portrayal of Domitian (Shero (1929) provides further discussion of the influence of Middle Comedy upon Roman satire as early as Lucilius). One result of a comparison between the two scenes is that the efficient, clearly

established system with which Ehippus' ruler prepares the fish forms a pointed contrast to the clueless Domitian in Juvenal's poem. But the larger point here is that the ancients – and particularly Aristophanes, Eupolis and then the poets of Middle Comedy – used fish as a way to point up class distinctions and, even further, to represent personal and/or political power (Davidson (1993) 62, *passim*). Juvenal works with this idea as well; indeed, he establishes that Domitian's henchmen would claim that anything that comes from the sea belongs to the emperor (4.54–55). The fish that is served to Domitian, then, is hardly just a fish, but rather a comically sanctioned symbol of a ruler's power in and over his society, and its unusual size marks the extraordinary nature of Domitian's rule. In this light, it seems pointed that Juvenal calls Domitian a tyrant (4.86 *tyranni*), since the desire for a tyranny is precisely the charge that Aristophanes' Bdelycleon leveled against someone seeking exotic and sumptuous fish (*Wasps* 493–95). A portentous fish is just the right kind of symbol to convey the narrator's comic view of the autocratic regime of Domitian.

Juvenal exploits the Greek comic tradition to undercut both literary and political grandiosity. And by demonstrating the absurdity of that kind of rhetoric, *Satire* 4 makes the implicit point that the satirist operates with a different aesthetic agenda. That is, whereas the epic poet – here represented by Statius – employs lofty diction to describe the work of the emperor and his councilors, the satirist employs low diction. The conventional imagery of Callimacheanism (i.e. large-scale as opposed to small-scale productions) could be relevant for the poem's larger dynamic, but Juvenal also appears to be up to something more generically relevant. While we learn about Domitian's over-the-top gastronomical interests (4.138–43), nothing is said about what the satirist eats. In this regard, the satirist situates himself within a tradition that reaches back to the iambic poets as well. In fr. 128 W, for instance, Hipponax parodically employs the dactylic hexameter and epic diction (Faraone (2004) 233–37) in a fragment about the excessive eating habits of a political figure (perhaps a tyrant; Faraone (2004) 238–41) who should be careful not to be killed by his people (Hardie (1998) 121 discusses its relation to Juvenal 4). In contrast to that kind of public figure, Hipponax himself is often hungry (e.g. fr. 32, 34, 39 W), and Callimachus' iambic Muses maintain this tradition by eating figs and other lowly foods (e.g. *Iamb* 1.92–93; *Iamb* 13.58–62). Juvenal's rhetoric in *Satire* 4 implicitly shows that the narrator himself and his brand of satire adhere to that idea even if the emperor – and epic – do not. In *Satire* 4, the poet operates within both the iambic and the comic traditions in ways that illuminate the poem's rhetorical strategies for diminishing literary and political grandeur.

11.4 Conclusion

Horace's history of satire highlights the importance of Old Comedy (*Sat.* 1.4.1–7). At the end of his own first Satire, Persius tendentiously rewrites that history when he characterizes Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinus in terms that highlight anger and harshness (*audaci quicumque adflate Cratino iratum | Eupolidem praegrandi cum senec palles*; see Hooley (1997) 13 and Keane (2006) 25). But this updating of the literary past at the end of his first poem rewrites Horace's history in another way. The point of the comic past for Horace is to lament the loss of *libertas*. Persius and Juvenal, writing in a period in which *libertas* was at least as compromised by political circumstances as it was in the period in which Horace was writing, indirectly respond to Horace by reclaiming for satire the interrelated traditions of iambic and comic invective. Creative production within the generic tradition is not seen to be conditional upon circumstances, but rather changed circumstances afford new opportunities about and insights into the ways in which satire (and critical poetry in general) operates. The contexts in which poets critique their communities continually change, but the ever-expanding generic framework affords the satirist opportunities to revisit his predecessors' work and to draw upon and renew their art in ways that illuminate his own particular contributions.

FURTHER READING

For the artistry of Greek invective in Hipponax and Callimachus, Kerkhecker (1999) and Acosta-Hughes (2002) are particularly helpful (though neither deals with reception at Rome); West (1974) is a sober starting place for the study of Greek iambic poetry. Bramble (1974) is fundamental for Persius' literary criticism and self-conscious and wide-ranging use of the literary tradition. Hooley (1997) elucidates many aspects of Persius' difficult imitative strategies; Tzounakas (2005) is helpful for Persius' relationship with Horace and Lucilius. The influence of Aristophanes and Callimachus feature in various degrees in Reckford (2009). Little has been done on Juvenal and his reworking of the iambo-comic tradition; Rosen (2007) takes a virtually unique diachronic approach to common strategies in Greco-Roman "mockery," including a chapter on Juvenal.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Imperial Satire and Rhetoric

Christopher S. van den Berg

12.1 Introduction

Rhetoric at Rome developed alongside and independently of satire, yet both arts shared a number of common traits. In terms of chronology, the concentration of extant rhetorical works roughly overlaps with satire's main figures. The earliest preserved Latin treatises, Cicero's unfinished *On Invention* (c. 90 BCE) and the anonymous *Rhetoric to Herennius* (c. 85 BCE), date from the generation after the death of Lucilius, although oratory held a prominent place already in the second century BCE. Cicero devotes a section of his dialogue *Brutus* (*Brut.* 61–76) to Cato the Elder (234–149 BCE), claiming to have read over 150 of his orations. We cannot know if Lucilius also knew the speeches of his elder contemporary, but Cato's enduring prominence suggests that the art of rhetoric influenced public life and letters already in his day. After the *On Invention* of his early years, Cicero crafted a series of dialogues in the 50s and 40s BCE which would form the core canon of Roman rhetorical texts. His speeches gave shape to many of the precepts expounded in the technical works. A large corpus, spanning the 80s to the 40s BCE, contains exemplary renditions of forensic (court), deliberative (policy), and epideictic (display) oratory.

The imperial period saw no end to rhetoric's broader cultural relevance. Seneca the Elder collected notable (sometimes notorious) excerpts from Augustan- and Tiberian-era declaimers, who publicly delivered practice and virtuoso speeches known as *suasoriae* ("persuasions") and *controuersiae* ("disputes"). It is to this collection and to the declamations of Pseudo-Quintilian (second (?) century CE) that scholars often liken the "declamatory" style of Persius and especially of Juvenal. The next major rhetorical treatise after

Cicero is Quintilian's *Education of the Orator*, most likely published under the emperor Domitian in the mid-90s CE: twelve books covering the orator's education and largely indebted to Cicero as a moral, pedagogical, and rhetorical exemplar. A few years later (c. 100 CE) Juvenal's contemporary, Tacitus, wrote the *Dialogue on the Orators*, a magisterial rendition of a Ciceronian-style dialogue, but more closely allied with declamation in the form and content of its speeches.

Many topics and techniques in the rhetorical texts and declamations resurface in satire, and these will be noted throughout this essay. My focus, however, will be less on the specific technical details and more on the ways in which satirists draw on and work against this background in order to promote the uniqueness of their own literary enterprises. In terms of methodology this chapter can be thought of as an attempt to wed, or at least to balance, two emphases within the scholarship: to consider the socio-cultural relevance of satirical discourse and to examine how the satirist co-opts rhetoric through stereotyped images of eloquence and its history. Ultimately, I argue that satire of the imperial period does not simply borrow from rhetoric. Instead, Persius and Juvenal draw on it as an authoritative discourse, as they also do with philosophy and epic poetry, only then to challenge that authority. At the same time, rhetoric becomes a crucial element within the tradition of satire, as authors acknowledge and update their predecessors' relationship to the art of speaking. What Philip Hardie has noted of Virgil's epic successors also applies to the evolution of authors of satire, who "exploited the energies and tensions called up but not finally expended or resolved" in earlier versions (Hardie (1993) xi). Satire's special status as a kind of super-discourse, which absorbs all others, means that we can trace out one aspect of its intertextual development by examining the evolution of its treatment of rhetoric.

Already at the earliest stages Lucilius uses satire to explore moral and cultural definitions, and, as will become evident below, draws on rhetorical terminology as part of this exploration:

uirtus, Albine, est pretium persolvere uerum
 quis in uersamur quis uiuimus rebus potesse;
 uirtus est homini scire id quod quaeque habeat res;
 uirtus scire homini rectum utile quid sit honestum,
 quae bona quae mala item, quid inutile turpe inhonestum;
 uirtus quaerendae finem re scire modumque;
 uirtus diuitiis pretium persolvere posse;
 uirtus id dare quod re ipsa debetur honori,
 hostem esse atque inimicum hominum morumque malorum
 contra defensorem hominum morumque bonorum,
 hos magni facere, his bene uelle, his uiuere amicum,

commoda praeterea patriai prima putare,
deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra.

Virtus, Albinus, means being able to pay in full the real price in our business dealings and in life. *Virtus* means knowing what any matter involves for a person. *Virtus* is knowing what is right, useful, and honorable, what's good, what's bad as well, what's useless, shameful, and dishonorable. *Virtus* is knowing the limit and full-measure in seeking a thing. *Virtus* is paying full price from our resources, to be an enemy and adversary of bad men and manners and conversely a champion of good men and manners, prizing them highly, being benevolent to them, and living as their friend. Furthermore it's regarding the advantages of the fatherland first, then those of parents, and then third and last our own. (Lucil. 1196–1208 W; my trans.)

The lengthy definition of *virtus* (“manly excellence”) touches on two main features of satire’s engagement with rhetoric: (1) familiarity with rhetorical categories and practice; (2) concern with definitions in the genre of satire. It will be useful to outline these two aspects of Lucilius’ poem in isolation, before examining their combination in later members of the tradition.

The passage on *Virtus* confirms the influence of rhetoric already at the genre’s beginnings. The injunction to know “what is right, useful, and honorable” is not drawn haphazardly from moralizing discourse. The triad sees the world through rhetorical categories. The three terms correspond to the argumentative “aims” (*fines*) of rhetoric’s three main genres: forensic (what is just/right), deliberative (what is useful), and epideictic (what is honorable). Such lists, along with considerable debate over the ascription of a given aim to a given genre, feature in Greek treatises from the fourth century BCE and in Roman rhetorical texts spanning (roughly) the years 100 BCE through 100 CE: Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*; *Rhetoric to Alexander* (often attributed to Aristotle, but now widely accepted as the work of Anaximenes of Lampsacus); the anonymous *Rhetoric to Herennius*; Cicero’s *On Invention*, *On the Orator*, *Rhetorical Divisions*; Quintilian’s *Education of the Orator*; Tacitus’ *Dialogue on the Orators*. Aristotle, for example, gave each of the three rhetorical genres a chief aim and its opposite: to forensic speech, justice (*dikaion*) and injustice (*adikon*), to epideictic, the honorable (*kalon*) and the shameful (*aischron*), and to deliberative the useful (*sympheron*) and the harmful (*blaberon*; Arist. *Rh.* 1.3.5 = 1358b). Roman authors followed and modified Aristotle’s scheme, or some later version of it, while often stressing the honorable (*honestum*) in the division of genres (e.g. Cic. *Inn.* 2.156).

Scholars of satire now largely emphasize two (often mutually informing) modes of analysis, both of which have at least some connection to rhetorical culture. An interest in the social purchase of satire has brought forth a number of studies that connect the genre to the ideologies of its cultural environs

(see especially Keane (2006); Freudenburg (2005) chapters 10–13). This emphasis dovetails with a newfound interest in the rhetorical makeup of these poems (Anderson (1982); Kenney (1963); Braund (1988) and (1992b)). In many regards rhetorical analysis provides modern readers with a technical and literary framework from antiquity with which to understand the mutable façades in the satirist's self-presentation. Through techniques borrowed from Rome's rhetorical culture, an author assumes a *persona* from which to project his criticisms. This does not mean that we must dismiss all biographical details, but it does suggest that how an author chooses to present those details, as well as how he presents himself to an audience, are subject to the artistic and moral requirements of a given poem. In reading Lucilius' passage on *Virtus* – or any other poem – we need to consider the extent to which the author overlays a malleable *persona* onto the poetry. The value of *persona*-theory lies in its ability to account for a changing “personality” between or even within poems. Most famously, Juvenal sheds the *saeva indignatio* (“savage indignation”) of his first six poems in favor of the more complex *personae* of the later books (cf. Braund (1988) on Book 3 and Braund (2004b) 21–24 on the changing speaker of the different poems).

Beyond the rhetorical context of Lucilius' address to Albinus, the passage on *Virtus* also contains something peculiar in the genre: it is an extended piece of satirical poetry which articulates a positive definition. We readily understand its values and origins and can situate it within a historical moment and order (cf. Raschke (1990); Gruen (1992) 272–317). This is not to say that we fully grasp the context or the poem's satirical qualities; the definition may contain irony which is lost on us without the surrounding text. Yet, on the face of it, the passage doesn't entirely seem like satire, or at least it's atypical when looking across the poems from Lucilius through Juvenal. Of course, even to say “this isn't satire” indulges in a satirist's trope. Although we have developed a sense of these authors and their poems, they rarely define themselves or their art through positive, explicit definitions and categories. While operating through truculent or humorous criticism, they tend to provide only negative definitions of poetic aims and values along the way: Horace *Satires* 1.4 and 1.10, for example, mostly list the stylistic faults that Horace avoids, although a few general traits do emerge briefly (e.g. terseness, variety, and humor; *Sat.* 1.4.9–15). Horace *Satire* 2.1 seems to give Horace's reasons for writing, but it has rightly been noted that “each assertion is a subtle evasion of the point” (Rudd (2005) 39). Persius 1, a program piece, rejects contemporary poetry and contemporary standards of judgment. He ultimately claims that his criticisms are only for a select crowd, but the exuberant, forcible presentation withholds a coherent program. Similarly, Juvenal's programmatic first poem is a large-scale rejection of other kinds of poetry, in which Juvenal claims to respond as if by impulse to the foibles and vices he sees around him daily. Yet, in

the end he decides to play it safe by criticizing the dead (Juv. 1.170–71; the statement is only partly true).

The fragment on *Virtus* owes its preservation to Lactantius, an author from a different cultural moment, who, looking back upon the pagan world, draws attention to definitions in the genre. This third-/fourth-century CE Christian apologist quotes the passage as part of a larger tradition of excerpting classical material for application to a new religious context. He notes the tendency to avoid definitions when, after citing Lucilius' passage on *Virtus*, he criticizes Horace's explanation of the same term: *uirtus est uitium fugere et sapientia prima | stultitia caruisse* ("uirtus is fleeing vice and wisdom's first rule is to be free from folly," *Epist.* 1.1.41–42). Lactantius fastidiously rejects Horace's non-definition: *sed inepte, quod eam contrario terminauit; ut si diceret: bonum est, quod malum non est* ("But [he speaks] unfittingly, in that he defined virtue by its contrary, as if he were to say, it's good because it's not bad," Lactant. *Div. inst.* 6.5.12). He thus isolates a habit of the genre: rather than outline clearly a poem's subject matter or values, authors struggle to give proper definitions or even avoid them altogether.

The next section (12.2) of this essay examines in greater detail the difficulties of definitions in satire, how authors frequently appeal to or demonstrate the impossibility of defining something adequately. As the satirist claims that individuals cannot meet the expectations of a social or moral position, so does the satirist often implicate his own failure in these attempts. Section 12.3 then outlines how satirists increasingly recontextualize these failed definitions within discussions of rhetoric and of their own artistic procedures. In the course of the genre's development authors put rhetoric into the service of defining their own projects. Rhetoric's moral emphases and potentially "unlimited scope" are the focus of that section. Because this volume addresses Persius, Juvenal, and the tradition upon which they built, section 12.4 traces out the evolving interrelationship of rhetoric and satire: how does the totalizing tendency of rhetoric become an integral part of the genre's self-definitions, especially as Persius and Juvenal look back to Horace and Lucilius? The final section (12.5) contains a brief "case study" of sorts, an examination of Juvenal 4. This poem explores the problems of (self-)definition and incorporates them into the analysis of proper and improper speech. Juvenal's caricatures of failed eloquence demonstrate rhetoric's significance for the writing of satirical poems.

12.2 The Satirist's Rhetoric of Definitions

Horace *Satire* 1.2 documents particularly well the satirist's struggle to establish definitions. Ostensibly about how individuals fall prey to one vice in the

avoidance of another, the poem entertainingly depicts the elusiveness of the prized “golden mean”: *dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt* (“while fools avoid vices, they run into the opposite vices,” *Sat.* 1.2.24). At first Horace warns the reader off chasing Roman matrons at one extreme and overzealous frequenting of prostitutes at the other. Horace compresses the problem into the phrase *nil medium est* (“nothing’s in the middle,” *Sat.* 1.2.28). What he casts initially as a fault in others ultimately becomes a motto for the entire poem. We first catch glimpses of some middle ground, as when Horace presents *meretrices* (*Sat.* 1.2.47–48), higher-class prostitutes who were often freedwomen, as a possible alternative. Yet rather than develop the motif and explore its feasibility, the poem quickly loses sight of its mean. Horace immediately moves on to discuss the perils of becoming obsessed with a love affair (*Sat.* 1.2.49–63). Even the language works against the distinction of the lowest prostitute from the ostensible mean (the freedwoman *meretrix*), as when Horace poses the question: *quid inter|est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?* (“What’s the difference if you commit an offense with a married woman or a toga-clad wench?” *Sat.* 1.2.62–63). The toga-clad wench conflates the two lowest elements of the initial tripartite division: the toga was the marker of a *meretrix*, but *ancilla* (“wench”) implies a lower-class sort of prostitute. Commentators have noted the incongruity of the phrase. Brown (1993) suggests that Horace leaves the intermediate category implied. We can go a little further: “the three-term Aristotelian treatment, where a satisfactory mean (the freedwoman) is distinguished from two opposing extremes (the married lady and the lowest whore), is not continued. Instead, from now on we have a simple contrast between married ladies and prostitutes” (Rudd (2005) 160). Horace pins our attention to the failed distinction through the meaning and placement of *inter* – literally “what’s in the middle.” The spatial connotations are reinforced by the striking enjambment that separates *inter* from *est* in the following verse. Moreover, the middle element, the thing which ought to exist between the two extremes, has since vanished. Horace not only poses a question, but also advertises the poetic ruse: he constantly holds out a middle ground, only then to withdraw it by compulsively returning to one of the extremes.

Within the narrative as well Horace falls prey to the dilemma he pokes fun at. He prefers a woman of the middle sort (*Sat.* 1.2.47–48) and simple options: *namque parabilem amo Venerem facilemque* (“you see I like sex that’s available and easy,” *Sat.* 1.2.119). But the brief retreat into this ideal then concludes with Horace imagining himself caught in the act with a Roman matron as her husband returns home (*Sat.* 1.2.127–34). The parallel images of the husband “running” home (*recurrat*, *Sat.* 1.4.127) and the discalced Horace running away, *fugiendum est ac pede nudo* (“I’ve got to flee with bare feet”) dramatically re-enact the poem’s ethical problem, that those who flee vice ultimately pursue

another form of it: *in contraria currunt* (“they **run** into the opposite vices,” *Sat.* 1.2.24).

Now we could read the poem as a simple, somewhat ironic moral on the value of simple desires. However, the repeated failures to offer a sustained definition of the golden mean can be taken as a model for how satire functions in a number of ways. We’re hard pressed to say what, exactly, satire and its values are when we look to the statements of the satirists themselves. Over and again we encounter negative definitions or attempts to provide definitions which ultimately prove inadequate. One might, however, object that satire by nature is about criticism, which scarcely leaves room for positive definitions. Readers, after all, ought to be able inductively to reconstruct the values which form the basis for criticism. The objection is reasonable, but disadvantageous in so far as it can reduce satire to little more than moralizing outrage, or the arch criticism of human foibles. To be sure, social or ethical criticism figures prominently in the genre. However, satire also involves the sophisticated task of exploring definitions, a fact which partly explains the close connection to philosophical discourse, especially in Horace and Persius (which is not to discount its presence in Lucilius or Juvenal; for the latter cf. Keane (2007b)). Even Lucilius’ passage on *Virtus* is remarkably invested in the problems of limits and definitions, as a good man is described as someone who can pay the appropriate price, *pretium persolvere* (stated not once, but twice, with the preposition *per-* reinforcing the “fullness” of proper payment). Similarly, “knowing the limit (*finem*) and full-measure (*modum*) in seeking a thing” likens knowledge of something to knowledge of its proper boundaries and quantities.

This definitional motif also bears on satire’s conception of itself as a genre. In characterizing satire, authors constantly work against other genres. Lucilius’ poems parody almost every available form of literature or discourse, various Greek and Roman poets (e.g. Homer’s *Odyssey*, 564–76 W; Ennius’ council of the gods, 5–46 W) as well as rhetoric and philosophy (e.g. derision of outlandish rhetoric, 84–86 W; of philosophy, 804–11 W; of Stoics, 1189–90 W). Both Persius and Juvenal famously and ironically repudiate epic poetry in their programmatic introductions (Pers. *Prologue* and *Satire* 1; Juv. 1). Horace perhaps best exposes the conventional workings of negative definitions as a way for a poet to think about satire. When first turning to examination of his poems, he famously, but oddly, remarks: *primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis, | excerpseram numero* (“first of all I’d exclude myself from the group of those whom I’d concede are poets,” *Sat.* 1.4.40–41). The opening (1–25) and middle sections of *Satires* 1.4 (39–62) include digressions on the literary characteristics of satire, which he likens to comedy but distinguishes from other genres, such as epic, lyric, and tragedy. The end of the poem then defends Horace from possible charges of malice (63–143). He eventually retracts the

unconvincing *recusatio* when he seeks indulgence from his potential detractors and then holds out the prospect of calling on a poetic band: *multa poetarum ueniat manus auxilio quae | sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus)* (“a large group of poets will come to my aid (you see we’re many more in number),” *Sat.* 1.4.141–42). The transition from repudiating poetry to embracing it occurs as Horace surveys the poetic genres to which his poetry does not belong. While defining his own writings against other poetic discourses, his efforts have themselves become poetry. Horace never identifies the band of poets (*poetarum . . . manus*) who will come to his aid, but perhaps the point is that as an author of satire, with a range of poets at his mocking disposal, he can call on any poetry that will fit the bill. Thus, what emerges in satire is a nearly comprehensive negative definition: satire is not comedy, or epic, or tragedy, or rhetoric, or philosophy, but some pastiche of them all.

We can instructively compare the similar but inverted progression of Persius 5. The speaker undercuts his own statements through repeated reference to the “100 mouths” *topos* of epic poetry, in which an author claims that X number of mouths would be necessary to sing fully a given subject (Hinds (1998) 34–47 discusses the *topos* and its relevance to authorial negotiations with their predecessors; cf. Gowers (2005b)). Persius parodies this epic idea at the outset (1–18), but then seems to take the prospect seriously when he wishes to praise Cornutus for the philosophical teachings which he has instilled in Persius (26–29). After a lengthy demonstration of what he has learned from Cornutus, the poem ultimately issues in self-mocking dissolution. In the conclusion Persius imagines a group of soldiers deriding his poems:

dixeris haec inter uaricosos **centuriones**,
continuo crassum ridet Pulfenius ingens
et **centum** Graecos curto **centusse** licetur.

Talk like this among the centurions with bulging veins and right away huge
Pulfenius will give a coarse laugh and bid a clipped one hundred-penny coin for
one hundred Greeks. (189–91)

The reference to the number 100, repeated here three times, plays on the “100 mouths” motif, to which Persius draws our attention as well through extreme alliteration of the letter “c.” Still the meaning at the end remains unclear; we cannot be certain if the playfulness of the conclusion serves as a rejection or acceptance of Persius’ own poetry. On the face of it Persius evades identification with the poetic celebration of Cornutus. In short, the *topos* of “indefinability” is a defining element in the satirist’s self-presentation (we will return to a culminating example in the discussion of Juvenal 4).

12.3 The Satirist's Definitions of Rhetoric

How does this problem of failed or impossible definitions in satire relate to the examination of rhetoric in satire? Perhaps the most immediate response would be that rhetoric is yet another discourse against which satire works in order to define itself. At the same time, rhetoric became an increasingly essential weapon in the satirist's arsenal as the genre developed. In one of the earliest essays to take Juvenal's rhetoric seriously, E.J. Kenney defines rhetoric as: "the systematic employment of linguistic resources to produce a desired effect on a hearer or reader" (Kenney (1963) 706). He goes on to remark that Juvenal uses rhetoric, especially that of the declamatory schools, as his "idiom" (707); accordingly, "the business of the critic is to appraise it and Juvenal's use of it on its merits, to understand how it works and how the poet employs it to get his effects" (707). Kenney's practical definition and the line of thought that he promoted have proved salutary to Juvenal studies (and, indeed, to the study of imperial rhetorical culture more generally). The present essay acknowledges the merits of appreciating Juvenal's rhetoric, but will take that appreciation for granted in order to advance a different line of investigation. Authors of satire, culminating in Juvenal, walk the fine line between rejecting rhetoric and simultaneously making it an essential component of satire. Therefore, it will prove most profitable to focus on how rhetoric functions as one kind of discourse against which satire sought to define itself, and how that process evolved in the tradition. I have chosen to emphasize this aspect in part because a number of valuable studies have already documented the workings of rhetoric at the technical level (Anderson (1982); Braund (1997b)) and to some extent the broader social relevance of rhetoric within satire as a genre (Keane (2006); Hooley (2007a)). Viewing rhetoric as a discourse that satirists programmatically co-opt will allow us to trace its development in the tradition. Part of the complexity involves how authors of satire can seem to reject rhetoric while relying on and even distorting rhetorical techniques, a tendency that culminates in Juvenal (on his declamatory elements readers can turn to a number of fine studies, especially Braund (1997b)).

Henderson ((1999) 250) exemplifies a similar idea in his analysis of Juvenal 1: "In this chapter, pursuit of the satirist's implication in the literature he derides takes the form of an insatiable quest for detailed grasp of verbal-motivational relations between writers who structure a resonant chain of tradition." The sentence wryly transposes the ancient satirist's procedures onto those of the modern scholar. Henderson draws on our expectations for an essay to propose clearly the topic of investigation at the outset, but he then parodies so-called academic language through abstraction, wordiness, technical

expressions, and the inapposite matching of verb to noun. The (un-Hendersonian) formulations give off the air of an ambitious paper gone disturbingly awry, but they also describe the satirist's methods: to distort language in order to force an audience to reconsider their own relationship to its meaning and conventions.

Examining the cultural relevance of rhetoric involves briefly outlining its moral emphases, on the one hand, and the difficulties in separating out "rhetoric" as part of satire's generic makeup on the other. Satire was one of the discourses at Rome that assessed the quality of an individual's style in moral terms. This emphasis did not originate with satire itself, but was a staple of the culture at large. The Roman mind readily connected good speech to good character, as demonstrated by the various authors who viewed style in ethical terms. Cato the Elder famously associated the good man with capable speech (*orator est . . . uir bonus dicendi peritus* "an orator is a good man skilled in speaking," Sen. *Controv.* 1 *pref.* 9; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 12.1.1), and Cato's "good man skilled in speaking" would become a motto of sorts for Quintilian's neo-Ciceronian treatise on rhetoric. Between these two figures stood Seneca the Younger, who pithily claimed that "people's speech matches their life" (*talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis uita*, Sen. *Ep.* 114.1; cf. *Ep.* 40; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.47 attributes the idea to Socrates). Seneca too offers a fundamentally aesthetic outlook onto moral worth. (Gleason (1995) 103–21 surveys the connection of virility to self-mastery, especially control of the voice.) Satirists would similarly indulge in the habit of connecting the employment of rhetoric with an assessment of morality. Already in the second century BCE Lucilius noted the extent to which the Forum was a place for deception and swindling (1145–51 W, another passage preserved by Lactantius). Satire could, accordingly, draw on rhetoric's association of failed speech with moral failure.

A second difficulty in the satirists involves distinguishing references to rhetoric from references to epic. The poems often conflate these two discourses. Horace claims that he must be like both poet and orator. He recognizes the two practices as distinct, but seems to care little for the distinction (*Sat.* 1.10.12). Similarly, we cannot entirely separate rhetoric from epic if we broadly define rhetoric solely in terms of its effects, that is, as the skilled manipulation of language (already Kenney (1963) was aware of the problem). Juvenal represents a special case in his insistent reliance on both genres in his poetry (and Braund ((1996a) 17–24) notes how these two genres dominate his first book of poems). Their special appeal to an author such as Juvenal may rest in part on how Roman authors conceived of them. Epic and rhetoric each staked a claim for themselves as Rome's "grand genre." This shared cultural tendency manifested itself in different ways: epic in its claims to heroism and mythico-historical aetiologies of the Roman people,

extending back to the earliest known events, rhetoric in its desire to be the great socially relevant form of speech, the thing that makes any Roman speaker a *Roman* speaker.

Authors in both genres demonstrate this imperialistic tendency. Virgil memorably allied his epic with the vastness of Roman rule in the phrase *imperium sine fine* ("empire without end," *Aen.* 1.279). A generation earlier Cicero already had remarked that *bene dicere . . . non habet definitam aliquam regionem, cuius terminis saepta [sc. ars dicendi] teneatur* ("good speaking has no fixed region, by whose limits it [its art] is held confined," *De or.* 2.5). Cicero often describes oratorical victory in military terms and, in turn, likens the power achieved through military command to that obtained by great orators (and even poets, as in his speech *Pro Archia*). The repudiation of limitations as a convention of rhetorical treatises is taken up nearly 150 years later by Juvenal's contemporary, Tacitus: *neque oratoris uis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et breuibus terminis cluditur* ("and the force and capacity of the orator is not hemmed in by narrow and small boundaries, as is the case in other areas," *Dial.* 30.6). Both epic and rhetoric polemically claimed to be Rome's grandest discourse. Therefore it ought not to surprise us that satire, by parasitically attaching itself to them, ultimately resulted in what Juvenal's critics have termed "the grand style" (cf. Scott (1927) and Braund (1996a) 17 with discussion of earlier literature).

This development need not have been the case. The origins were much more humble, as when Lucilius remarked of his poetry that it was *ludus ac sermones* ("game and chats," 1039 W). Horace too talks of *sermo merus* ("pure talk," *Sat.* 1.4.47), and more famously of his *musa pedestris* ("pedestrian muse," *Sat.* 2.6.17). In his restrained, urbane humor and predilection for smallness he more openly follows a Callimachean tradition than either Lucilius before him or Persius and Juvenal afterwards (Scodel (1987); Freudenburg (1993); see also Cucchiarelli and McNelis in this volume, Chapters 8 and 11). Rhetoric burst onto the scene with Persius, whose disaffected-young-man *persona* Juvenal co-opted and, with further application of declamatory panache, made into one of the most powerful aspects of his poetry.

Juvenal, in short, nourishes his grandness on rhetoric's moral emphasis and on its totalizing tendencies. At the same time he suggests its shortcomings in engaging effectively with social realities. This paradoxical gesture does not entail a rejection of rhetoric, but rather can be seen as a convention through which to incorporate rhetoric into satire. Juvenal, it has been noted, subordinates epic to his poetic ends, he "accepts the epic frame of reference, but only to appropriate it for [his] own purposes" (Braund (1996a) 22). This same kind of manipulation arises in the case of rhetoric, and from here on the emphasis will be on the evolving significance of rhetoric in the poetry of the satirists.

12.4 Images of Rhetoric in Persius, Juvenal, and Their Predecessors

The satirist defines his poetry against two different kinds of “others”: first, against types of speech external to the genre – epic, rhetoric, comedy, and tragedy – and second, against predecessors within the genre – Juvenal and Persius look back to Horace and Lucilius, all the while eagerly distinguishing themselves from these forerunners (as Juvenal must also distance himself from Persius). Horace’s assessment of satire replays this problem (*Sat.* 2.1, discussed above); discussing his own poetry requires that he measure himself against Lucilius.

Persius, in his typically oblique manner, may be attempting to make a similar point in the Prologue to his book of poems:

nec fonte labra prolui caballino
 nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
 memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.
 Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen
 illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt
 hederæ sequaces; ipse semipaganus
 ad sacra uatum carmen adfero nostrum.
 quis expediuit psittaco suum “chaere”
 picamque docuit nostra uerba conari?

I neither cleansed my lips in the nag’s spring nor recall dreaming on twin-peaked Parnassus so as to emerge an instant poet. The Heliconians and pale Pirene I leave to people with their statues licked by clinging ivy. It’s as a half caste that I bring my song to the bards’ rites. Who equipped the parrot with his hello and taught the magpie to attempt human speech? (*Prologue* 1–9; unless otherwise noted, all translations of Persius and Juvenal are from Braund 2004b)

Persius draws on the traditional poetic *topos* of inspiration at a spring or from the intervention of the Muses. The surface rejection of high poetry leads into a claim about Persius as a writer of satire. The motif of (failed) definitions surfaces in Persius’ self-presentation – he calls himself a *semipaganus* (“half-caste”; compare Horace’s self-avowed “liminal” status at *Sat.* 2.1.34–39: his connection to Venusia means that he is neither Apulian nor Lucanian). Commentators have traced this term back to the *Paganalia*, an annual festival in which a *pagus* (“rural community”) would make annual sacrifices. The idea draws on the religious connotations of the Roman *uates* (“poet-priest”), though Persius deprecatingly denies a full claim to participate in these rites.

The focus on proper language in Persius’ programmatic criticisms may again connect us to a figure in the tradition of satire. Persius asks who taught the parrot to say “*chaere*” (Greek for “hello”), a question ironically appropriate in a

poem in which the poet addresses his audience. To criticize the Greek language points us to a problem that long bothered Roman writers who drew on Greek traditions. In *Satires* 1.10.20–39 Horace rejects poor blends of Greek and Latin; Horace does not mention Lucilius explicitly, but the poem is otherwise largely concerned with him, and Lucilius frequently included Greek in his poems. Horace also offers a rare mention of oratory, stating that a good orator would never indulge in Greek in a public speech.

Underlying Persius' mention of *chaere* may be a more specific episode in the satirical tradition, the entertaining encounter in Athens between the praetor Scaevola and Albucius:

Graecum te, Albuci, quam Romanum atque Sabinum
municipem Ponti, Tritani, centurionum,
praeclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque,
maluisti dici. Graece ergo praetor Athenis,
id quod maluisti te, cum ad me accedis, saluto:
“chaere” inquam “Tite.” lictores, turma omnis chorusque:
“chaere Tite.” hinc hostis mi Albucius, hinc inimicus.

You preferred to be called Greek, Albucius, than Roman and Sabine, than a townsman of Pontius and Tritanus, centurions, famed and top-ranking men, and standard-bearers. Therefore as praetor in Athens I greet you in Greek when I run into you (that's what you wanted): “*Chaere*, Titus” I say. The lictors, the whole band and chorus say: “*Chaere*, Titus.” That's why Albucius is my enemy, that's why he's my adversary. (Lucil. 87–93 W)

Albucius, as far as we can tell from Lucilius, was an orator with a notorious fondness for Greek culture. The quotation comes to us from one of Cicero's philosophical treatises (*Fin.* 1.8) in which Cicero assures us that his interest in philosophy is Roman and not the mark of someone overly fond of things Greek. This blend of anxiety and chauvinism in the face of Greek culture became a trademark of Roman culture. For example, Cicero's rhetorical masterpiece of 55 BCE, *De oratore*, exhibits the same struggle in its attempt to incorporate Greek philosophy and rhetorical theory into a treatise on the Roman orator. Thus, Persius' reference to a famous scene decrying hellenophilia may allude to this traditional mindset. A similar trace of anti-Greek chauvinism (or posturing) arises in Juvenal's mockery of Roman women whose amorous lives draw excessively on Greek characters and language (Juv. 6.184–99). Alternatively, these anti-Greek gestures, though already quite conventional, could also conciliate in advance readers suspicious of the philosophical content of satirical poems. The deprecation of philosophy – and rhetoric – as something un-Roman was a long-standing reflex, even though both practices enjoyed considerable prominence at Rome. The

conclusion of Persius 5 (discussed above) plays out such a scenario, drawing attention to the relationship between privileged language (the “100 mouths” *topos*) and Roman suspicion of philosophy (the mocking centurions at the poem’s close).

Persius includes the mention of *chaere* within a general criticism of poetry (epic), which prompts a further possibility: he refers not only to a scene from Lucilius, but also to Lucilius as an author of satire, the poet who sings about “*chaere*.” Despite his urbane jokes about a hellenomaniac, Lucilius repeatedly uses Greek vocabulary and even language that, in retrospect at least, could be thought extravagant (e.g. Lucil. 186–93 W, 331–32 W, 391–92 W, 518 W, 816 W, 972 W). Persius by contrast speaks of his own poetry as *uerba togae* (5.14), by which he means both everyday speech and also speech of the Romans. Persius’ reworking of Lucilius provides us with an example of what Hinds ((1998) 55) designated as “both an appropriation and a denial.” He turns Lucilius’ criticisms of a noted hellenophile into a reassertion of his revised conception of satirical language, an excellent example of how poets in a tradition engage in “recurrent but essentially static renegotiations of the same cultural move” (Hinds (1998) 63).

Satire’s broader interest in the proper use of language provides a framework within which to consider explicit discussion of rhetoric in Persius and Juvenal. A number of studies have analyzed their employment of and allusions to rhetorical culture, especially the culture of declamation in the latter (e.g., Braund (1997b) on Juvenal). But despite the significance of rhetoric in satire, explicit mention of rhetoric in the poems almost invariably distorts its essence, a tendency familiar from attitudes towards epic and philosophy. Certainly the negative presentation of rhetoric conflicts with the important role that it plays in the development of satire. The point deserves emphasizing, because these “criticisms” are often cited as evidence for a broad-sweeping dismissal of declamation and rhetoric in the empire. We should, however, be chary of aligning such statements with ideas about rhetorical decline. As with epic poetry, these stereotyped images allow authors of satire to draw on the power of rhetoric as a cultural discourse while simultaneously seeming to reject it in favor of satire. Persius’ first poem offers a vivid example:

nilne pudet capiti non posse pericula cano
 pellere quin tepidum hoc optes audire “decenter”?
 “fur es” ait Pedio. Pedius quid? crimina rasis
 librat in antithetis, doctas posuisse figuras
 laudatur: “bellum hoc.” hoc bellum? an, Romule, ceues?
 men moueat? quippe, et, cantet si naufragus, assem
 protulerim? cantas, cum fracta te in trabe pictum

ex umero portes? uerum nec nocte paratum
plorabit qui me uolet incuruasse querella.

Doesn't it embarrass you that you can't defend some grizzled head from threats without wanting to hear his lukewarm "Nice!"? "You're a thief," someone says to Pedius. What does Pedius say? He balances the accusations in smooth-shaven antitheses and is praised for composing clever expressions: "That's lovely." *That* – lovely? Are you wiggling your arse, Romulus? Am I going to be impressed, I'd like to know, and am I going to part with a penny if a shipwreck victim sings a song? Are you singing with a picture of yourself in a shattered ship on your shoulder? The person who wants to bend me with his sorry tale will utter a genuine lament, not one concocted overnight. (1.83–91)

Persius suggests that qualitative standards of oratorical persuasiveness exist, but he then rejects the idea as insufficient – satire needs more. He goes on to parody the idea that refinement is sufficient, as his imaginary interlocutor remarks: *sed numeris decor est et iunctura addita crudis* ("ornament and cohesion have been added to raw rhythms," 1.92; my trans.). Most relevant to our discussion of rhetoric is the scope of the objection. It could describe both oratory and poetry, since rhythm and cohesiveness are also terms of rhetorical criticism. The poem does move on to discuss poetic style – already the implicit relevance to Persius' *own* style is brought out in the term *iunctura*, which he elsewhere famously uses to define his language: *iunctura callidus acris* ("skilled at the sharp combination" 5.14). More remarkable is that Persius discusses both oratory and poetry without really distinguishing the two. This hardly can be thought to mean that he did not see a difference, but rather that for Persius a discussion of rhetoric was an equally valid means to reflect on the role of language in satire more generally.

Persius' criticisms also take us back to his predecessors, Lucilius and Horace. The idea of stylistic refinement reminds us of Horace, but Horace looking back on Lucilius and claiming that he had improved on Lucilius' harsh, miry style (again, 1.4, 1.10, and 2.1). Persius will engage with both authors throughout the first poem. He mentions the "canine" letter "r," *sonat hic de nare canina | littera* ("this is where you'll hear the snarl of a dog's rrrr" 1.109–10), already discussed at Lucilius 3–4 W and 389–90 W. At 1.122–24 Persius alludes to Horace *Satires* 1.4 when he mentions Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes. Reflection on language ultimately involves the author in engagement with his poetic predecessors, but now rhetoric is also a vehicle through which to do so. Persius ultimately draws on rhetoric to assess the relationship between qualitative speech and effective speech: how does a satirist criticize well?

Juvenal gives us his rendition of this issue, and perhaps inevitably (like Lucan taking up the challenge of Virgil), he not only engages with but thoroughly inverts the models of his predecessors. Consider 10.114–26:

eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
 incipit optare et totis quinquatribus optat
 quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Mineruam,
 quem sequitur custos angustae uernula capsae.
 eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
 largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
 ingenio manus est et ceruix caesa, nec umquam
 sanguine cauidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
 “o fortunatam natam me consule Romam”:
 Antoni gladios potuit contemnere si sic
 omnia dixisset. ridenda poemata malo
 quam te, conspicuae diuina Philippica famae,
 uolueris a prima quae proxima.

The eloquence and reputation of Demosthenes or Cicero is what boys keep on praying for throughout the spring holidays, every boy who goes to school accompanied by a house slave to guard his narrow satchel and who still worships thrifty Minerva with a single tiny coin. But it was because of their eloquence that both orators died. It was the abundant, overflowing gush of talent that sent both to their deaths. It was talent that had its hands and neck severed. The rostrum was never drenched in the blood of a feeble advocate. “O Rome, you are fortunate, born in my consulate.” He could have laughed at Antony’s swords if everything he said had been like this. I rank his ridiculous verses above you, immortal *Philippic*, next to the first on the roll, with your distinguished reputation.

In this rare and twisted “endorsement” of epic poetry, Cicero’s (bad) verse becomes a model for satire. It is hard to miss the reversal of an argument from Horace 2.1. Horace, speaking with the famed jurist, Trebatius, argued that his “good” poems would keep him out of trouble, precisely because of their quality (*Sat.* 2.1.79–86). Looking back on Cicero’s rhetoric, Juvenal inverts Horace’s apology. He draws on the authority of a past author of satire in order to create a new sense of satirical discourse. Juvenal turns Cicero’s “failed rhetoric” into a moment of positive satirical reflection: “Juvenal typically has it both ways: he demonstrates the dangers of virtuoso oratorical display in real life while parading his own virtuosity in his satires” (Braund (1997b) 164). Failed rhetoric ultimately justifies Juvenal’s reliance on rhetoric. This tendency applies equally well to Juvenal’s own employment of rhetoric, which he so often takes to its furthest extremes, undermining his *persona* through

one-sided exaggeration and contradiction (Braund (1992b) 86). That Juvenal seems to criticize rhetoric, its social effectiveness, or its current state, need not be read as a condemnation of the genre. Rather, Juvenal “absorbs” rhetorical discourse in order to claim mastery over it, and from there to employ its power as a tool of observation and criticism.

There is an additional layer to Juvenal’s discussion of Cicero. Cicero’s macabre death and dismemberment, the mention of the *Philippics*, and the repeated reference to his talent (*ingenium*) suggest a theme commonly handled in the rhetorical schools. Already a century earlier Seneca the Elder documented the *suasoriae* (“persuasions,” “persuasive speeches”) on this topic, which became a favorite of the generation after Cicero (Sen. *Suas.* 6 and 7; Kaster (1998) illuminatingly discusses the theme’s cultural relevance). In two similar topics for mock persuasive speeches, declaimers imagined themselves advising Cicero shortly before his proscription and death. Cicero deliberates two related ideas: (1) *an Antonium deprecetur* (“whether to seek Antony’s pardon,” *Suas.* 6); (2) *an scripta sua comburat, promittente Antonio incolumitatem si fecisset* (“whether to burn his own writings, with Antony offering salvation should he do so,” *Suas.* 7). Juvenal’s appeal to a stock theme of the declamatory schools reflects how well established it had become (Quintilian confirms the topic’s continued role in declamation at *Inst.* 3.8.46). Yet his reworking of Horace adds an idea from the rhetorical tradition, the limits of outspokenness and its connection to the quality of speech. He thereby innovatively frames the entire problem, rewriting a standard *topos* of satire by appealing to a traditional theme of the rhetorical schools. He not only inverts Horace’s statements, but draws on the rhetorical tradition in order to craft a new version of the argument.

These examples demonstrate how intertextuality in satire has some unique features in the poetic tradition; the differences are instructive when we remind ourselves that theories of intertextuality derive almost exclusively from analysis of Augustan and Flavian epic (but cf. Hooley (1997) on imitation in Persius). Satire not only defines itself against predecessors within a single tradition, but must also consider how those predecessors worked against other cultural traditions. I insist on holding these two aspects together, because we can trace out the intra-traditional evolution of satire, through new engagements and realignments in the handling of extra-traditional discourses. To put the matter more simply: how the satirist relates to rhetoric or epic (or tragedy, philosophy, etc.) also defines how he places himself within the tradition of satire. Authors match themselves not merely against their predecessors, but against how their predecessors were aware of rhetoric (or epic or philosophy) as discourses with which satire competed.

12.5 Rhetoric and the World in Juvenal's Fourth Satire

These considerations bring us to the final discussion of this chapter: Juvenal 4. Here Juvenal lampoons the rhetorical vice known as *adulatio* (“flattery,” “obsequiousness”). He draws on the deliberative and epideictic genres to criticize Domitian’s obsequious counselors. After a fisherman catches a large turbot and presents it to the emperor, Domitian summons his inner circle to advise him on what course of action to take. Juvenal exposes to ridicule the cabinet of counselors and flatterers – those who indulge in hackneyed praise of the emperor, who are described as doing his bidding by informing on possible political rivals, or who are too cowardly to offer courageous advice and guidance, despite being the only ones in a position to do so. The overall criticism feeds on rhetorical exaggeration of the figures he scouts, the sort of distortion that once fueled Juvenal’s detractors: “Here are jurists, soldiers, diplomats, aged and venerable counselors – a most respectable and capable body once we have penetrated behind the screen of prejudice with which their careers have been overlaid” (Crook (1955) 51). Crook’s remarks are valuable both for what they understand in Juvenal and for what they misunderstand. He rightly details how Juvenal misrepresents Domitian’s cabinet, in yet another example of the satirist’s trick of distorting a cultural discourse (rhetoric, epic, etc.). Crook’s analysis tells only half the story, though, since it fails to account for the literary workings of such distortions: to provide an opportunity to examine speech and rhetoric on the satirist’s own terms.

More broadly, however, the poem allows Juvenal to reflect on central issues of satire, and we can read it as the culmination of the entire set of problems that have been explored thus far. Although the poem denounces failed speech, it also explores the boundaries of the satirical genre through the symbolism of the massive turbot and geographical and spatial metaphors. By incorporating criticism of proper speech into a discussion of borders and limits the poem ultimately assumes the larger task of “how to define rhetoric in satire.” We can read the poem as an inquiry into satire’s claim to be the most comprehensive vehicle for social commentary and criticism (cf. e.g. Juv. 1.51–62, where Juvenal remarks that satire is more realistic than epic when addressing contemporary circumstances). Juvenal’s answer should not surprise us: he makes satire bigger than any other genre and seeks to outdo his predecessors along the way.

The poem explicitly mentions a number of rhetorical practices and also draws on the vocabulary of rhetoric throughout. The theme of flattery is announced early on in the invocation of the Muses: *narrate, puellae | Pierides, prosit mihi uox dixisse puellas* (“Tell your story, young girls of Pieria – and may

it do me good to call you ‘young girls,’” 4.35–36). After the turbot is caught the shore is said to teem with *delatores* (“informants” or “prosecutors,” 4.48). Quintus Vibius Crispus, a quondam *delator* discussed by Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.10; *Dial.* 8) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 5.13.48 and 10.1.119), is among the most recognizable speakers of the assembled advisors (though he ultimately has nothing to say). Juvenal packs a great deal of the technical and metaphorical vocabulary of rhetoric into the description of Crispus:

uenit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite
ingenium. maria ac terras populosque regenti
quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
saeuitiam damnare et honestum adferre liceret
consilium?

Amiable old Crispus also arrived, a gentle soul, with a character resembling his eloquence. Who would have been a more useful companion to the ruler of seas, lands, and peoples, had he only been allowed, under that plague and disaster, to condemn his cruelty and offer honourable advice? (4.81–86)

Juvenal notes, perhaps with some irony, Crispus’ capacity for speech (the Latin word is *facundia*; the poet Martial similarly spoke of Juvenal himself as a man who was *facundus* [“fluent”], *Mart.* 7.79.1). Juvenal gives the commonplace connection of character to style, as Crispus possesses a meek disposition (*mite ingenium*). The initially ambiguous phrase turns out to condemn his inaction (Tac. *Dial.* 8.3 cites Crispus as an effective orator of undistinguished character). Although the *consilium* (“counsel”) indicates that this is a deliberative scenario, Crispus offers little advice. He is neither useful (*utilior*) nor can he tender honorable (*honestum*) counsel. Utility and honorability defined the two main argumentative “aims” (talking points) for deliberative oratory in the Roman tradition of the late Republic and empire (e.g. Cic. *Inv.* 2.173; Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.1–3; cf. Section 1 for Lucilius’ passage on *Virtus*, whose slightly different terms can be traced back to Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*). Lastly, the concluding mention of *arma* (4.93) borrows a common metaphor from discussions of rhetoric, which often conceived of it as a kind of weaponry. Ironically, Crispus’ “arms” are a lack of outspokenness (*libertas*) and complacency (4.91–92).

Although Juvenal ostensibly narrates the story of a massive fish, through this symbol of grandness he explores the grandness of satirical language. Distorted speech and the massive fish are visibly likened to one another through the monstrous sentence that “begins” the narrative section of the poem, occupying the space of eight lines (4.37–44). The extent and size of the fish are also discussed throughout, and geographical concepts and spatial metaphors liken the fish to Juvenal’s version of the Roman empire under Domitian. He dubs the

turbot “a spacious world” (*spatiosum* ... *orbem*, 4.133), which corresponds to Domitian’s command of “a world half-dead” (*semianimum* ... *orbem*, 4.37). Geographical extension is reinforced by the language of movement, such as the fisherman’s journey from Ancona to Alba Longa. Likewise Juvenal repeatedly introduces verbs of motion and speed, such as *properare* and *festinare*, and the lofty phrase *itur ad Atriden* (4.65), where epic parody is in full swing.

Yet Homer is not the only poet to whom Juvenal sends us back. The poem also refers to Lucilius’ *concilium deorum* (“assembly of the gods”) in his first book, itself a parody of Ennius’ epic *Annales*. An elaborate parallel puts Juvenal into competition with Lucilius. Juvenal is probably criticizing Statius’ lost *De Bello Germanico*, which celebrated Domitian’s military campaigns and may have included a *consilium* on matters of war. Thus, just as Lucilius took aim at Ennius’ poem, so Juvenal now satirizes a contemporary epic poet. Yet, Juvenal also takes Lucilius’ satire to another level. He directs us not only backwards to parody in the genre’s first representative, but also sideways to Domitian’s alleged assumption of divine honors during his lifetime. The historical context provides an ironic dimension unavailable to Lucilius’ first version. “Jupiter” receives counsel from his divine advisors – but of course through the manipulation of situational counterpoint we are constantly reminded that the advisors of this world are failed aristocrats, flatterers, blowhards, and rogues, and so we feel all the more acutely the gap between what they actually are and the divine exemplars who far surpass them. Juvenal effectively outdoes Lucilius by creating a parody greater than his predecessor’s version.

This poem about the world reflects how satire successively attempts to become more comprehensive than other discourses and other past authors. Juvenal continues his predecessors’ tendencies towards expansive universality while attempting to outdo their efforts, as he becomes one of those who *de magnis maiora locuntur* (“talk bigger about big things” 4.17). Ultimately Juvenal attacks various models of bad speech, while substituting his own rhetoric as a superior, totalizing alternative. Most remarkably the poem employs a common, even commonplace, satirical motif – excess in the domain of gastronomy – to explore a theme of the satirical tradition. He elevates the turbot to a symbol for the world. It is no longer, as in previous poets, a mere object of decadence, but an opportunity for Juvenal to provide the most encompassing account of the satirical art.

12.6 Conclusion

In thinking about satire in generic terms we can adopt a concept from modern theorists of language. Satire functions like an element within a semiotic system, members of which are not identified positively, but rather through a process of

negative differentiation, that is, through the repeated assertions of what something is not. Satire repeatedly disavows other discourses: it is not poetry, or rhetoric, or philosophy, even if it parasitically sustains itself on them. Imperial satirists drew on a range of rhetorical resources: technical categories from treatises, actual orations, and the practice speeches of the declaimers. At the same time authors insisted on the superiority of their own speech in the face of rhetorical discourse; like rhetoric but better than it.

This mode of negative definition has considerable power, even in the present day. We can compare, for example, interdisciplinarity, whose cachet largely derives from the arresting power of its indefinite nature. Interdisciplinary scholarship authorizes itself by appropriating the putative authority of neighboring discourses (Garber (2001) 53–96 discusses disciplinary interaction in academia). For the Romans, satire's power included its expansive claim upon neighboring literary genres. It could not boast a rich heritage of Greek exemplars, and so turned to other possibilities in the processes of creation and re-creation inevitable to any tradition. For Persius and especially for Juvenal, the assumption of rhetoric was a further stage in that process, one which left an indelible stamp on the genre.

FURTHER READING

Numerous articles have detailed the interrelationship of rhetoric and satire. The essays collected in Anderson (1982) began to appear in the 1950s. They laid the foundation for continued interest in the technical and presentational aspects of rhetoric and for the theory of the satirist's *persona*, especially in Juvenal. Particularly helpful are Kenney (1963); Braund (1988), (1992b), (1996a), and (1997b); the last two provide the most succinct and approachable treatment of the topic in Juvenal.

Martin (1974, in German) outlines the system of rhetoric. Individual articles in the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (Ueding (1992–2010)) can be consulted for in-depth discussion of the functional and technical sides of rhetoric from antiquity to the present day. The more approachable narrative in Kennedy (1994) details the history of texts and theories.

I am unaware of any general study devoted to rhetoric of the imperial period. Bonner (1949) surveys declamation, but largely focuses on prose texts, and offers a fairly negative account. De Decker (1913, in French) is the seminal study of declamation in Juvenal. An overview of declamation across genres and with an appreciation of the subject matter remains a desideratum in the scholarship. Gleason (1995) and Gunderson (2000) and (2003) survey public performance culture along socio-cultural lines.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Politics and Invective in Persius and Juvenal

Matthew Roller

13.1 Introduction

No literary form would seem to have greater potential to be “political” than Roman verse satire. Satire is conventionally called the most Protean of genres (if it is a genre), one that resolutely defies critical attempts to pin it down. Yet it does have regular characteristics, at least within the formalized bounds of the hexameter writings of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, which go under the titles of *sermones* or *saturae*. First, a speaking *ego* often attacks and mocks a target – whether an individual, type, or institution – for putative moral or aesthetic transgressions, often employing a rhetorical pose of angry indignation. Thus invective, which aims to arouse laughter and contempt against its target, is an indispensable rhetorical tool of satire. Second, this speaker – whom modern critics conventionally call “the satirist” – seeks to persuade an audience of readers or listeners to make common cause with him in condemning, mocking, and ridiculing the target’s transgressions. Given these characteristics, “political” figures and institutions look like ideal targets. Their high visibility invites scrutiny: accepted values can be measured against actions, and secret faces compared to public ones, in the quest to expose hypocrisy, deceit, or complicity. Visibility also implies familiarity: a large audience for satire directed against politicians and political institutions automatically preexists. And since “political” persons and entities allocate resources within society, impacting many people for good or ill, this audience might feel especially threatened by or angry at a “political” individual or institution represented as corrupt,

hypocritical, or the like, hence the more ready to be seduced by the satirist's *j'accuse*. A third shared characteristic among the writers of hexameter satire is that they name Lucilius as the founder and normative practitioner of this kind of writing. And what he does, according to them, is direct vigorous, moralizing ridicule at prominent and powerful contemporaries. Thus the match between "politics" and invective, within the armature of Latin verse satire, appears to be made in heaven.

Yet, the satires of Persius and Juvenal firmly disappoint this expectation. Neither poet explicitly attacks or praises any contemporary figure who holds an influential position in government. Also, both – like Horace before them – adduce Lucilius as the satiric scourge of powerful contemporaries only to *decline* to follow his model. Out of these silences and refusals arise the questions I address in this chapter. First, is our poets' silence about leading figures and governmental institutions – their self-avowed failure to attack contemporaries – a failure to be "political" at all? That is, is the conception of "politics" implied in the previous paragraph appropriate to satire? Second, how do these satirists select or construct their targets, and position themselves, so as to facilitate attack or render it more difficult – that is, to justify their claims that they can or cannot speak freely against their targets? And what, exactly, are the dynamics of freedom and constraint operating between the satirist and his targets? For satiric attack aims to constrain and disempower its target, yet the target is sometimes said or implied to be able to constrain and disempower the satirist instead. In pursuing these questions, I hope to show that "politics" and "invective" are, indeed, inseparable and intertwined aspects of Latin verse satire, though not precisely in the way suggested earlier.

13.2 Approaches to the "Politics" of Latin Literature

In everyday English usage, the word "politics" normally refers to government and related activities, or – more abstractly – to matters of sovereignty and its legitimation. At the center of the semantic category is the idea of the state; the spotlight shone by the term "politics" or "political" illuminates specifically those activities or aspects of activities that engage the actor(s) with the apparatus of state. In this usage, the English word stays close to its etymological roots in the Greek substantival phrase *to politikon*, "that which concerns the *polis*, its institutions, and its governance," "civic matters." Latin has no lexical equivalent, though certain usages of the phrase *res (publica)* come close. Now, much "political" activity in this sense involves individuals or groups deploying the machinery of government to secure resources or allocate them in a particular way, often competing against others who would allocate them

differently. The idea of competition leads to a secondary but also widespread usage of “politics” to refer to the struggle for power or status as such, in arenas not limited to government. Such usages may include modifiers identifying the arena, making the extension of meaning explicit: “academic politics,” “family politics,” “politics of gender,” and the like. Often, the specified arena is itself an institution, with distinctive rules governing the positions social actors can take and the strategies by which they seek advantage. This stretching or shifting of the word “politics” to label competitive activity as such, in whatever arena it occurs, has theoretical roots in feminism, and in the poststructuralist Marxist social theory developed by Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu. These scholars’ work reminds us that society is shot through with playable systems that structure, mediate, and ritualize competitions for social and economic power; government is but one such field.

The history of “political” criticism of Latin literature over the past forty years has followed a trajectory through the concepts of politics similar to the one just sketched: starting from a longstanding and traditional interest in what texts say about activities of government, scholarly attention has expanded to encompass, in addition, the texts’ representation of struggles for power and status in other arenas of competition, and the texts’ own interventions in those struggles. Modern scholars have long followed the lead of ancient critics in scrutinizing Latin literary texts, especially from the imperial age, for their expressed or implied judgments on the current governmental dispensation. Such investigations received a new impetus in the 1970s and 1980s, as scholars began to reject the decontextualization of texts practiced since mid-century under the name “new criticism,” and sought to reconnect texts to their social conditions of production. In this period the focus of “political” criticism was firmly on poetry. Much effort was devoted to working out what poetic texts were “saying,” overtly or covertly, about the government – especially the imperial regime – and leading figures in it. Poetic patronage was an especially important theme: for to understand a poet’s or poem’s political stance (in this sense), one needed to know how and by whom the poet was supported (e.g., Ahl (1984a); Woodman and West (1984); Sullivan (1985); A. Powell (1992)). Regarding verse satire in particular, the important critical advances by W.S. Anderson and others in the 1950s and 1960s, especially their elaboration of the theory of the satiric *persona*, were supplemented in the 1970s and 1980s by efforts to understand how satiric poetry reflected the governmental dispensation under which it was produced. Some Persius scholars followed the scholiasts’ lead in combing the satires for hidden, critical references to Nero (scholia *ad* 1.4, 29, 93, 99, 121, 127; also *Vita Persii* on 1.120; cf. Sullivan (1985) 74–114; Gowers (1994)), and Juvenal scholars have long puzzled about how to connect this poet’s work, with its paucity of contemporary references, to the Trajanic-Hadrianic era when it was written

(e.g., Waters (1970); Hardie (1998); Galimberti (2007) 155–61). Yet the quest for hidden references, in satire and other literary forms, has not been very successful, and has produced many unpersuasive interpretations. Most scholars would probably accept that literary texts are products of concrete historical conditions, and therefore necessarily contain and transmit traces of those conditions. But it is obviously Procrustean to regard such traces as consisting exclusively, or even substantially, of hidden, critical commentary on the imperial regime.

In the 1990s, the quest for such traces began to broaden, admitting new intellectual currents and posing more fundamental questions. In line with the general evolution of usage, Latin literary critics increasingly spoke of a text's "politics" when considering how it represents arenas of competition, and the distribution of power, beyond the governmental frame. Also discernible in this period was a growing scholarly interest in what texts *do* politically (mostly, but not only, in the broadened sense of the word): for texts not only represent, but also may intervene in, struggles for power. Hence they can be means by which authors pursue their interests, by contesting with others the distribution of power in a given arena (Gunderson (1996); Habinek (1998); Roller (1998); Roller (2001) 17–126). Regarding Persius and Juvenal, scholars grew increasingly interested in how satire represents, engages with, and helps to construct the ideologies of the society in which it is produced (Henderson (1999) 233–35; Freudenburg (2001) 125–32, 168–71, 209–77; Reckford (2009) 130–60). As we enter the second decade of the twenty-first century, scholarly investigations of the "politics" of Latin literary texts are conceptually diverse, embracing any or all of these approaches to the politics of literature (Dominik, Garthwaite, and Roche (2009) 1–21 and *passim*; Feldherr (2010) 60–122).

My own approach to the "politics" of literature is shaped by an interest in all varieties of social competition. Within the Roman elite – the main producers and consumers of literary texts – the activities of government constitute one key field of competition. But equally important are the courts, the battlefield, gift exchange (including patronal relations), ancestry and familial connections, civic benefactions, the consumption and display of prestige objects, and literary production itself, among others. Each field has its own positions to be occupied, its own "rules" of play, its own criteria for evaluating players as more or less successful: no field is reducible to any other. Yet there are homologies among them, so that positions taken and moves made in one field according to that field's own rules may influence the positions available and moves possible in another field. (I owe this terminology and general framework to Bourdieu, e.g. Bourdieu (1993) 29–73.) Consider, for instance, the interconvertibility of symbolic capital within the Roman elite. Prestige derived (for instance) from one's ancestry, from one's generalship in battle, or from one's advocacy in the lawcourts, can be converted into high magistracies,

priesthoods, expanded property holdings, or opportunities for literary achievement, and these in turn into opportunities for public benefaction, further military or artistic achievement, and so on. Thus it is possible, at certain points, for a player in a given field to cash out his holdings and jump over into an advantageous position in another field. In embracing the broad definition, I consider “political” all competitive moves made within and across various fields of competition – the arenas in which individual elites, or sectors of the elite, seek to advance their interests against others.

With the politics of literature so conceived, there are many possibilities for vindicating Roman verse satire as “political” – even though Persius and Juvenal are broadly silent about sitting emperors, about key figures in the contemporary imperial court and administration, and about current activities of government. For their poetry does nothing if not portray and perform competitions for status and power. The satirist draws lines, demarcated in moral and aesthetic terms, between himself (along with other right-thinking people) and his targets. He seeks to tear down, stigmatize, and marginalize the individuals and groups he targets – to exclude them from what he presents as respectable society, and reduce them in status relative to himself and those for whom he speaks. Mocking, aggressive, invective speech delivered through poetry is the satirist’s weapon; all political possibilities turn on his ability to execute successful verbal attacks. To illustrate the politics (in the broad sense favored here) of Persius and Juvenal, then, I focus on the nexus of speech and power: how constraints or the lack of constraints upon speech are represented and performed in certain passages of their poetry, and how these matters impact each satirist’s ability to allocate social power to the individuals or social sectors he favors.

13.3 The Politics of “Free Speech” in Persius and Juvenal

The programmatic first satires of Persius and Juvenal are shot through with matters of free speech – specifically, how the satirist is to enunciate criticism of the powerful, either directly to those persons or to a wider audience. In Persius, the satirist undertakes to attack stylistic vices in contemporary poetry, though his superficially moral-cum-aesthetic agenda quickly gets entangled with broader issues of social power and status. In Juvenal, the satirist declares his intention to attack figures and types he deems deviant in some respect (sex, morals, social status, criminality), an agenda that foregrounds competition for social power. Each satirist locates an ideal of free speaking in the poetry of Lucilius – thereby furnishing his own poetry with a generic genealogy – yet quails at the difficulty of achieving that ideal. The raw materials for a political

analysis are thus clearly present: our satirists employ moralizing discourse to evaluate competitors in various arenas of social competition, but present themselves as subject to constraint in enunciating those evaluations. I now analyze passages from each author from this perspective, to illustrate what a “political” reading in the broader sense could look like.

13.3.1 *Persius*

In his first Satire, Persius stages a dialogue between two voices. One is the satirist – a first-person voice represented as a poet who objects on aesthetic and moral grounds to the style and content of contemporary poetry, and decries the pursuit of fame by those who affect this style. The other voice speaks up for the acclaim and social rewards that come from writing what people want to hear. Midway through the poem, the satirist mockingly portrays an aristocratic patron and dilettante poet who provides cloaks and a dinner to his clients, and recites his elegies (*elegidia*, a contemptuous diminutive) during the party. This aristocrat then asks one of these clients to tell him the “truth” about himself (51–55). The satirist, having already pronounced harsh criticisms of contemporary poetry, is implied to be the client from whom this evaluation is requested. But how can he do so – *qui pote?* (“How, actually?” 56) – after receiving dinner and a cloak? His “true” opinion is critical, yet the protocols of gift exchange, and the satirist-poet’s continuing need for patronal resources, forbid reciprocating the goods received with vituperation of the patron’s poetry. Thus the patron’s request is disingenuous: he is extorting praise that is pre-constructed as representing the client’s “true” opinion, regardless of what the client actually thinks. What he really seeks is to be flattered. “Flattery” can be defined as praise, usually false (i.e., not believed by the person pronouncing it), bestowed by someone who lacks resources upon another who controls them. By praising, the flatterer seeks to ingratiate himself and so to gain access to the desired resources (Roller (2001) 108–15).

Will our satirist enter into this bargain, jettisoning his integrity to secure his future receipt of food, clothing, and other forms of support from the patron? At first sight, no, for he poses and then answers a rhetorical question: *uis dicam? nugaris* (56): “You (really) want me to tell you? You write trifling nonsense.” An outrageous personal insult follows for good measure: “for, baldy, your fat belly sticks out a down-hanging foot and a half” (*cum tibi, calve, | pinguis aqualiculus propenso sesquipede extet*, 56–57, my trans.). This comic image of a crass body implies, among other moral defects, a crass mind incapable of producing good poetry (Kissel (1990) *ad loc.*; Bramble (1974) 111–12). Yet this insult is not “actually” spoken to the patron: he is merely apostrophized. For the satirist’s audience here consists of the readers he imagines for himself (very few: *uel duo uel nemo*, 3) and the interlocutor,

whom he wryly declares to be a mere self-projection (44 – though, being portrayed as an independent external voice, it models a possible audience response). This “truth,” then, is spoken behind the patron’s back, addressed to the interlocutor and others, but not directly to the patron who demanded it. It is precisely this situation that the satirist then mockingly warns the aristocrat, again apostrophized, to be alert to: criticisms that cannot be spoken to his face are assuredly being spoken behind his back (58–62). Here the satirist addresses the patron with the ironically grandiose *patricius sanguis* (61–62), then deflatingly contrasts him with the god Janus, who cannot be so mocked thanks to his backward-pointing face (58–60). This passage thus describes and performs one possible solution to the social inferior’s conundrum of how to speak “truth” to power, when his ability to enunciate that truth is constrained by economic need and the protocols of social politeness. The patron’s power play, his attempt to extort praise in the guise of “truth,” is reciprocated by the client’s own power play, an exposure to others (behind the patron’s back) of the patron’s disingenuousness *as well as* his poetic incompetence. A generation later, Martial too adopts this solution when subject to the same extortion (*Epigr.* 8.76). Apostrophizing a patron, via a poem addressed to a broader readership, he informs him that the “truth” (i.e., Martial’s actual, critical judgment) is not, in fact, what the patron wants to hear.

Persius returns to these matters later in the poem. The satirist denounces as unmanly (103–4) certain verses that he says represent a popular contemporary style (92–106). Then, in a move having precedent in Horace (and perhaps Lucilius), and to appear again in Juvenal, the interlocutor warns the satirist to be careful what he says: “What need is there to scrape tender ears with biting truth? Do take care lest the doors of the great grow cold to you: here sounds the ‘rrr’ from a dog’s muzzle” (*sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere uero | auriculas? uide sis ne maiorum tibi forte | limina frigescant: sonat hic de nare canina | littera*, 107–10; see Braund (1996a) 116–19, (2004a) 418–21; Courtney (1980) 83; Kenney (1962)). The interlocutor’s point is that the judgments the satirist has just been making, here called “biting truth,” risk alienating wealthy patrons and causing the satirist to be rejected from their society. For “cold threshold” suggests he will not be admitted for the *salutatio*, nor receive further dinner invitations of the sort that previously yielded him food and clothing. This outcome will follow from failing to praise the patron’s poetry, and from betraying irritation at the patron’s bald attempt to extort praise. Again it is implied that he incurs these risks because of his client status: he needs the resources on offer from aristocratic patrons to support his own poetic production.

How, then, is the satirist to speak? He responds, first, with (mock) capitulation, as if agreeing that bestowing false praise is the way to secure resources: “Well, then, as far as I’m concerned, everything is fine from now on; no

objections. Bravo everyone, well done everyone, you'll all be something amazing. Will that do?" (*per me equidem sint omnia protinus alba; | nil moror. euge omnes, omnes bene, mirae eritis res. | hoc iuuat?* 110–12). These ironic words illustrate the sort of flattery being sought in return for the resources the satirist needs – the flattery he refused to provide earlier. After all, as he comically continues, criticizing a great man, or the poetry in which he delights, is tantamount to relieving oneself on a tomb; the poet mad enough to commit such sacrilege must be apotropaically warded off (112–14; Hooley (1997) 58–60). Yet his predecessors Lucilius and Horace, he thinks, were not under such constraint, or at least they found ways to express their “frank,” “true” opinions. Lucilius, he says, “ripped into the city – you, Lupus, you, Mucius – and broke his molar on them” (*secuit Lucilius urbem | te Lupe te Muci et genuinum fregit in illis*, 114–15). The molar (*genuinum*) may recall the “biting truth” that characterizes our own satirist’s style (*mordax uerum*, 107); this may suggest that our satirist regards his project and style as similar to Lucilius’. Yet the implication is that Lucilius, unlike our satirist, felt no constraints in staging open, cutting, *ad hominem* attacks against named individuals – indeed, the reader may recognize Lupus and Mucius from Lucilius’ poetry as powerful contemporaries (Krenkel (1970) 64–65; fragments 4 W, 46 W, 1138–41 W; cf. below).

How could Lucilius get away with such attacks, when according to the interlocutor our satirist cannot? Persius does not say, but it may be implied, from context and/or from prior knowledge, that Lucilius was a lofty aristocrat who did not require patronage. Insofar as fragments and testimonia allow us to judge, Lucilius was a “senatorial equestrian” – moving in senatorial society, of senatorial census, and from a family containing senators, though not a senator himself (Krenkel (1970) 18–23; Lefèvre (2001)). Such a man might be expected to hold his ground against anyone, and not mince words (Reckford (2009) 37–38). Yet Persius too, if the ancient *Vita* is trustworthy, was an equestrian, well-connected through familial and social ties to some of the loftiest men in Claudian and Neronian Rome – not, perhaps, fundamentally dissimilar to Lucilius. Why, then, does he assume the mask of a client in his satires? As Rosen has shown ((2007) 11), the client-poet mask is a generic convention of mocking poetry throughout the Greco-Roman tradition: the mocker, using his subjective voice, typically presents himself as an impoverished, beleaguered social underling, regardless of the author’s actual social status. On this view, the Lucilius depicted by Horace, Persius, and Juvenal is the outlier in failing to adopt such a *persona*. In fact, however, the surviving fragments of Lucilius suggest that he, too, presented himself as struggling to get his way. We might conjecture that, when our satirist claims that his great predecessor could speak more freely and had it better overall, he is enacting the pose of abjection that is expected of the satiric *persona*, rather than “correctly”

representing Lucilius' actual social position or the character of his satire. At any rate, our satirist suggests that he is not in a social position to "rip into" his targets, as high-status Lucilius allegedly could. (On Lucilius, see Rosen, Chapter 1.)

Having taken one bearing from Lucilius, our satirist now takes another from Horace. Horace, he writes, could "put his finger on the faults of a friend, who laughed nonetheless," thanks to his verbal skill and cunning (*omne uafertium ridenti Flaccus amico | tangit*, 116–17). This "laughing friend" may be a generalizing singular, referring to any of Horace's addressees in the *Sermones* or *Epistulae*. If taken at its (singular) face value, however, it can only refer to Maecenas, or Augustus. On this more pointed interpretation, Horace is represented as sharing our satirist's client status, and the challenge of speaking the "truth" to his "friends" under these circumstances. Yet this model, too, avails our satirist nothing: perhaps he believes he lacks the subtlety by which Horace succeeded. Our satirist thus exhibits Lucilian directness without the allegedly high Lucilian status needed to carry it off, and allegedly low Horatian status without the requisite Horatian verbal art.

With both generic models failing him, how is he to express himself? "Am I not permitted (even) to grumble? not secretly? not (even share it) with a hole in the earth? nowhere at all?" (*me muttire nefas? nec clam? nec cum scrobe? nusquam?* 119) These questions envisage a negative answer from the interlocutor and the aristocratic patrons whose viewpoint the interlocutor transmits. But the satirist's point in invoking his predecessors is, in part, to suggest that he *should* be allowed, and that he – like them, in fact – will find a way that suits his own capabilities and limitations. Thus he continues: "I will dig here; little book, I have seen it, I have indeed: who in Rome doesn't have ass's ears?" (*hic tamen infodiam. uidi, uidi ipse, libelle: | auriculas asini quis non habet?* 120–21). The references to ass's ears and to whispering secrets into holes allude to the myth of King Midas, whom Apollo afflicted with an anatomical humiliation for misjudging a musical contest. The barber who discovered that the king now had ass's ears whispered the secret into a hole, from which grew reeds that "whispered" the secret to all. As scholars since antiquity have recognized, the satirist's "secret," which the interlocutor warns him not to disseminate (at least not in the houses of the powerful) – that nobody in Rome can judge poetry any better than Midas could – will, like Midas' secret, be disseminated from its "hole," which is nothing other than the poet's book, his *libellus*. As before, then, the satirist refrains from speaking his "truth" directly to those with the power to withhold resources from him, but speaks it indirectly, this time into the "hole" from which it will eventually be spread abroad. And who is the audience? As readers, we ourselves must be in the select group of "two or zero." We have also been maneuvered into siding with the satirist in mocking the self-deceiving rich. The poem entangles us, in part by supplying the interlocutor as a model for our own responses, and in part by

allowing us to overhear the satirist's private thoughts and internal debates as he struggles, first, with how to secure resources without yielding his integrity, and second, with how to even the score. Indeed, we are the essential and only recipients of his "truth," serving both as the behind-the-back audience (58–62) and as the readers of the book-as-hole (120–21), in both cases unheard and unseen by his lofty tormenters.

We can now assess the "politics" of this poem. The situation it presents illustrates splendidly the understanding of "politics" embraced in this chapter, referring to moves made within and among different fields of competition. For our satirist and his patron are locked in struggle in two different fields simultaneously. First, they compete in the field of poetic production: both write poetry, yet hold divergent, competing views on poetic aesthetics and morality. In this field the satirist is acknowledged as superior, and the patron seeks his approval. Second, they contend on the socioeconomic plane; here the patron is superior, as he possesses, distributes, and rations material resources that the satirist desires. Furthermore, these fields are homologous insofar as positions taken and moves made in each field impact such possibilities in the other. In particular, the patron attempts to cash out his superior position in the socioeconomic field for an advantageous position in the poetic field. For he seeks to exchange the currency of economic status, namely material resources, for the currency of poetic status, namely praise from the satirist. The satirist, arguably, has already parlayed his superior poetic position into an enhanced economic position, by obtaining via a dinner invitation some of the resources he needs. Yet he now risks losing that economic benefit, should he fail to comply in praising the patron. Ultimately, he resists the bargain by putting criticism of the patron and his poetry into circulation through back channels – especially via his own poetry, which describes and exemplifies the "correct" style and morals in comparison to which the patron's favored poetry falls short. The matter of how "free" or constrained evaluative speech becomes intensely politicized in this environment, since evaluative language mediates not only the competition within the field of poetic production, but also the negotiation of the homologies between the poetic and socioeconomic fields. The poem itself is part of that negotiation, a power play and intervention in the very competitions it describes.

13.3.2 *Juvenal*

Juvenal too, in his programmatic first poem, explores the limits and possibilities of satiric "free speech." This poem again features a first-person voice – "the satirist" – who presents himself as unwillingly subjected to recitations of bad poetry, and vexed by a rising tide of vice in society. He declares that he will write verse satire, first in order to take (comic) revenge on other

poets – presumably, by inviting them to his own recitations, and thus dosing them with their own medicine – and second because, as he repeatedly insists, satire is the appropriate literary mode for pillorying vice. In the bulk of the poem, the satirist demarcates the bounds of propriety, describing and defining as transgressive the activities against which he will direct satiric attack. He does not limit himself, like the Persianic satirist, to criticizing poets and poetry: his moralizing, ridiculing eye ranges over all of society. Vivid sketches follow of gender and sexual deviants, immigrants and foreigners grown wealthy and powerful or taking priority over their betters, people who extort or defraud their way to riches, husbands conniving in their wives' prostitution, spend-thrifts, gamblers, patrons who are suspicious and mean (for the excellent reason that their clients cheat them), and so on. All of this, the satirist declares, is the motivation for and fodder of satire. To identify and denounce vice in a way that raises a laugh at the target's, and indeed his own, expense is a "political" project in the broader sense of the term, as it involves articulating social norms (sometimes comically distorted), identifying transgressors, and stigmatizing them so as to reduce their status relative to "right-thinking" individuals. Juvenal's satiric project is thus invested in preserving, allocating, or redistributing social power.

The vices defined by the satirist as his field of attack have a timeless and universal quality: there have always been and always will be cheaters, hypocrites, and so on. Late in the poem, however (147–50), the satirist declares that *this* is a moment when vices are especially abundant, and the danger they threaten is especially great; hence the need for satire specifically now. "Spread wide all your sails" he apostrophizes himself (see Braund (1996a) 114–16 on the rhetoric of urgency). But how, exactly, is he to speak? For in a move recalling Persius' strategy, Juvenal now introduces an interlocutor, someone generally well-disposed toward the satirist, who cautions him to be careful what he says. This interlocutor warns that the directness of the satirist's predecessors in writing whatever they want, with their spirit blazing – a reference to Lucilian free speech follows: "whose name do I not dare to speak? What does it matter if Mucius forgives my words or not?" – is not advisable here. For if you describe Tigillinus, you'll find yourself turned into a burning torch in the arena (150–57).

Let us examine the interlocutor's presuppositions. First, he assumes that the satirist intends to inveigh against living contemporaries – not unreasonably, as the satirist has just declared that *now* is the time for satire. The statement regarding Mucius, implied to be spoken by Lucilius, refers to exactly such a situation. For in his second book of *Satires*, dating to the 120s BCE, Lucilius staged a legal dispute involving two living contemporaries, at least one of whom, Mucius Scaevola, was harshly characterized. Thus Lucilius exemplifies the unrestrained, carefree attack on living contemporaries that our satirist

proposes to emulate. Second, as the satirist and his audience are probably expected to “know,” Mucius was the scion of an ancient and noble family, who later (117 BCE) attained the consulship. The Lucilian model adduced by the interlocutor, then, implies that the satirist proposes to target the lofty and powerful in particular. The statement about Tigillinus involves the same two presuppositions. Nero’s infamous henchman, dead forty years or more by the time of Juvenal’s writing, was either already a byword for cruelty or was being made into one by Juvenal’s contemporaries Tacitus, Suetonius, and Plutarch (Tac. *Ann.* 14.60, 15.58, 15.61; *Hist.* 1.72; Suet. *Galba* 15.2; Plut. *Otho* 2.2). The interlocutor collapses the temporal distance between the satirist and Tigillinus, using present and future tenses to describe what *will* happen *if* you describe him (*pone . . . lucebis*). This attack is thus presented as if directed against a powerful, high-status contemporary. But while it may not matter to Lucilius whether Mucius overlooks his words, it will matter to the satirist: Tigillinus will not overlook them, and will retaliate. Furthermore the punishment, burning alive, is notionally reserved for slaves and prohibited from application to the free, let alone to the higher orders (Garney (1970) 122–31). In the early Empire, however, slavish styles of execution were sometimes extended even to aristocrats who had offended the emperor, either to humiliate them through a symbolic reduction in status or as part of a more general mapping of the master–slave relationship onto the relationship between the emperor and his (juridically free, non-slave) subjects (Roller (2001) 213–87). Here, then, is a new “political” angle: the satirist’s attempt to reduce his target’s status through moralizing verbal attack will be reciprocated by harsh corporal punishment that symbolically reduces the satirist to slave status, while also killing him.

The satirist’s reply seems to affirm these presuppositions as correct. The satirist does not deny – indeed, he implicitly confirms – that he intends to attack powerful contemporaries. For, he asks indignantly, is the man who grew rich by poisoning his relatives, and is carried aloft on a luxurious sedan chair, simply to look down on us (158–59)? This question concedes that such a man is indeed powerful, rich, and prominent, but declares him an ideal target for status-deflating moralizing criticism: for he must not be allowed to maintain the status he so illegitimately obtained. To this the interlocutor replies, “close your lips tight when he goes by: anyone who says ‘this is the man’ will be (considered) an accuser” (160–61). The interlocutor imagines that the target will regard the envisioned satiric attack as a formal capital charge. Such a charge would elevate the stakes no less for the target than for the satirist, against whom (we must imagine) all the target’s resources will be directed in the effort to defeat him and his accusation. For the interlocutor goes on to explain that writing epic poetry puts no poet at risk (*securus licet . . . committas, nulli grauis est*, 162–63), but when Lucilius thunders with his sword drawn, a listener

whose “mind is frozen (i.e., with fear) because of reasons for accusation” blushes and his heart sweats (166–67). The representation of the target as a contemporary who sits and listens to the satirist, together with the reference to the target’s “crimes” or awareness of grounds on which he may be accused (*criminibus*, 167) present satire, at least of the Lucilian type, in the armature of a formal legal proceeding (Keane (2006) 73–104). And this approach, in contrast to the carefree writing of epic, brings the poet trouble: “Hence anger and tears” (*inde ira et lacrimae*, 168) – the anger presumably being the target’s, and the tears, in consequence, being the satirist’s (scholia, Braund (1996a) *ad loc.*).

To describe this power struggle in more precisely “political” terms, the satirist has arrogated (on no clear grounds) the authority to pass moral judgment on others, thus claiming a superior position in the field of moral authority. The criticisms he levels at his targets, we are led to believe, will harm their position and constrain their future moves in the broader field of social prestige, since moral status is a component of social prestige. The targets, naturally, will exert pressure in the other direction, seeking to avoid the threatened harm by constraining the moves available to the satirist (i.e., what he can say) within his moralizing discourse. “Speaking freely,” in this context, would mean that the satirist experiences no constraint upon his manipulation of moralizing discourse, and can attack and constrain his targets at will – the Lucilian ideal. But in Juvenal, as in Persius, the satirist may indeed experience constraint from a target’s countering moves. The Persianic satirist, as we saw, is rendered vulnerable but also empowered by his complex exchange relationship with his target, who is also his patron: each party stands to benefit and suffer at the other’s hands, and a careful dance ensues. Juvenal’s satirist, though he fleetingly presents himself as a client (97–101), appears to have no immediate relationship with his targets that either side has any incentive to maintain (on this satirist’s status see Armstrong in this volume, Chapter 3, and Freudenburg (2001) 246). At this greater social distance, the fight is bare-knuckles, and both sides pursue extreme measures.

The interlocutor’s warnings and arguments play a further “political” role by granting the satirist credibility. Although he is part of the satire, the interlocutor is rhetorically positioned as “metasatiric,” commenting upon the satirist’s declared program as if he were a detached, external observer – as if, in short, he were a reader or listener, like “us.” And if “we” were inclined to dismiss the satirist as a blustering crank, and laugh at his over-the-top ranting, the interlocutor’s intervention aims to dissuade us from this conclusion. For with his warning – “be careful what you say!” – the interlocutor tacitly accepts, indeed presents as unproblematically true, that powerful and dangerous people *really are* attending closely to the satirist’s words, *really do* fear that his accusations will diminish their power and status, *really will* take preventive

measures, and hence that the satirist *really is* courageously risking life and limb to expose their vices. With his warning, then, the interlocutor bears “objective” witness, from the world beyond the text, that the satirist and his program are credible, and so he models for other “external” observers, like ourselves, the desired response to the satirist and his program (Keane (2006) 51; Bogel (2001) 10–12).

In persuading the satirist not to tell the “truth” by denouncing the transgressions and shortcomings of the powerful, the interlocutor brings him to the same impasse as the Persianic satirist. While the latter’s solution was to speak his truth only behind his target’s back, Juvenal’s satirist hits upon an entirely different solution, closing the poem with a surprise. He declares, “I will try what is allowed (sc. in speaking) against those whose ashes are covered by the Flaminian and Latin Ways” (*experiar quid concedatur in illos | quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina*, 170–71). This sentence is generally taken as asserting that the satirist will attack only the dead, on the (implied) ground that they cannot retaliate as living contemporaries may. In fact, this strategy appears to be implemented already in this very poem, prior to its express articulation at the end: for the very idea of attacking a powerful contemporary is conveyed by referring to Lucilian practice, or by collapsing past into present, as in the imagined confrontation with the long dead Tigillinus. Other identifiable figures named in the poem – Thymele, Crispinus, Massa, Carus, Marius, Lucusta, etc. – are likewise from the past, preceding Juvenal’s writing by a decade or more; there is no indication here or in any of Juvenal’s satires that contemporaries of any significance are attacked by name (Freudenburg (2001) 213–15; Waters (1970), Ferguson (1987) for prosopography, with Courtney’s commentary (1980)).

This declaration looks like a pusillanimous, anticlimactic climb down from the high-flown programmatic declaration that satire is needed *right now*, at the high tide of vice. By presenting himself as collapsing in the face of threats, our satirist skewers his own aggressive, moralizing bluster and assumes instead that other familiar satiric pose, the abject underling abused by his superiors. But this particular climb down poses a generic conundrum. Can satire exist at all in the absence of contemporary reference? Can one fall so very short of what one has asserted to be the Lucilian standard of direct, open criticism, and still claim Lucilius as one’s model and ideal? These difficulties have prompted much scholarly comment. Views range from holding that references to the past lightly conceal specific contemporary events, circumstances, and persons (e.g., Hardie (1998)), to identifying an exemplary dynamic where contemporary relevance is sought at the level of persistent personal types and social structures (Kenney (1962) 38–40; Richlin (1992) 195–209; Winkler (2009c) 464–69). It has even been suggested that Juvenal’s discourse about the past is, rather, a metadiscourse, in which the poet’s over-the-top denunciations send up

the whole industry of *ex post facto* outrage against the monster emperors of the first century of the Empire (Freudenburg (2001) 209–48, and personal communication).

My own view is that our satirist, like the Persianic satirist before him, is presenting and performing a strategy for speaking truth to power “safely.” By expressly naming and attacking figures who are notorious, powerful, and dead, the satirist invites derisive laughter at his own cowardice, but also prods his readers to consider how the past he thereby invokes is connected to the present that he claims has so roused his indignation. This is the discourse of exemplarity, where the present is regarded as linked to the past by relations of ethical continuity and performative analogy. Ethical continuity means that past and present actions can be evaluated within the same moral categories, rendering them mutually comprehensible and commensurable. Performative analogy means that past and present actors will perform, or expect others to perform, similar actions under similar circumstances: in any era one will find forgers, poisoners, sycophants, liars, perverts, social climbers, and so on, because the structures that make such actions possible and advantageous persist (Roller (2004) 1–7; (2009) 214–19). Criticism of past instances therefore stigmatizes present instances, and discourages contemporaries or posterity from assuming the stigmatized roles. Thus, without expressly naming powerful, vicious contemporaries, the satirist deploys past figures to establish moral and behavioral norms against which such contemporaries can be measured. In short, the satirist’s climb down marks a turn to speech that is “figured” through typologies and analogies, and away from what he has presented as direct, open, unfigured, *ad hominem* “Lucilian” speech, which he deems too dangerous to himself (Ahl (1984b) 186–208).

Is such speech really “safe,” as this move implies? Juvenal’s contemporaries Pliny and Tacitus present informatively divergent views on this matter. Pliny, in his *Panegyricus*, declares that criticism of bad previous emperors puts future emperors on notice that they risk execration after death if they go bad, a patently exemplary argument. Yet Pliny also remarks that Domitian would have regarded criticism of Nero as aimed at himself, because of their similarity: hence, Pliny implies, the trope of exemplarity bestowed no safety in these circumstances (53.3–4). Likewise Tacitus, in the fourth book of his *Annales*, says that a historian puts himself at risk by inveighing against past figures, whether because touchy descendants remain or because certain readers see themselves reproached for their moral similarities to the target. Even *praise* of past figures is risky, as certain readers may see themselves reproached by contrast (4.33.4) – another danger potentially lurking in exemplary discourse. In the speech of Cremutius Cordus immediately following, however, Cremutius is made to say that one should be entirely free to praise and blame the dead, without these opinions being thought relevant to the present at all

(4.35.1–2). Yet Cremutius, a historiographer, speaks tendentiously out of self-interest: here he is being prosecuted for praising Brutus and Cassius in his histories. Thus Cremutius' experience actually substantiates the earlier remarks by Tacitus in his own voice, regarding the danger a historiographer may incur for praising and blaming past figures (Sailor (2008) 269–70). In light of these passages, the satirist's expectation of finding safety in the trope of exemplarity looks at best optimistic, and perhaps delusional.

Many additional passages in Juvenal and Persius thematize and perform issues of speech and power. Here let me focus briefly on Juvenal's fourth Satire. This poem, set in the court of Domitian, richly depicts the ways in which hope of rewards and fear of punishment impact speech. As the satirist tells the story, Domitian has been given an enormous fish. Several courtiers – Veiiento, Catullus, and Montanus in particular – flatter the emperor by extravagantly admiring the fish, for they fear suffering harm if they do not play along (113–39). The satirist, as usual claiming superior status in the field of moral authority, passes uniformly negative judgments upon these flatterers and their speech. Receiving relatively gentle treatment, however, is the courtier Crispus, who (the satirist says) “had morals to match his eloquence” (82) and might have been the most useful of advisers “had it been permitted to condemn savagery and offer proper counsel,” i.e., to speak critically to the emperor (84–86). But the tyrant (*tyrannus*) is violent, even to friends (*amici*) who speak of innocuous topics like the weather (86–88). So Crispus “never extended his arms against the torrent: he was not the kind of citizen who could offer up free words sincerely and risk his life for the truth” (89–91). Significantly, Juvenal gives Crispus no words *in propria uoce*, for speech is impossible if one is upright enough not to flatter yet too fearful to speak critically (Williams (2010) 175–78). This brief but careful characterization of Crispus fashions him into an *exemplum* as described above. For the generalizing presentation of his predicament as an *amicus tyranni* (86, 88) helps to suggest its diachronic reach. There will always be tyrants and their friends; here is what happens to friends of a certain character. Indeed, in this poem the satirist sketches an exemplary moral hierarchy of ways of speaking to power. Flattery is worst, for it entails ethical perjury and loss of integrity, as well as encouraging the tyrant along his murderous course (Veiiento, Montanus). Better is no speech whatsoever (Crispus). But where is integrity, the harsh and condemnatory “truth”? Only, it seems, in the satirist's own words, as he denounces the failings of others from his self-asserted position of moral superiority. This “truth”-speaking, however, takes the form proposed in *Satire* 1: presenting figures from the past – Domitian and his courtiers, now all dead – as *exempla* whose conduct under these conditions, duly branded “good” or “bad,” informs how actions by similarly positioned figures in the present and future are performed and evaluated.

“Free speech,” as we have seen, is normally a euphemism for “critical speech.” While praise and blame both participate in establishing, confirming, and challenging social hierarchies and power relations, blame seizes the limelight in satire, where mockery and ridicule are the typical rhetorical modes. Testifying to the political effectiveness of verbal attack in satire is that – according to the satirists – it motivates targets to take countermeasures, and to seek to constrain the satirist’s speech so as to stop the attack. However self-serving such a representation may be (for the satirist wants us to believe that his targets fear him), it invites us to look more closely at the dynamics of satiric invective, and to refine our understanding of how and where verbal attacks land their blows.

13.4 Invective

The satirist, to paraphrase Fredric Bogel’s title (Bogel (2001)), “makes difference” by drawing lines. These lines distinguish his target – whether an individual or a group – from himself by locating the target in the realm of moral transgression, and himself on the side of normative values and the “true” beliefs and needs of the larger community. These acts of defining and distinguishing are played out before an audience of readers or auditors, embodying the community whose interests the satirist purports to represent. He seeks to recruit this audience to his own side, isolating the target and excluding it from the community as he stigmatizes its moral failings. These moves have obvious “political” implications, in the broader sense discussed above.

Invective is perhaps the most powerful line-drawing, difference-making tool in the satirist’s kit. By “invective” I mean vituperative mockery or other verbal abuse, couched in explicitly or implicitly moral terms, directed by the satirist against a target. Its aim is to humiliate the target through the open declaration of faults. Invective occurs in many discursive forms. Especially well studied is its operation in Ciceronian oratory (Corbeil (2002); (1996) 16–20 and *passim*) and in “iambic” or similar poetic forms, which in certain respects resemble satire (Richlin (1992) esp. 81–163; Walters (1998); Wray (2001); in general, Rosen (2007)). In Persius and especially Juvenal, invective typically accompanies the pose of angry indignation, which is characterized by short, sharp sentences, rhetorical questions, exclamations, and apostrophes (Braund (1988) 1–6). Invective can be directed against a wide variety of characteristics or behaviors: it may allege crimes such as theft, fraud, forgery, or poisoning; vices such as cowardice, gluttony, drunkenness, greed, extravagance, sexual deviance, luxuriousness, ambition, meanness, or stinginess; physical and social characteristics such as being fat, bald, short, pale, or of low birth; any sort of

behavior deemed inappropriate to the target's status or position; and so on. The topics of invective may be interlinked, as when clothing or poetic style or a physical characteristic is taken to betray sexual deviance (see below), or when low birth combined with extravagant living supports the inference that the wealth was gained by criminal means – forging a will, defrauding a ward, poisoning a rich relative. Of course, not all critical speech takes invective form. Blistering attacks may be delivered using the trope of irony, where the words employed “overtly” seem to confer praise, as in Laronia's speech in Juvenal 2.36–63. Also, there are gentle ways of expressing reservation or disapproval, as part of a strategy of correction or the simple registering of a different opinion (as in the satirist's reproach to his friend Umbricius, at Juv. 3.1–3).

A common topic of invective is sexual deviance. The affinity of invective for sexual topics is likely due, in part, to the universality of sexual behavior, along with the fact that sexual and scatological terms are especially arresting when deployed in public discourses from which notions of propriety normally exclude them (Richlin (1992) 1–31, (1984); Corbeill (1996) 128–69). The use of such terms in “taboo” contexts conveys the degree of anger and passion to which the satirist wishes to seem transported by the target's alleged transgressions – leading him to breach decorum in one way even as he accuses his target of breaching it in other ways. In addition, sexual invective is often couched in a rhetoric of detection and exposure, implying that the target not only is perverted, but has hypocritically tried to conceal these perversions. The combined allegation of perversion and hypocrisy ideally suffices to bring the audience to share the satirist's anger, stand with him on the side of normative values, and isolate and stigmatize the target.

This drawing of lines, co-opting of audience, and isolating and demeaning of the target through invective are far from straightforward. Indeed, Persius and Juvenal pointedly show just how unstraightforward this activity is. First, as the satirist draws the line separating his normative self from the allegedly deviant target, and as he seeks to co-opt the audience, the possibility exists that the target will reverse the field, claim the audience for himself, and strand the satirist as the stigmatized, vilified outsider on what is suddenly the “wrong” side of that very line. This specter looms over the satirists' maneuverings in the passages discussed in section 13.3 above. In Persius' first Satire, the satirist “draws the line” by deploying invective against the patron's poetry, morals, and person (1.56–57), in response to the patron's convivial power play described above (1.53–54). Thus he distinguishes his own supposedly better morals and poetic taste from the patron's worse versions, and invites the audience's complicity by making it party to his behind-the-back mocking of the patron. But when the interlocutor later warns the satirist that “the thresholds of the rich may grow cold” to him (1.108–110), the threat is that the line he drew will be concretized precisely as forbidden entry to the

great house. Now, indeed, the satirist is distinguished from the patron – by his physical exclusion from the *salutationes* and *convivia* to which he needs access. Meanwhile, other clients will presumably continue to attend these events and gain the resources they need – effectively, an audience that has chosen the target over the satirist and so formed a community from which the latter is excluded. In Juvenal's first Satire, Tigillinus' envisioned retaliation (1.155–57) involves a similar reversal of field, as Catherine Keane has observed ((2006) 18, 50–51). Here, the projected attack upon Tigillinus' vices is imagined to result in the satirist being burned alive in the arena, literally stigmatized as a criminal or slave and literally leaving his mark on the sand. Meanwhile, the satirist's potential audience is co-opted to Tigillinus' side of the line. For it would be sitting in the seats of the arena, watching the spectacle of the burning satirist.

A second complexity attending the line-drawing of satiric invective is the *constructedness* of the opposition between satirist (plus the audience he seeks to co-opt) and target. The reason invective so often employs a rhetoric of detection and exposure is that the target's vices are not necessarily patent and visible to all. The satirist must work hard to portray the target as repulsive and vicious, not only to persuade his audience to come over to his side, but to convince it that there are sides to be taken at all. He must always be prepared for an audience that is unaware of or indifferent to the vices ascribed to the target, or that fears the satirist's own aggressive self-righteousness above all (an Horatian preoccupation: Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.21–37, 2.1.21–23). In identifying and denouncing his target, then, the satirist must also educate and mobilize his audience, communicating the norms and practices it should hold dear, and persuading it that the target has violated these (Bogel (2001) 27–32). To augment the complexity, satirists who draw lines employing moralizing invective tend to catch themselves, or parts of themselves, on the wrong side. Thus they may implicate themselves in their own denunciations, and the opposition between satirist and target threatens to deconstruct in the very process of being articulated. The exemplary and typological terms in which satiric attack is framed – for again, no living contemporaries are named – may facilitate these slippages and reversals, as the structural similarities between satirist and target emerge more readily within a categorical framework than from *ad hominem* attack. The latter, as found in oratory (e.g., Cicero attacking Antony in *Phil.* 2), elevates the social stakes but may help keep attacker and target conceptually distinct.

I illustrate these dynamics in Juvenal and Persius by analyzing passages of sexual invective in which the satirist demeans a male target by alleging that he engages in receptive sex with other males. Central to this invective is the figure of the *cinaedus*. As work on Roman sexual roles has shown (Parker (1997) 56–62; Williams (1999) 172–218; (2010)), the *cinaedus* is a cultural stereotype of sexual deviance: a free adult male who is open to, or actively

desires, anal sexual penetration by another male. This figure represents the negation of the normative, exclusively penetrative, sexual role that Roman society ascribed to the properly constituted free adult male, the *uir*. It is thus more a scare-figure countertype of proper manhood than a real sexual identity. *Cinaedus* is thus a term of abuse that discredits and stigmatizes the target as morally vicious – not only in his sexual behavior, however, but more broadly as well: for one either is or is not a *uir*; proper constitution as a Roman man does not come by parts. Furthermore, someone alleged to be a *cinaedus* is assumed to try to conceal his vice, hoping to maintain the public face and social benefits of an integral *uir*. To be clear, satiric invective that invokes the *cinaedus* is not directed *against* this figure: the *cinaedus* comes to satire already pre-stigmatized in the broader culture. Rather, satiric invective deploys this figure as a paradigm for the *target's* viciousness. If the audience can be persuaded that there is a good match between the *cinaedus* paradigm and the target, the latter's face as an integral *uir* is demolished and the attacker's work is done (Corbeill (2002) 202–4).

13.4.1 Juvenal

Juvenal's second Satire opens with precisely such an attack. There are, the satirist says, men who parade as exemplars of old-time Roman virtue in public and cultivate the hairy body of the stereotypical philosopher, but behave licentiously in secret (2–3, 11–12). Soon the *cinaedus* is invoked, implying that the “secret” behavior in question is receptive sex (*castigas turpia, cum sis | inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos?* 9–10). A doctor (*medicus*) is then introduced who detects the vice hidden under the false show of virtue: he lances the man's anal piles, which (according to the scholia) are a symptom and therefore proof of deviant sexual activity. The doctor laughs at the incongruity between outward appearance and hidden sign, with their opposite implications (12–13). Continuing his exploration of this theme, the satirist introduces “Peribomius” (16–19) – whether this is a personal name or the title of some type of cult personnel is uncertain (scholia, Courtney (1980) *ad loc.*, Ferguson (1987) 176). This man, the satirist says, “confesses his disease in his expression and gait.” In contrast to the hairy, philosophical-looking “Socratic” *cinaedi* just discussed, this *cinaedus* has an outward appearance that announces, rather than conceals, his sexual deviance. Thus he has integrity, albeit of a pitiful sort (*horum simplicitas miserabilis*, 18) and his behavior is “truer and more candid” (*uerius . . . et magis ingenue*, 14–15) than theirs. Such people's very madness wins the satirist's forbearance (*his furor ipse | dat ueniam*, 18–19), meaning that he will refrain from invective: after all, what need is there to pin the *cinaedus* label on someone who does not attempt to conceal his deviance, nor purports to be an integral *uir*? Rather, it is the man who designs his outward

appearance to belie his deviance, and seeks the social rewards of virtue he does not possess, who is dangerous and therefore an appropriate target for invective.

So far, so good. But as the poem goes on, things get increasingly sticky for the satirist. In verse 65 he launches an attack on one Creticus, a prosecutor of adultery cases whose name is redolent of the honorific *cognomina* of the Republican aristocracy. A grand personage, then, successfully competing in the law courts, a prestigious arena of aristocratic activity. But the satirist's invective seeks to persuade us that Creticus is a *cinaedus*. As proof we are offered the elegant toga he wears in court: the fabric is so thin that it is all but transparent, recalling the costumes of the prostitutes and adulteresses he prosecutes (67–70). It is as if he pleads with no clothes on at all (71). Creticus' toga, with help from the satirist, “reveals” him (in all senses) for what he is, notwithstanding his honorable and traditional aristocratic activity (77–78: *acer et indomitus libertatisque magister*, | *Cretice, perluces*; “you fierce, indomitable champion of liberty, Creticus – you are transparent!” trans. Braund). With this argument, the satirist both constitutes Creticus as repulsive deviant and educates the audience on how to read the sartorial signs of this deviance. But if Creticus' deviance is really so patent (*perluces*), what need to expose and denounce him at such length? Why can he not be passed over in a few lines, with a backhanded compliment for his integrity, like Peribomius? Perhaps an aristocrat cannot be as easily forgiven and dismissed as the (probably) non-elite Peribomius – whose Greek name may suggest freedman status, while its meaning hints at a disreputable foreign cult. But the most economical explanation is that the alleged deviance cannot, in fact, be read off easily from the toga's appearance. Hence the need for the semiotic and analogical argument that conjures Creticus as a (concealed) *cinaedus*, and explains to the audience how to see him in this threatening guise. For the lesson in semiotics and the assertion of obviousness are logically at odds: if the former is necessary, the latter is false, and if the latter is true, the former is unnecessary. But the satirist is trying to have his cake and eat it. He wishes to expose the hypocritically hidden *cinaedus*, and also allege that he was bad at hiding; to reveal to his audience the secret “truth,” and coerce it into agreeing that this “truth” is patent. The satirist is working very hard here to constitute a sufficiently repellent target and assemble a sufficiently sympathetic audience.

Late in the poem, the satirist adduces his deviant *par excellence*. Another man bearing an old aristocratic name, Gracchus, is to marry a (male) horn-player. The transgression of status boundaries is part of the outrage – Gracchus is clearly “marrying down” – but the deviance of the male–male marriage as such is the main target. The satirist comically presents it as a prodigy requiring expert interpretation and expiation (121–23), and as a vexation to Mars, the patron divinity of the city (126–31); he also explains, somewhat ponderously

(137–42), that such a marriage cannot produce offspring, presumably another basis for outrage. But the satirist also directs a barb at the audience, or one sector of it. For he imagines someone preparing to attend the ceremony, articulating the paradox of the marriage as if it were perfectly unexceptional: *quid quaeris? nubit amicus* (134). The first phrase, *quid quaeris*, is a naturalizing “what’s the matter?” while in the second phrase, *nubere* – the verb for a bride taking a husband – is used paradoxically with a male subject: “my (male) friend is becoming a bride.” The satirist infers from this nonchalance that, in time, such ceremonies will be entirely open and publicized (135–36), not only defying community norms but threatening to *become* the norm (Walters (1998) 356). Again, however, one may ask why Gracchus and his husband don’t receive the same concession as Peribomius. For in marrying openly, they surely demonstrate the same integrity (*simplicitas*) and frankness (*ingenuitas*) that exempted him from attack. At least part of the audience may think so, the satirist fears. For by declaring outrageous those who do not share his own outrage, he draws his line down the middle of the audience and thereby concedes that it is not unified, but contains divergent views. He must mock, corral, and exterminate the contrary view so as to harry a monolithic, sympathetic, co-optable audience into existence. Yet in drawing this line he also catches his own non-outraged self, who declined to wax wroth against Peribomius, on the wrong side. For the attendees of the wedding – the *quid quaeris* crowd – could cite the satirist’s earlier words to authorize their own tolerance. Or they could redirect his own mockery and derision against himself, as one who previously endorsed the very view he now condemns. His overblown invective renders him as laughable, and as vulnerable to his own attack, as his targets.

The difficulties run even deeper. We saw that the poem opened with the satirist attacking those whose behavior, physiognomy, and words indicate an old-time moralist, but who practice sexual vices in secret – “Socratic *cinaedi*” he calls them. Scholars have long noted that the doctor who sees and laughs at what these men hide is a doublet for the satirist himself, who exposes and mocks their vice through poetry. But there is another possible doublet for the satirist: the hairy, philosophical-looking “Socratic *cinaedi*” themselves. The satirist too poses as an old-time moralist, denouncing vice just as he says his targets do; how do we know that he is not himself a secret practitioner of vice, potentially vulnerable to the very same exposure and denunciation? True, he loudly affirms his normative values and community concern – precisely the sort of superficial appearance he then warns us not to trust (*frontis nulla fides*, 8; also 20–22). Moreover, he warns that every quarter of the city is crawling with virtuous-looking deviants (8–10), and the plague is spreading (78–81). If hypocritically moralistic *cinaedi* are to be suspected everywhere, the satirist himself seems worth a closer look. To shake the moralistic pose further, as Erik

Gunderson points out ((2005) 227, 232–36), the satirist’s quest for outrageous perversions means that he must be an expert in sexual deviance himself, in order to detect, expose, and explain others’ deviance to his audience. One may suspect that he and his “right-thinking” audience take vicarious, voyeuristic pleasure in the sexual antics described, even as they declare their outrage and showily vindicate their normative values and social respectability by contrast. In these respects too, the satirist resembles the deviants he decries, and leaves himself open to the same attack he levels against them (Walters (1998) 362–64; Freudenburg (2001) 257–58; Bogel (2001) 38–40). The more insistently the satirist inscribes the line that distinguishes himself and his audience from the *cinaedus*, the more permeable that line seems to become.

Can satirist and *cinaedus* indeed be one and the same? The idea is suggestive. In Juvenal’s fourth Satire, a courtier of Domitian, named Rubrius, is described as being “charged with an ancient crime that must not be spoken of, yet more shameless than a satire-writing *cinaedus*” (*Rubrius offensae ueteris reus atque tacendae | et tamen improbius saturam scribente cinaedo*, 105–6). That is, Rubrius denounces others’ transgressions while his own are passed over without comment. This is *improbitas*, a lack of principle. It is aptly exemplified by the “*cinaedus* who writes satire,” for a *cinaedus* is properly the target of satiric invective, as we have seen. Imagining the *cinaedus* as satirist would mean that he denounces in others the vices he himself practices (*qui in aliis sua uitia reprehendebat*, Schol.). Our satirist is not exactly pinning the *cinaedus* label on Rubrius, for the point is not to stigmatize him for sexual deviance or compromised manhood per se. It is, rather, to criticize the assumption of a *persona* that is hypocritical given the underlying vices. Nor do I believe that Juvenal is implicating himself as a *cinaedus* here (Braund (1996a) *ad loc.*, Rosen (2007) 230–31). But this evocative image of the satire-writing *cinaedus* underscores the degree to which the satirist and his targets are implicated, even co-dependent. If satire succeeded in its ostensible aim of destroying its targets, it would put itself out of business. Perhaps the only way for the satirist to secure his targets’ survival, hence his own, is to fabricate them out of pieces of himself and his audience – even if this means that clear, sharp lines can never be drawn (Habinek (2005a) 181–87; Rosen (2007) 239–42; Bogel (2001) 31–33).

13.4.2 Persius

Persius, too, sometimes employs invective alleging male sexual deviance. However, the dynamics of line drawing and audience construction in his poems differ from those seen in Juvenal. Deviance is central to the very first vignette (13–21) in the programmatic first Satire. Here, as discussed earlier, the satirist declares his objection to the morals and aesthetics of contemporary poetry. The vignette opens by describing the process of composition.

Whether writing in prose or verse, we work privately – the satirist uses an inclusive, generalizing first person plural – on something so big that it requires a whole lungful of air to gasp out (*scribimus inclusi, numeros ille, hic pede liber, | grande aliquid quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet*, 13–14). In due course, having dolled yourself up with combed hair, a new toga, and a gemstone ring, you – now in the second person singular – will recite (*leges*) your composition to an audience, “when you have washed your limber throat with a flowing modulation, enfeebled by your ejaculating eye” (*liquido cum plasmate guttur | mobile collueris, patranti fractus oculo*, 17–18). The imagery here, though difficult, indicates a poetic style that the satirist considers unmanly: for the limberness and flowing quality of the voice, as well as the enervation of the reciter (*fractus*), are stereotypically feminine (or effeminate) characteristics. We could perhaps imagine, with Freudenburg, that the reciter has written a tragedy featuring a grief-stricken woman, whose role he “performs” in the recitation; then the climax that should draw tears from the eye is figured, shockingly, as an ocular sexual climax (Freudenburg (2001) 162–66, cf. Bramble (1974) 75–79; Hooley (1997) 38–41; Harvey (1981); and Kissel (1990) *ad loc.*).

If his own composition unmans the poet, it does the same and more to the audience. “Then you [second person singular] would see burly Tituses quivering, in no seemly manner nor with tranquil voice, when the poems penetrate their loins and their inward parts are tickled by the quavering verse” (*tunc neque more probo uideas nec uoce serena | ingentis trepidare Titos, cum carmina lumbum | intrans et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima uersu*, 19–21). The aural pleasure that the poem gives its audience is figured, by a bold metaphorical extension, as anal pleasure. For the big, manly Romans who hear the poem are presented as taking pleasure not in the sound of the poem entering their ears, but – in typical *cinaedus* imagery – in its vibrations entering their anuses. Compactly, then, the satirist presents the poetry, poet, and audience as sexually deviant all. The imagery is paradoxical: the poem’s pleasurable quivering, warbling, effeminate sound (*liquido, mobile, tremulo*) is also, at the same time, its (or the poet’s) pleasurable quivering, virile, penetrating penis (*lumbum intrans*). At any rate, the satirist marshals the standard invective resources – the language and imagery of male sexual deviance, particularly the stereotype of the *cinaedus* – to condemn all participants in the economy of poetic production, recitation, and praise, including the poems themselves, as corrupt. The positioning of this acerbic blast near the start of the programmatic first poem suggests that the satirist regards such language as an effective (and shocking) way to launch his assault on contemporary literary aesthetics. Indeed, he sustains this blanket condemnation through the remainder of the poem, even as he elaborates particular aspects like the difficulty of speaking “frankly” that we examined earlier.

In condemning contemporary poetic style and recitation culture as morally corrupt, our satirist draws his line. He positions his targets on the stigmatized side and himself on the valorized side, outside of and apart from this corruption. He presents himself as one who can judge correctly and honestly, praising virtue and condemning vice (if only he can find a way to express himself: section 13.3 above). But does he speak, like Juvenal's satirist claims to do, for community values broadly, thus co-opting his readers to his own side and isolating the target as a stigmatized, deviant outcast? On the contrary: in this poem, the broader community is complicit in the corruption and deviance. The satirist tars every Titus in the audience as a *cinaedus*, perfectly in accord with the deviance of the poet and poetry. Thus he suggests that their shared corruption and deviance is mainstream: it is the satirist, as upright moralist, who is the outcast. He has drawn the line such that he is all alone on his side – or rather, he and the “two or zero” other people who might read his work, those with the aesthetic and social sensibility that he describes at the poem's end (123–34). Now, Persius himself will have presented this poem in a recitation, leaving “us,” his audience and readers, to puzzle out where we stand in this schema (so Hooley (1997) 38–39). Supposing we enjoy this poem, are we aligned with the Tituses of the internal audience as part of the corrupt, deviant pleasuring culture here satirized? And is Persius himself one of the corrupt reciters, “ejaculating eye” and all? For the satirist ecumenically includes himself as one of the “we” who “write in private” (13), before (perhaps?) distancing himself by moving to a second-person address for the reciter (15–20). Furthermore, a story in the *Vita Persii* – that the poet Lucan, attending a recitation by Persius, could scarcely restrain himself from leaping up and shouting that *here* was real poetry – accords uncomfortably well with the dynamic of poetic titillation and indiscriminate audience enthusiasm that the first Satire satirizes. Alternatively, perhaps we are not Tituses but rather members of that tiny, right-minded community “who will read this stuff” – as, in fact, we patently are doing. If so, how exactly are we to enjoy it? As Lucan did, or not? As with the Juvenalian invective discussed earlier, so too with Persianic invective we find that the apparently sharp dividing lines, created by apparently black-and-white moral and aesthetic distinctions, on closer examination seem to split the satirist himself, as well as any audience he may attract, right down the middle, leaving our own moral status as readers altogether unclear.

Another blast of invective against deviant male sexuality, in *Satire 4*, presents even greater challenges to understanding where the satirist is drawing his lines. This poem opens with a scene in which Socrates and Alcibiades discuss the latter's desire to enter public life at a tender age. The general drift of Socrates' advice is Delphic: Alcibiades lacks the self-knowledge necessary for statesmanly duties. So far, so good. In the second half, however, this *mise-en-scène* with its

dialogical structure disappears. Speakers cease to be clearly identified or differentiated – indeed, it becomes unclear who and how many the speakers are. Also, the material presented is not clearly related to the scene, subject matter, or broader themes of the first half (Hooley (1997) 122–42). Structurally, however, the second half is organized by a pair of gnomic statements (23–24, 42–43) bracketing a pair of what look like they should be illustrative examples supporting these generalizations. The first gnomic statement is the exclamation, “How nobody tries the descent into self, nobody! – but looks at the bag on the back of the person in front” (*ut nemo in sese temptat descendere, nemo, | sed praecedenti spectatur mantica tergo!* 23–24). Persius here alludes to the fable in which people notice others’ faults but not their own (scholia, Harvey (1981), Kissel (1990) *ad loc.*). There follows (25–32) a description of someone inveighing against a miserly rich man, then a second scene in which someone inveighs against a nude sunbather who has apparently depilated his groin, and is tarred by his attacker as a shamelessly self-displaying sexual deviant (33–41; detailed analysis by Kissel (1990) *ad loc.*, Richlin (1992) 187–90).

What lines is the satirist drawing with these invective passages? We logically expect them to exemplify the preceding maxim, and illustrate attacks made by people who pillory the faults of others while disregarding their own. If so, then the satirist is targeting those who deliver these invectives, rather than those against whom the invectives are directed. He would thus be satirizing moralizing attack speech, as deployed by hypocrites who attack others without having a moral leg to stand on. However, we are never informed what these attackers’ own faults or vices are, as seems necessary to properly illustrate the maxim. Indeed, the second example, where the attacker infers the sunbather’s sexual deviance from his depilated genitals (a sign that is visible because the target is naked), offers the kind of inference from external appearance and deportment that regularly appears in sexual invective – for example, in Juvenal’s attack on Creticus, where deviance is inferred from his clothing. Here the issue seems to be not whether the attacker himself has vices, but whether the invective he delivers is justified by the target’s own deportment. We might conclude, then, that the maxim at 23–24 does *not* organize the examples of invective that follow. But then it is hard to understand what these examples are doing at all in relation to the rest of the poem. As members of Persius’ audience we struggle to understand, as Hooley puts it ((1997) 137), “who is being got at” and why – to understand what line the satirist is drawing, where the various voices are being made to stand in relation to that line, and where we as audience are supposed to stand. Even by Persianic standards, this poem makes stringent demands upon its audience, challenging it to “fill in the gaps” and to find a perspective from which these pieces snap into place and “make sense” according to conventional expectations of continuity and coherence. While scholars have proposed ingenious solutions to these

perplexities (esp. Kissel (1990) 495–98, 542–46; Hooley (1997) 122–42, with further references), perhaps part of the point – assuming we have the poem as Persius intended it – is to put the audience through such an exercise, to compel us to reflect upon and question our assumptions about consistency, unity, and moral positionality in and through our struggle to locate these features in this satire (Hooley (1997) 136–40; Henderson (1999) 243–44).

Returning to the narrower theme of invective, I suggest that the second gnomic statement, which follows the two invective passages and seems to present itself as a summarizing or resumptive move, could serve as an epigraph for invective – not only in this poem, but in satire generally, and perhaps in Roman culture overall. Persius writes, “We deal wounds, and in turn expose our legs to the arrows. Life is lived on this basis; this is the way we know it” (*caedimus inque uicem praebemus crura sagittis. | uiuitur hoc pacto, sic nouimus*, 42–43). Armed combat is a metaphor for verbal combat, of which examples have just been presented. The maxim thus asserts that one who employs invective is naturally and inevitably subject to invective in turn; to join this battle is *ipso facto* to expose oneself. Whether this dynamic is illustrated in this poem is unclear: Kissel proposes that the person who attacks the miser is the very person subsequently attacked for his nude sunbathing, thus exemplifying this dynamic (Kissel (1990) 545–46; Braund, personal communication; however, this interpretation is far from certain. But we have seen that satiric invective is indeed as double-edged as the maxim implies. Not only does the satirist attack others and suffer attacks in turn, but he attacks himself in the very act of attacking another, and attacks his audience in the very act of seeking to co-opt it. The line he draws with his vice-imputing, socially stigmatizing verbal assault seems constitutionally doomed to go *through* himself and the audience he hopes to co-opt, always stranding parts of himself and his audience on the wrong side. As a result, invective insistently poses fundamental questions about the satirist’s moral status and the legitimacy of his attack, as well as challenging the satirist’s audience – not least, us readers – to grapple with where the satirist, the target, and we ourselves stand in relation to the moral distinctions being articulated. Fredric Bogel argues that satire seizes upon differences internal to the satirist, his community, or its value system, and projects these differences outward – from “within” to “between” – to create, rhetorically, a relation of pure difference and alienation, with the target serving as community scapegoat ((2001) 46–52). In Persius and Juvenal, the traces of that process, and of the initial, morally ambiguous state, can be seen in every nook and cranny: indeed, one may speculate that the poets leave these traces visible not only because they are impossible to erase, but also in order to hang their satiric *personae* out to dry. John Henderson, compactly articulating a position that other contemporary scholars have found attractive, speaks of the satirist’s “self-cancelling” voice that is “calculated to awake skepticism,” and

that ultimately teaches its audience “no other lesson than self-reliance” (Henderson (1999) 231–32) – to which we might add “all by stirring up mocking laughter at its own antics and bluster, no less than at the target’s alleged transgressions” (cf. Freudenburg (2001) 258; Bogel (2001) 61–62). On this view, satiric invective employs laughably excessive verbal attack in part to illustrate the peril that attends all attempts, including its own, to draw lines via verbal aggression.

13.5 Conclusion: Invective and Politics

In this chapter I have tried to establish several points about politics, invective, and their relationship in the satires of Persius and Juvenal. (1) The satirist typically poses as a put-upon but self-righteous underling, who dares to challenge on aesthetic and/or moral grounds the social prominence achieved – illegitimately, in his view – by certain other (usually named) people. This challenge to manifest hierarchies, articulated and executed within one field of competition or across several, constitutes the “politics” of satire. (2) Moralizing speech is the satirist’s weapon of choice and necessity – specifically “free” speech, which in practice means critical speech, delivered through his poetry. And since invective is the most grating, challenging, socially aggressive (or transgressive) form of critical speech, it is among his most potent rhetorical tools for grabbing attention and pretending outrage. (3) Satiric invective has a way of impinging on the satirist and the audience he seeks to attract and co-opt, no less than on the target, to the point of raising severe doubts about the satirist’s own moral status and credibility in the very categories in which he pillories his target.

But what consequence does (3) have for (1)? If the verbal attacks that define the satirist’s social and moral posture undermine the authority that this posture claims for itself, where does that leave the satirist’s challenge to and competition with his targets? Does any “politics,” in the sense accepted here, remain? I suggest that satire thematizes (*inter alia*) the question of what constitutes a valid moral complaint. By this I mean not only how the complaint stands on its own merits, but also to what extent the very articulation and vehemence of the attack indict its own presenter, and whether in so doing the attack demands to be read as a parodic send-up of moralizing discourses in general. In the latter case, satire would aim to raise a derisive laugh against all such speech, including the satirist’s own, making moralizers as such into the (or a) target, rather than or in addition to the alleged moral transgressions of the targets he overtly identifies. “Politics” are robustly present in such a case, but the actual opponents and arenas of competition are not, or not only, the declared ones. As readers of Persius and Juvenal, we are invited, indeed forced, to

consider all these complexities arising from the use of verbal attack to pursue political advantage.

FURTHER READING

On the “politics” of Latin literature, representative studies that presuppose the narrower definition of the term as referring to activities of government include Woodman and West (1984), Sullivan (1985), and – moving in a new direction – A. Powell (1992). On the “politics” (in this sense) of verse satire in particular, Waters (1970) and Hardie (1998) provide instances. On Latin literature’s “politics” in the broader sense, see especially Habinek (1998), and for satire in particular, Henderson (1999) and Freudenburg (2001). Dominik, Garthwaite, and Roche (2009) present a range of current approaches to “politics” in imperial Latin literature. For the theoretical foundations of the broader sense of “politics” as I define it here, see Foucault (1988) and Bourdieu (1993) – neither are systematic expositions, but critical explorations that presuppose the broad view. For a convenient handbook-style overview of poststructuralist, Marxist approaches to the “politics” of literature, see Goldstein (1990), esp. 162–98, with further references.

Invective in Latin literature generally has not been deeply explored; in verse satire still less so. Richlin (1992, lightly revised from the groundbreaking 1983 study), Corbeill (1996), and Wray (2001) are foundational for understanding verbal aggression in various genres of Latin literature, though only Richlin (164–209) expressly discusses satire. Koster (1980), examining invective in particular authors and genres (excluding satire), focuses more on collecting and describing instances of invective than in developing conceptual frameworks. Plaza (2006) offers a rich study of humor in satire, with some discussion of its role in mockery and attack; Rosen (2007) 207–42 shines valuable light on invective in Juvenal by placing it in a longer Greco-Roman tradition of mocking poetry. From the field of English satire studies, Bogel (2001) develops a theory of satiric attack that illuminates Roman satire as well.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Imperial Satire as Saturnalia

Paul Allen Miller

It has long been recognized that Roman satire is founded on transgression, a crossing of borders, a violence directed in the first place toward others, but also toward the self as a sealed, autonomous, and self-contained unity (Winkler (1991) 24; Schlegel (2005) 4; Keane (2006) 4, 45, 49–64). The satiric world is one of open and grotesque bodies that are consistently threatened with violence on the part of both the satirist and the world against which he rages (Gowers (1993b) 121). Indeed, it is the eroticization of this violence, a fundamental sadism on the part of the satirist and his audience of voyeurs, that constitutes one of the chief pleasures of the satiric text (Gunderson (2005) 233–34; Schlegel (2005) 126; Miller (2007)).

For this reason satire and the satirist are not generally welcomed in polite company. Satire is a discourse that is, as Horace says, widely perceived as an assault and stands to earn a violent riposte from its victims (*Sat.* 1.4.23–38). Juvenal, therefore, will only write about the dead (1.165–71). Persius will whisper his caustic truth in a hole dug in the ground (1.114–21). Horace may try to convince us that his satire does not desire to do harm, but from its earliest progenitors in the Latin tradition of Fescennine verse to its last imperial practitioners in the persons of Juvenal and Persius, satire's self-portrayal is as the scourge of vice, the black-toothed dog, the “unpenetrated” penetrator of others (Ramage (1974a) 8; Gunderson (2005) 225–26; Keane (2006) 46; Reckford (2009) 26–27). In the name of a normality of which he often seems to be the lone spokesman, the satirist seeks to violate the violators of all norms and thereby reinstate those norms through their systematic violation (Bataille (1957) 41–43; Derrida (1978) 274–75; Habinek (2005b) 56; Keane (2006) 49).

In the modern study of satire, one name has been especially associated with the analysis of this violation of the other and of the grotesque degradation it

often implies: the great Russian theorist, Mikhail Bakhtin. Bakhtin's concepts of the carnival, the grotesque, and their relation to and possible derivation from the tradition of the Roman Saturnalia have been a topic of discussion since his work first appeared in the West some forty years ago. The reactions to Bakhtin's opus have ranged from naïve and uncritical acceptance to systematic rejection, qualified approval, and attempted rehabilitation (for a quick survey, see Miller and Platter (1993b) and Platter (2007) 1–41). Often, terms like carnival, the grotesque, satire, and Saturnalia are used as if they were all but interchangeable, neglecting the precise discriminations made by Bakhtin (Miller (1998) and (2001)). The present essay will begin by attempting to define each of these terms as used by Bakhtin. It will then examine what we know about the Roman Saturnalia as it relates to satire. This will be followed by a brief reading of Horace *Satires* 2.3 and 2.7, both set during the Saturnalia and involving an apparent inversion of normal power relations. My reading of Horace will be complemented by a short investigation of the Saturnalian elements in Petronius' novel, *Satyricon*, and Seneca's burlesque on the death and deification of the emperor Claudius, *Apocolocyntosis*. Having elaborated Bakhtin's concept of carnival and its relation to the Saturnalia, I shall then read selected passages from Persius and Juvenal in this light. What we shall ultimately see is that imperial satire, rather than constituting a celebration of carnivalesque freedom in a moment of Saturnalian excess, offers a dystopian vision in which *libertas* has become *licentia*, the *rex stultorum* the *rex ipse*, and carnival freedom the license of the powerful to exploit the weak. While carnival, like Mardi Gras, heralds the spring, as Frye observed long ago, satire is a wintry genre ((1957) 223–39).

14.1 Bakhtin's Carnival

Bakhtin's two most important works on carnival and the grotesque degradation that accompanies it are, first, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1984, first edition, 1929, rev. 2nd edn. 1963), and second, his long delayed doctoral dissertation, *Rabelais and His World* (1968, written in 1940, submitted and refused in 1946 and 1949, published in 1965). The Dostoevsky book, while not as well known in classics as the work on Rabelais, features an important central section, "Characteristics of Genre and Plot Composition in Dostoevsky's Works," which offers a theoretical genealogy of the novel as a genre, deriving it from ancient Menippean satire and tracing its line of descent, by way of the Roman Saturnalia, through medieval traditions of carnival celebration and mockery.

Carnival is described as the festive "decrowning" of authority that in the moment of degradation liberates a plurality of voices, which engenders a

decentered and dialogic relation to authority. Carnival and its associated literary genres are closely related to notions of the grotesque: for it is precisely in the mocking transgression of the boundaries of the sealed and bounded self that authority as the closed, the serious, the disembodied is shown to be time-bound, contingent, and finite (Hirschkop (1989) 34; Gardiner (1992) 48; Platter (2007) 10–14). In carnival laughter, there is a fusion of opposites: “death itself is pregnant and gives birth” (Bakhtin (1984) 164). The world of carnival is profoundly ambivalent, emphasizing change and renewal rather than a set of codes. It encompasses both norms and their transgression (Bakhtin (1984) 125–27, 164; cf. Jauss (1982) 207).

In *Rabelais and His World*, the emphasis shifts to the role of mockery and bodily degradation in the production of carnivalized ambivalence and renewal (Bakhtin (1968) 56; Gardiner (1992) 47). “The essential principle of grotesque realism,” Bakhtin writes, “is degradation, that is, the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract: it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of earth and body in their indissoluble unity” ((1968) 19–20). This process of degradation gives rise to a style known as “grotesque realism” in which the body is deeply positive, and all that is high, immortal, or abstract, is relativized by being brought into contact with the lower bodily stratum: the world of food, sexuality, and shit (Bakhtin (1968) 19, 21). The tales of Rabelais’ giants and monks eating, defecating, and fornicating their way through early modern France, while simultaneously espousing the highest ideals of Renaissance humanism, are taken by Bakhtin to be emblematic of this style and the subversive moment of freedom that is its predicate:

There is nothing grossly cynical in Rabelais’ scatological images, nor in the other images of grotesque realism: the slinging of dung, the drenching in urine, the volley of scatological abuse hurled at the old, dying, yet generating world. All these images represent the gay funeral of this old world; they are (in the dimension of laughter) like handfuls of sod gently dropped into the open grave, like seeds sown in the earth’s bosom. (Bakhtin (1968) 176; cf. Jauss (1982) 207)

Nor was Rabelais’s work an isolated instance of this phenomenon. Bakhtin claims to trace the tradition through a wide variety of folk traditions from the Middle Ages into the early modern period (Bakhtin (1968) 12–13, 22–26, 81; (1984) 129–30). And his work, while not uncontested, has found confirmation in the research of others (Barber (1963) 22–24; Stallybrass and White (1986) 57; Jeanneret (1991) 204–5; Miller (2001)).

The relevance of this theory of “grotesque degradation” to Roman satire has been duly noted. As Emily Gowers claims:

In satire, table manners are swept aside, to expose the precarious or euphemistic aspects of civilized eating. We see the ancestors of the “grotesque bodies” – spewing, spitting, stuffing, expanding – that Mikhail Bakhtin (1968) identified as a feature of European festivals and of the literature that adopted their license. (Gowers (1993b) 30; cf. 122)

Gowers does not limit herself to formal verse satire but also draws special attention to the aptness of Bakhtin’s discussion of grotesque realism to the elaborate dinner party of the ex-slave Trimalchio (the so-called *Cena Trimalchionis*) that looms large in extant fragments of Petronius’ *Satyricon* (Gowers (1993b) 30). McGlathery, in turn, has drawn similar parallels analyzing the novel’s Widow of Ephesus tale (1998). This posited connection between the grotesque in Roman satire and the later carnival tradition has in turn been strengthened by the argument, made by Bakhtin and others, that carnival license itself can be traced through the folk tradition to the practices of the Roman Saturnalia and its literary instantiations (Bakhtin (1968) 6–8, 26–27; Barber (1963) 3–4, 7, 16, 26–27; Jeanneret (1991) 205). As H.A. Mason wrote, five years before Bakhtin was discovered by the English-speaking world and in the same year Barber was publishing his landmark study on Shakespeare’s festive comedy:

How are we to account for the Roman’s apparent relish of the abominable? In this perplexity we may as well turn to the explanation given by Martial himself, that the indulgence claimed for his topic was that licensed by the Saturnalia:

uersus hos tamen esse tu memento
Saturnalicos, Apollinaris:
mores non habet hic meos libellus (11.15.11–13)

Nonetheless, remember that these verses of mine are for the Saturnalia, Apollinaris: this book does not have my character. (Mason (1963) 97–98; all translations are my own)

There does, then, seem to be a consensus that Bakhtin’s work plays a pioneering role in defining the nature of grotesque degradation and that the literary progenitors of this style can be found in the images that abound in Roman satire. At the same time, it is widely conceded that there is at least a cognate relation between the carnival traditions found in medieval and early modern Europe and those of the Saturnalia, and that the license of the Saturnalia was cited in Rome as authorizing precisely this kind of potentially subversive overturning of authority (cf. Nippel’s discussion of the carnival tradition and ancient popular justice, (1995) 39–46).

All the same, these concessions do not in themselves argue for the complete assimilation of Roman imperial satire either to Bakhtin’s carnival or to the

Saturnalia, whether literally or as a metaphor for the momentary suspension of constraint and the assumption of freedom. Thus, while Gowers makes a powerful statement of the importance of Roman satire to the carnivalesque tradition, she ultimately rejects the Bakhtinian view of the grotesque as entirely too “rosy.” The festival model underestimates the sadistic element in Roman satire, its class prejudices, and its potentially violent, even oppressive nature (Gowers (1993b) 31; cf. Richlin (1983) 70–72; and Žižek quoted at Hanlon (2001) 17).

Nonetheless, what is often missed in these discussions, and what I have argued at some length in the past (Miller (1998)), is that Bakhtin makes a strict distinction between carnival and satire. Indeed, while they often share similar imagery and both involve degradation and the grotesque, the ways carnival and satire use grotesque realism are, from a Bakhtinian perspective, fundamentally opposed (Bakhtin (1986) 135). As Gardiner notes ((1992) 47):

For Bakhtin . . . the tendency towards extreme exaggeration in the grotesque is not simply a satirical device, which would fail to explain the ambivalence and unexpected richness and complexity of such images and their connection to seemingly disparate events and phenomena.

Grotesque degradation in carnival leads to a form of decrowning in which the “gay relativity” of the body and its fertility are celebrated and opposed to all narrow forms of authority, dogma (Bakhtin (1968) 10–11), and attempts to “absolutize a given condition of existence or social order” (Bakhtin (1984) 160). Carnival as such is opposed to satire, in so far as the latter functions as a “purely negative exposé of a moral or socio-political sort” (Bakhtin (1984) 126; cf. Barber (1963) 8). Grotesque imagery in Juvenal and Persius, in fact, is sterile and sadistic rather than fecund and celebratory. When Persius has poets sexually penetrate their audience with effeminate drivel (1.15–25) or Alcibiades depilate his anus (4.33–41), and when Juvenal has the empress Messalina traipsing off to the brothel (6.120–32) and Naevolus sodomizing his master’s undigested dinner (9.43–46), the result is not a celebration of the body, but abjection and disgust (Larmour (2007) 175–77; cf. Keane (2002a) 14–15; Plaza (2006) 48).

In sum, then, Bakhtin has been central to the modern study of satire, largely owing to his focus on the imagery of the grotesque. His understanding of the grotesque is generally associated with and derived from his study of carnival, which is linked both by him and by other scholars with the Roman Saturnalia. Yet the use of grotesque imagery in Roman satire seems to follow less the model of the carnivalesque than, unsurprisingly, what Bakhtin qualifies as the satiric. In my next section, I shall examine what we know about the Saturnalia and how it is portrayed in the satiric and invective literature of the period, with a special focus on Horace’s Saturnalian Satires, 2.3 and 2.7, Petronius’ *Cena Trimalchionis*, and Seneca’s *Apocolocyntosis*.

14.2 Saturnalia

sunt chartae mihi quas Catonis uxor
 et quas horribiles legant Sabinae:
 hic totus uolo rideat libellus
 et sit nequior omnibus libellis.
 qui uino madeat nec erubescat
 pingui sordidus esse Cosmiano,
 ludat cum pueris, amet puellas,
 nec per circuitus loquatur illam,
 ex qua nascimur, omnium parentem,
 quam sanctus Numa mentulam uocabat.
 uersus hos tamen esse tu memento
 Saturnalicios, Apollinaris:
 mores non habet hic meos libellus.

(Martial 11.15)

These are the sheets the wife of Cato and the shaggy Sabine women should read: I want this whole book to be full of laughter and naughtier than all other books: a book that drips with wine and does not blush to be blotted with sleek Cosmian perfume while it plays with boys, loves girls, and does not name with euphemisms what holy Numa called his prick, the parent of all, from whom we are born. Nonetheless, remember that these verses of mine are for the Saturnalia, Apollinaris: this book does not have my character.

In this epigram from Martial, two specifications are made. First, the poet's free and even libertine speech is a feature of the Saturnalia. Second, this speech, like the Saturnalia, exists within a defined space. It is not normal speech. It is not the speech of Martial. It does not reflect his character as a fixed index of identity. It is festive speech that, if it were to become normative, would then threaten the integrity of both his person and his role within the state as metonymically represented by Cato, Numa, and the Sabine women (Barton (1993) 147; cf. Edwards (1993) 194–95; Gruen (1995) 405). In making this second specification, whereby he separates himself from his festive speech, Martial also makes a clear allusion to one of the most obscene poems in the Catullan corpus, a piece of remarkable invective:

pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo,
 Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi,
 qui me ex uersiculis meis putastis,
 quod sunt molliculi, parum pudicum.
 nam castum esse decet pium poetam
 ipsum, uersiculos nihil necesse est.

(16.1–6)

I'll fuck you in the face and ram it up your ass, faggot Furius and anal Aurelius, you who think that I lack modesty because my little verses are soft. For it is fitting that the pious poet himself be chaste, but his little verses need not.

Martial's allusion to Catullus, who elsewhere speaks of Saturnalian jokes and engages in raillery in its name (poem 14), makes clear the relation not only between the Saturnalia and the grotesque, but also between these two phenomena and invective (Barton (1993) 148–49). The poetry of insult, and the freedom of speech (*libertas*) it implies, were indissolubly related in the Roman mind to the freedoms granted by the holiday of Saturn's momentary return (Freudenburg (2001) 114; cf. Miller (2005) 7–14). Likewise, invective itself and the grotesque were two recognized attributes of satire from Lucilius to Persius and Juvenal (Persius 1.114–15; Juvenal 1.154, 165–67; Horace *Sat.* 1.10.1–4, 2.1.67–68; cf. Goldberg (2005) 158–59; Muecke (2005) 44–46; Keane (2006) 4, 45–50). Satire's self-image is as a violent and abusive genre. It might come closer to or fall further away from this idea: but the satirist was a scourge and *libertas* was his weapon (Barton (1993) 164). The Saturnalia as such was his time to shine, but also marked the boundaries within which the satirist's license could be exercised. If those boundaries were not respected, then the very delineation between the poet and his verses, which both Martial and Catullus are keen to make in their most obscene work, falls away, and the boundary between self and other, between a socially recognized subject position and its opposite, ceases to be operational. Saturnalia without limits leads only to dissolution, and hence death, not renewal. Yet strictly bounded social spaces in which movement and change are impossible are equally deadly. The role of the Saturnalia in the social structure is precisely as a space in which otherness is envisioned but does not lead to the destruction of the same. Satire within this paradigm can be the corrosive force that makes change possible or the equally violent pruning hook by which excess is chopped away (Barton (1993) 123–25, 134–37, 156).

This complex and problematic understanding of the Saturnalia as a bounded moment of carnivalesque freedom, and its relation to the satirist and the satiric can be seen in Horace's *Satires* 2.3 and 2.7. At the beginning of 2.3, Horace is assailed by Damasippus, a bankrupt art dealer turned street-corner Stoic (Villeneuve (1951) 121), who assumes the role of the satirist lampooning vice in relation to the satirist proper. The inversion of roles, in which the satirist is satirized, is typical of Saturnalian license and a recognizable strategy of containment. The satiric voice does not become conflated with the author's. The challenge to the stability of our identities is bounded by the space of the holiday itself, which the satirist tries to flee.

The poem begins abruptly with Damasippus assailing the poet who has left the city during the holiday for the quiet of his Sabine farm in order to get some

work done. Horace, however, we are told, has written nothing worthy of our attention and has grown lazy with excess sleep and drink during his stay (*Sat.* 2.3.4–8). The occasion of this encounter poses certain problems, and one of the questions that has never been satisfactorily answered is what is Damasippus doing “here” in the first place? Has he followed Horace out of town? Or does he reside at the Sabine farm? Precious little has been written on the subject, but the commentators generally say things like “Damasippus is visiting Horace” or “Damasippus drops in on Horace” (Morris (1939) *ad loc.*; Villeneuve (1951) 121; Rudd (1966) 173), none of which makes much sense. Why would Horace invite a bankrupt businessman turned Stoic preacher to spend the holiday with him? Or why, if he were truly broke, would Damasippus just happen to be hanging around near the Sabine farm? There is, however, a far simpler answer. Damasippus in his bankruptcy has become a client or bondsman to Horace, or at least we are to imagine him as such (cf. the description of Horace as Maecenas’ client at 2.7.29–37). And like the slave Davus in 2.7, Satire 2.3’s companion piece (Hooley (2007b) 81), Damasippus avails himself, as a member of the household, of the holiday license to abuse his betters (Fitzgerald (2000) 20). The Saturnalian reference is thus integral to the structure of the poem and accounts for its close relationship with 2.7.

There are, then, a series of clearly defined inversions of norms that take shape here: the satirist who flees the Saturnalia is satirized; the drunkard poet is sober (*sobrius*); the art dealer turned bankrupt becomes a voice of moral authority. The irony that it is Horace himself who brings all this to our attention is, of course, part of the joke and the ultimate inversion (the satirist satirizing himself being satirized) that frames the whole. We are in a world in which the normal hierarchies of the simple satiric diatribe are turned on their head (Freudenburg (2001) 112–14; Hooley (2007b) 79–80). It is a carnivalesque world of gay relativity, if not precisely a grotesque one.

It is no surprise, then, that this entire interchange takes place during the Saturnalia. It is also no surprise that even though the satirist is satirized and the social superior degraded by his subordinate, nonetheless, the hierarchical world beyond the bounds of holiday liberty is re-established by the poem’s end. After Horace has listened to Damasippus recount a diatribe by the aptly named – though apparently real – Stoic, Stertinius (“Snorer”), on the theme that “all men are mad, save the sage,” the poet then asks what relevance all this has to him. Damasippus obliges by recounting a variety of Horace’s sins: he’s a social climber; he looks down on those who came from humble beginnings; and he’s a poet with a bad temper and afflicted with insatiable lust. Horace responds, *o maior tandem parcas insane, minori!* (“Please, you who are more insane spare the one who is less” 2.3.325). The poet gets the last word. He does not deny the charges and in effect confirms them (especially concerning his temper). The carnivalesque moment of dialogic

openness in which authority is questioned and ironically subverted is there. But it is also closed at the poem's end. The only man madder than the poet is his attacker: full stop.

Poem 2.7 possesses much the same structure (Morris (1939) 234–35). Horace is at leisure when he is approached by his slave Davus. The latter begins by acknowledging the power differential between them and by reminding Horace that he has been a good, if not perfect, slave. Horace, then, invites Davus to take advantage of the *libertas* granted by the Saturnalia to speak freely (2.7.4–5). The latter immediately launches into a lecture on the popular Stoic theme, “all men are slaves, save the sage” (2.7.45). The irony of the topic on a holiday in which masters and slaves become equal is not to be missed. In the world of the Stoics, every day is the Saturnalia, which in Horace's world makes them all mad.

Davus begins with a tirade against the foolish inconsistencies that plague most people's behavior. Horace loses patience and demands that he get to the point, *non dices hodie, quorsum tam putida tendant, | furcifer?* (“Will you not say sometime today where all this garbage is headed, you scoundrel?” 2.7.21–22). This interjection is a reminder of the limits of Saturnalian liberty. We may all be equal for a few days a year, but once the holiday is past, the old hierarchies are reimposed, often with physical violence. *furcifer* is not only a standard slur against slaves, it also contains a threat: the slave is one whose wrists can be lashed to a giant “fork” (*furca*), and who can be forced to carry it on his neck as a form of punishment (cf. Plaut, *Pers.* 855, *Cas.* 389; Cic. *Div.* 1.55; Liv. 2.36.1).

Davus, though, is undaunted and proceeds to offer his own version of grotesque degradation at his master's expense (2.7.41–42). Who is the bigger fool and who is more worthy of the degradation of the cross (*cruce dignius*), Davus who lusts for a tart or Horace who lusts for another man's wife?

acris ubi me
natura intendit, sub clara nuda lucerna
quaecumque excepit turgentis uerbera caudae,
clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciua supinum,
dimittit neque famosum neque sollicitum ne
ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem.
(2.7.47–52)

When sharp nature pricks me, naked under a bright lamp she receives whatever lashing comes from my swollen cock, or lustily she has ridden the supine stallion shaking her cheeks, and she does not send me away with a bad reputation nor fearing that a richer or better looking man might come in the same spot.

In this passage, we clearly see both grotesque degradation and the momentary suspension of social hierarchies before the equality of the body. The license cited by Martial and the sexual invective of Catullus come together in a passage that claims the full measure of Saturnalian *libertas*. But as in 2.3, it is a *libertas* circumscribed by the limits of the holiday. There may have been equality in the time of Saturn, but in today's Iron Age, the master still holds power.

Davus finishes his tirade with a sharp attack on Horace's personal shortcomings. The poet responds with humorous but clear threats of violence, *ocius hinc te | ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino* ("If you don't get out of here quickly, you'll be the ninth field hand on the Sabine farm" 2.7.117–18). The threats of violence and of banishment as a field slave were standard comic fare, but they also clearly establish the limits to Saturnalian freedom. If *libertas* becomes *licentia*, the slave will pay tomorrow for today's transgressions (Barton (1993) 147), a fact that Horace, given his own ambiguous social status, knew only too well (cf. *Satires* 1.6).

Yet if *libertas* becomes *licentia* and there is no tomorrow, then there is no return to the normal, no unimpeachable position from which regulative identities and normative statuses can be re-established. "In this universe, celebration becomes a torment, a party one cannot leave" (Barton (1993) 153; but see also Braund (2004a)). This is also the universe of the *Satyrical's Cena Trimalchionis*. Consider the opening of the *Cena*. Trimalchio dressed in a red shirt and slippers is playing ball surrounded by eunuchs and "toy boys" (*pueri delicati*) with their long hair. In the middle of the game, he urinates into a chamber pot held by a eunuch and after washing his hands dries them on a boy's hair.

We are here in a universe of absolute power that can only be reaffirmed through its display and the degradation of others. It is certainly grotesque, yet it is not a subversion but rather an imitation of the imperial universe (Veyne (2001) 53–54). Nonetheless, it is a problematic imitation, in fact a parody: a world turned upside down. Trimalchio is a freedman who had risen to prominence based on his sexual submission to others as well as sheer luck. He had become one of the wealthiest men in the empire. He represents at once the inversion of traditional social hierarchies, and yet their reaffirmation. He does not contest the ruling ideology but seeks to mimic it (Veyne (2001) 44).

What is the point of view, then, from which we are to read the *Cena Trimalchionis*? Is this a satire of the *nouveaux riches*, written from the perspective of a self-confident traditional aristocracy? Is it a questioning of the legitimacy of the new order, the reigns of Claudius and Nero and the rise of freedmen in the imperial seats of power? If Trimalchio does not aim to subvert the existing relations of power but rather to mimic them, how are those relations themselves not also part of this satirical portrait? Does not the new order ape the old, and how are we ultimately to tell the difference between the imitator and the imitated? Who, then, is the actual butt of this joke, the

upstart imitators or the blowhards they strive to be like? Lastly, where does the representation of power stop and its reality begin, or is that even a meaningful distinction in such a world? In the land of carnival without end, we are the parts we play. The king of fools is still the king.

Another example from the *Cena* will help clarify our argument. When the diners are about to enter the *triclinium* (dining room), they come upon a slave who has been stripped for beating because he has failed to guard in the bath the clothes of his servile superior, the *dispensator*. The lesser slave beseeches the would-be diners, who intervene, and the *dispensator* disdainfully relents:

obligati tam grandi beneficio cum intrassemus triclinium occurrit nobis ille idem seruus, pro quo rogaueramus, et stupentibus spississima basia impexit gratias agens humanitati nostrae. “ad summam, statim scietis” ait “cui dederitis beneficium. uinum dominicum ministratoris gratia est.”(31)

Indebted to such grand generosity, when we had entered the dining room that same slave on whose behalf we had intervened ran up and covered us, dumb-struck, with a superabundance of kisses, thanking us for our kindness. “In short,” he says, “you will know immediately to whom you have been generous. The master’s wine is the waiter’s thanks.”

Now the key question for us is: from what perspective are these words written? Is it really “grand generosity” when one slave yields to pleas not to have another beaten? Or is it parody? But what exactly then is being parodied and by whom? From the point of view of the *dispensator*, emulating the condescension of his social superiors by relenting in the beating of his fellow slave was in fact a *grande beneficium*. But, from the point of view of the aristocratic elite it mimics, was this “lordly concession” (Walsh (1997) 23) in fact lordly or is the humor to be found precisely in the degraded status of the person who pretends to make the claim? And are not the “aristocrats” being imitated, in fact, themselves a mere parody of an aristocratic ideal, a carnivalized representation of the Roman elite in the person of Trimalchio (Courtney (2001) 82–83)? But where is the normative position from which these representations of power can be judged? Who is not always caught up in the play of performance and appearance in the text? When does this Saturnalia end? Or does not Trimalchio’s pissing in a golden chamber pot while playing the lord and wiping his hands on the hair of the boys, who are representations of his own former status as a young slave, produce a kind of hall of mirrors, a play of reflection and inversion in which there is no outside? Like the *trompe l’oeil* cuisine that characterizes the banquet as a whole, power is always shown to be the effect of appearance, one that is degraded and carnivalized by the insistence on grotesque food and sexuality, but one which also has no other reality than that appearance. This is a world without an outside, and therefore without

limits. As the freedman Ganymede says later in the dinner, “For the jaws of the great, it’s always Saturnalia” (44).

It is this same image of a world upside down, without limits, in which the great and powerful celebrate a continuous holiday at the expense of others that is central to the Stoic Seneca’s *Apocolocyntosis*. Claudius, the emperor who was a slave to his wives and freedmen, is the carnivalesque *Saturnalicus princeps* (8.2). As the deformed emperor who was submissive to those whom he should have commanded and who executed those whom he should have loved (10), Claudius in Seneca’s Menippean satire is banished from heaven as one who has inverted all normative hierarchies. He is a grotesque figure whose possible “apotheosis” is signaled by his soiling himself at the moment of death (5). He, like the central figure of carnival, is the *rex stultorum* (“king of fools”), but unlike his Lenten confrère, he is also *rex ipse* (“the king himself”).

When the principle of absolute hierarchy becomes the engine of subversion, what results is not increase, not the liberation of repressed energies, but terror: Stalin as the ultimate party animal (Barton (1993) 57, 152; Morson and Emerson (1990) 445–49; cf. Bataille (1957) 75). There remains, however, one ray of genuine carnival hope in this perverse little work: when Claudius descends to Hades, a respected juriconsult rises from the dead to exclaim, *dicebam uobis: non semper Saturnalia erunt* (“I told you: it wouldn’t always be Saturnalia” 12). There is indeed a limit. By the same token, at the piece’s beginning, we are told Nero will arise from the ashes of the old regime and a utopia will be installed (4). Maybe, just maybe, there can be a Saturnalia from Saturnalia (Barton (1993) 162–64). Seneca, however, had not yet read Petronius, let alone Persius.

14.3 Persius

nam Romae quis non – a, si fas dicere – sed fas
 tum cum ad canitiem et nostrum istud uiuere triste
 aspexi ac nucibus facimus quaecumque relictis,
 cum sapimus patruos. tunc tunc ignoscite (nolo,
 quid faciam?) sed sum petulanti splene – cachinno.
 (1.9–12)

For who at Rome does not – ah, if it’s right to say it – but it’s right now that I have seen that we live with white hair and that this life of ours is harsh, and whatever we do now with our childish nuts now left behind, since we have the odor of austere uncles. Then, then, forgive me (I don’t want to, but what can I do?) I have a bad-tempered spleen – I crack up.

In Persius, the great satirist of the Neronian period, there is, of course, no lack of grotesque imagery. In the first Satire alone, we have loins penetrated by verse (20–21), wild fig trees bursting from ruptured livers (25), effeminate poets lisping rancid verse in hyacinth gowns (32–33), warm sow udders served to bribe the clients of aspiring poetasters (53), six-foot bellies (57), and poetry that swims in a bubble of spit (104–5). I have discussed much of this in other contexts (Miller (1998), (2005), (2010)). The Neronian world depicted here, like that in Petronius, is not the nascent world of carnival regeneration, as recounted by Rabelais in the birth of Gargantua and the Abbey of Thélème (Bakhtin (1968); Miller (2001)), or that signified by the May Queen or *A Midsummer's Night's Dream* (Barber (1963)). But it is precisely that of a Saturnalia without end, Seneca's nightmare.

In the passage quoted at the beginning of this section, we start with a famously interrupted question, which is only completed at line 121, *auriculas asini quis non habet* ("who does not have ass's ears?"). The question alludes to the story of Midas being given ass's ears after judging Apollo's music inferior to Pan's (Ovid *Met.* 11.172–93). Since ancient times, as the *Vita Persii* (*Life of Persius*) attests, this question has been read as alluding to Nero or, at least, to a generalized corruption of taste and morality under his reign, to the *rex stultorum* as *rex ipse* [king himself] (Malamud (1996) 61). The initial posing of this question, however, is interrupted by the posing of another question: is it right to ask the first question? But how can it not be, the poet replies, when I look at our serious white hair, our harsh and bracing form of life, and when we have the wisdom of the proverbial moral enforcer of Roman life, the paternal uncle? We are indeed the serious heirs of a serious tradition capable of posing the question of who at Rome is able to judge properly poetry and the moral lessons it inculcates or fails to.

Of course, the irony is precisely that everything in the satire leads to the opposite conclusion. If our hair is white, it is not a sign of wisdom but of premature senescence brought on by decadence. We live harshly (*triste*) only in the sense that our life is hard on us and causes suffering (Gildersleeve (1875) *ad loc.*; Lee and Barr (1987) *ad loc.*). We may have left behind the childish playthings of the past, the nuts that were our toys but which were also the signs of immature pederastic attachment (Catullus 61.132–33; Jahn (1893) *ad loc.*; Kissel (1990) *ad loc.*), yet what have we become? We are wise in the manner of paternal uncles. More literally, we smell or taste of paternal uncles. We give off that odor. If we remain especially literal, and Persius always is very aware of the literal, this passage could read as follows. "It is right (*fas*) for me to pose the question [of who does not have ass's ears] because I have seen our grey hair, our harsh (degrading?) lifestyle, and what we have done since we left aside our nuts, the pederastic attachments of the sexually immature. And now we taste [but who's tasting us?] like uncles." The imagery may not be as over the top as

some in Persius, but it is definitely grotesque, intermingling the gustatory, the sexual, the moral, and the aesthetic in an ironic and relativizing mass (Morford (1984) 36). The end result, however, is not our emergence from the crucible of carnival renewal as sexually mature, joyously productive citizens celebrating fertility and plenty, but as ridiculous perverts in a world turned permanently upside down. The satirist's spleen, the seat of laughter (Pliny *HN* 11.205; Kissel (1990) *ad loc.*), erupts in "ill temper" and "wantonness" (*petulans*). He cackles (*cachinno*) in our face.

Satire 1 thus begins and ends with this one suspended question. It frames the poem: Who does not have ass's ears? Who escapes the moral and ethical depravity of the grotesque body without limits, of images of maturity (*canities*) and moral rectitude (*patruus*) having become the signs of our decadence and perversion? The final image from the passage quoted concerning the aggressive spleen that crosses the bounds of the body to assault the other with malicious laughter is the corollary of the bestial ear incapable of aesthetic and moral judgment. This is a body that is neither sealed nor whole. Boundaries are crossed, transgression is the rule, but these transgressions do not lead to festive renewal.

In *Satire* 3, it is the feast itself that has become the sign of death. In an example designed to illustrate the need to turn to philosophy, the poet tells the story of a sick man. He goes to his doctor and is ordered to rest, which he duly does and starts to feel better. He then takes a fancy to having some wine, a meal, and a bath. On the way, a friend interrupts and says the invalid looks pale as a ghost. The latter responds that his friend should mind his own business. The ensuing meal leads not to festive renewal, but to grotesque death:

turgidus hic epulis atque albo uentre lauatur,
guttare sulphureas lente exhalante mefitas.
sed tremor inter uina subit calidumque trientem
excutit e manibus, dentes crepuere relecti,
uncta cadunt laxis tunc pulmentaria labris.

(3.98–102)

Swollen with feasting and with a pale belly, he takes his bath, with his gullet slowly exhaling sulfurous fumes. But between cups, a tremor comes upon him and knocks away the warmed wine from his hands, the bared teeth chatter, and oily hors d'oeuvres fall from his slack lips.

The excess of the feast combines with the pale distended belly of the sick man to give the image of decay. The end comes suddenly and changes the laughing face into the grimace of the paroxysm. The grotesque image of vomited food on lips loose with death offers not the promise of redemption found in the day

of the dead or the traditional celebration of All Hallows Eve (followed by the triumph of the saints), but decay: the body as meat, food as waste.

In *Satire* 5, the image of bodily decay, and the consequent need to turn to philosophy is the corollary of a life given over to the pleasure of the lower stratum, a life lived in a filthy fog of the senses. People's passions may vary, but their end is the same:

mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus;
 uelle suum cuique est nec uoto uiuitur uno.
 mercibus hic Italis mutat sub sole recenti
 rugosum piper et pallentis grana cumini,
 hic satur inriguo mauult turgescere somno,
 hic campo indulget, hunc alea decoquit, ille
 in uenerem putris; sed cum lapidosa cheragra
 frerit articulos ueteris ramalia fagi,
 tunc crassos transisse dies lucemque palustrem
 et sibi iam seri uitam ingemuere relictam.

(5.52–61)

There are a thousand types of person and variegated practices of life. To each there is his own desire, and life is not lived by a single wish. This one trades red pepper and the seed of pale cumin for Italian goods; this one prefers to swell up with well-watered sleep; this one is addicted to exercise; dice finish off this man; that man decays in sexual indulgence. But when stony gout has broken their fingers, the twigs of an old beech, then too late they bemoan that blindly their days have gone by and the boggy light and the life left behind.

Life has a thousand appearances. The party is bright and multicolored. But it always ends the same way. Our luxury goods, our drunken slumber, our sport, gambling, and sexual escapades end in decay, disability, regret, and death. The grotesque in Persius is not a source of a carnivalesque renewal, but an index of the unreliability of our coarse material world and of the consequent need for philosophy. We may be animated by a different thousand passions, but our suffering is one.

In both *Satires* 3 and 5, the antidote to this world of Saturnalia without end is philosophy, and the product of philosophy is that most satirical of virtues, *libertas*. But this is not the republican *libertas* of Lucilius or even that of Horace (5.73). It is not civic freedom nor the freedom to do as one pleases (5.75–85). It is rather the freedom to make precise distinctions, to separate the self from its internal other – greed, desire, the lust for the very materiality that constitutes carnival excess – the freedom to become human by expelling the inhuman from within (5.100–115) and to constitute a self separate from the Thyestean feast of perverse self-consumption alluded to at the poem's beginning (5.5–9). By the time we reach Juvenal, it is the freedom to see what can be said of the dead,

to create a self whose very assertiveness does not exist apart from its own self-cancellation (cf. Relihan (1989) 147–48; Braund (2004b) 426–27).

14.4 Juvenal

In Juvenal, the temporal development of degradation followed by rebirth and renewal that carnival necessarily implies is fundamentally impossible. The construction of Juvenalian satire all but precludes narrative development (Miller (2001)). Each vignette is a static unity. The grotesque image figures as a moment of invective acid, of humiliation and degradation, but not as prelude to rebirth. The world of Juvenal is an unchanging image of perversity (Anderson (1957) 89, (1960) 257–60). Thus, in *Satire* 1, the grotesque figures not as Martial's Saturnalian invocation of Numa's prick from which we all spring, not as the tonic of sexual sophistication required by Cato's wife and the shaggy Sabine women. It is not the image of a carnivalesque expansion of our human possibilities but of a narrowing of that sphere to the vulgarly material. Social and monetary advancement is measured from sexual performance. Numa's staff of life has become the rule by which our favor is calculated. Indeed, it truly is difficult not to write satire:

cum te summoecant qui testamenta merentur
noctibus, in caelum quos euehit optima summi
nunc uia processus, uetulae uesica beatae?
unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem,
partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.
accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis et sic
palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem
aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

(1.37–44)

When they edge you out, who earned their place in the will by their nightly labors, those whom the best way of highest advancement, a wealthy widow's snatch, now lifts on high? Proculeius has one twelfth, but Gillo eleven: each has a share in accord with the length of his organ. Fine, let each receive the wage of his vital fluids and turn pale like someone who stepped on a snake barefoot or like an orator about to speak before the altar in Lyon.

In the upside-down world of Juvenal's satire, even legacy hunting has become debased. One claws one's way to the top not through a life of devotion or through one's respectable family connections but through servicing widows. Heirs are produced, but not offspring. Sexuality is reduced to the lowest common denominator, inches per organ, and rewarded accordingly.

Fine, let each receive his reward. There is a telling but barely concealed pun in *sane*: a common adverbial interjection meaning “well enough, truly, etc.” But *sane* also has a literal meaning, “in a healthy fashion.” This would be the robust sexuality of the carnivalized lower bodily stratum. Yet the work here is anything but healthful. The gigolo literally earns the wage of his blood (*sanguis*). Blood here actually means “semen,” which according to Aristotelian medical theory was refined from blood. Therefore each ejaculation was a loss of vital bodily fluid that could endanger one’s health, causing the emitter to turn pale (Jahn (1893) *ad loc.*; Ferguson (1979) *ad loc.*; Courtney (1980) *ad loc.*; Foucault (1985) 130–33). Sexuality so conceived not only does not produce offspring, it engenders death. The act is reduced to a monetarized transaction measured in dollars and inches. The service provider’s phallus is next metamorphosed into the deadly snake he steps upon and is then figuratively transformed into the tongue of the orator about to speak in the contests staged by Caligula in Lyon, in which the losers were flogged and ducked in the river (Suet. *Calig.* 20). For the jaws of the great, it is indeed Saturnalia all year round.

The theme of the perverted feast, which we have already seen in Persius, is found in Juvenal as well. There is, of course, the story of the grotesquely large fish served to Domitian in *Satire* 4 (on which see in this volume van den Berg, Chapter 12) and the death of the rich man in 1.142–46, but the closest parallel to the passage in Persius 3 is one from *Satire* 6, Juvenal’s invective on women. Here we encounter the story of a certain butch femme who has her neighbors beaten, then goes to the baths where she lifts weights, sweats, and has an erotic rub down, and all the while her dinner guests wait at home, famished. After her exertions, she arrives home with a powerful thirst:

tandem illa uenit rubicundula, totum
oenophorum sitiens, plena quod tenditur urna
admotum pedibus, de quo sextarius alter
ducitur ante cibum rabidam facturus orexim,
dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino.
marmoribus riui properant, aurata Falernum
peluis olet; nam sic, tamquam alta in dolia longus
decideret serpens, bibit et uomit.

(6.425–32)

Finally, she comes home all flushed. Thirsting for wine by the barrel, a full three gallons is placed at her feet, from which another pint is drawn before dinner to make a rabid hunger. It comes right back up and hits the ground, once her gut has been well washed. Rivers rush across the marble floors, and the gilded basin reeks. For just like the long snake that fell in a deep vat, she drinks and vomits.

While the obvious sexual vigor of the passage's prelude holds the promise of renewal, the sweating, shrieking (*exclamare* 6.423; Braund (2004b) *ad loc.*), and red-faced return are not the prelude to fertility, feasting, and celebration, but to the hunger and humiliation of the dinner guests. Wine leads not to carnival abandon but to rivers of vomit. The husband, far from being titillated, must close his eyes if he is not to vomit as well (*maritus | nauseat atque oculis bilem substringit opertis*, 6.432–33).

Even so, the classic image of the perverted feast leading to a sexuality of disgust is found in Juvenal *Satire* 9. Here the bisexual gigolo Naevolus complains of ill treatment at the hands of his patron, Virro, whom he not only services but has provided with children. Still, he is not properly remunerated for his labor. He addresses Virro:

an facile et pronum est agere intra uiscera penem
legitimum atque illic hesternae occurrere cenae?
seruus erit minus ille miser qui foderit agrum
quam dominum. sed tu sane tenerum et puerum te
et pulchrum et dignum cyatho caeloque putabas.
uos humili adseculae, uos indulgebitis umquam
cultori, iam nec morbo donare parati?

(9.43–49)

Is it easy and straightforward to drive a proper sized penis into your guts and there run into yesterday's dinner? The slave who ploughs the field will be less wretched than the one who ploughs his master. But you thought you were a tender little pretty boy, a regular Ganymede worthy of the heavenly cup. But will you and your kind ever show kindness to your humble follower, your supporter? Are you now not even prepared to pay for your disease?

Sexuality here meets dinner with a vengeance and each has become excremental. The comparison is made all the more directly, when we are told the field slave – the very fate with which Davus in Horace 2.7 is threatened if he goes too far in exercising his Saturnalian freedom – is less miserable than the dependent who ploughs his master.

The image of ploughing is, of course, a common sexual metaphor, often used in a marital context in which the issue of fertility is directly engaged (Adams (1982) 24, 154). The bride is the field in which the seed is sewn, and children are the fruit. Hence in Catullus' second epithalamium, poem 62, the maidens compare the unwed girl to a flower untouched by the plough (62.39–42). The youths then respond:

ut uidua in nudo uitis quae nascitur aruo,
numquam se extollit, numquam mitem educat uuam,

sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus
 iam iam contingit summum radice flagellum;
 hanc nulli agricolae, nulli coluere iuenci:
 at si forte eadem ulmo coniuncta marito,
 multi illam agricolae, multi coluere iuenci.

(62.49–55)

As the unwed vine, which is born in the bare field never lifts itself up, never brings forth ripe fruit, but bending over its tender body with its weight so inclined, then, then, it touches its highest vine shoot to its root; this one no farmers, no bullocks have cultivated: but if perhaps the same vine is wed to a husband elm, many farmers and many bullocks have then cultivated it.

The imagery here, which Catullus makes quite explicit for us, is deeply traditional and can be traced to Sappho (LP 105c) and Sophocles (*Antigone* 569) (Quinn (1973) *ad loc.*). The vine in the field untouched by the plough will bear no fruit until it is married to the strong staff of the elm. It is not cultivated (*coluere*); it is not sown with seed. By the same token, Naevolus' ploughing of his patron is not only literally fruitless, in terms of either crops or offspring (though he does produce spurious heirs on Virro's wife at the latter's request, 9.79–83), but the cultivator of his master's erotic field (*cultori*) does not receive even the least kindness. The seed he sows does not lead to increase but rather is a sign of disease (*morbo*) and implicitly death. This plough does not yield a feast but rather *must* yield to the previous evening's banquet (*cenae*).

The opposite of the perverted feast as featured in *Satires* 6 and 9 is the feast of restraint. This is found in the relatively humble fare offered by Juvenal to his prospective guest Persicus at the start of the Megalesian games in *Satire* 11. Rather than excess leading to the overturning of oppressive hierarchies, we have restraint that leads to the conservation of one's resources and position in society (11.35–41). Rather than a feast of the body in its openness to time and the prospect of a utopian future, we have the return to the simple virtues of the past (11.77–81). Rather than the promiscuity of the carnivalesque crowd in the public square, we have the retreat to a private sanctum in which personal virtue can be cultivated (11.179–204). Although *totam hodie Romam Circus capit* ("the Circus captures all of Rome today"), Juvenal and his friend will sunbathe away from the crowd and the cares of the toga, enjoying a momentary repose (11.197 and 203–4). Juvenal's *Satires*, it seems, know only two kinds of feast: the perversion of excess and its refusal.

My last example comes closest to the Bakhtinian model. It is drawn from *Satire* 10, known after Samuel Johnson's great imitation as "The Vanity of Human Wishes." It is perhaps no coincidence that this is one of the more philosophical of the satires and that it comes in the fourth book, well removed from the most caustic satires of *indignatio* which characterized Books 1 and 2

(Braund (1988)). The famous passage on the downfall of Sejanus not only features grotesque degradation, but also, in its tale of the fall of the mighty and of the return to the mundane of that which pretends to eternity, it has a definite carnivalesque coloring. Nonetheless, the emphasis is squarely on death rather than renewal, and the vignette offers “more than enough material to feed the sadistic pleasure associated with satire’s lacerating attacks” (Miller (2005) 306):

descendunt statuæ restemque secuntur,
 ipsas deinde rotas bigarum inpacta securis
 caedit et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis.
 iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
 ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
 Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
 fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, matellae.
 pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
 cretatumque bouem: Seianus ducitur unco
 spectandus, gaudent omnes.

(10.58–67)

The statues come down and follow the rope. The axe strikes and cuts down the very wheels of the two-horse chariot and the shins of the innocent nags are broken. Now fires hiss, now the head once prayed to by the people glows red in forges with bellows, and great Sejanus squeals. Then, from the second most powerful face in all the world are made pitchers, basins, a frying pan, chamber pots. Deck the hall with boughs of laurel! Lead the great bull whitened with chalk to Jupiter’s temple on the Capitoline! Sejanus is displayed and dragged on a hook. All rejoice.

We begin with the taking down of the urban prefect’s equestrian statue, itself a bid for immortality that equates him with a triumphing general, the emperor, even a god (Courtney (1980) *ad loc.*). The bronze effigy is now melted down to make a variety of mundane household goods associated generally with eating, drinking, and defecation. A general holiday is declared, a sacrifice is made, and the body of Sejanus is dragged with a hook by the executioner, to be exposed (*spectandus*), and thrown in the Tiber. The crowd cheers. In many ways, this is the perfect paradigm of carnivalesque grotesque degradation. But what precisely does the crowd rejoice in? Is this the beginning of a new dawn? A return to the Golden Age of Saturn, Easter Sunday after carnival and Lent, All Hallows after All Hallows Eve? No. The joy is purely in the death of the hated other. The crowd that rejoices does not create a new community, but rather “it follows fortune, as always, and hates the condemned” (73–74, *sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit | damnatos*). There is no moment of true redemption

here, only the eternal repetition of a sadistic compulsion. Sejanus is dead, long live his successor.

14.5 Conclusion

Carnival is, according to Bakhtin, the feast of time. It celebrates the cyclic renewal of the life of the community and the bodily pleasure and processes that accompany it. The ancient Saturnalia is one of the many ancestors of the medieval carnivalesque tradition, and it too was a feast of cyclic renewal. As such, it featured both a strong utopian element (the return to the rule of Saturn and universal equality) and a moment of degradation (the exposing of all pretense to the timeless or the eternal). These two elements together led to the promise of renewal. A fundamental part of both the Saturnalian and carnivalesque traditions is *libertas*, a freedom of speech authorized by the festive occasion, which often served as a momentary license for invective. Satire is predicated on this *libertas* and this license, as Horace *Satires* 2.3 and 2.7 make clear. Moreover, grotesque degradation plays no small part in satire's invective. Satire's connection with the Saturnalia is thus clear and acknowledged not only by Horace but, as we have seen, at least implicitly, by Petronius and Seneca as well.

But literary satire is not the Saturnalia. The satires of Persius and Juvenal are neither the traditional ribald invective of the Fescennine verses nor even the "Saturnalian" poems of Martial and Catullus. These satires may owe the genealogy of their imagery to the same sources as the folk traditions from which carnival and the Saturnalia spring, but ultimately they deploy that imagery in a very different way. For the whole point of festive renewal, of the holiday suspension of hierarchy and norms, is that the suspension is momentary. It has a limit. It is not the complete breakdown of social, sexual, and bodily integrity. That ultimately produces chaos and terror. What the satires of Persius and Juvenal offer – and what Seneca adumbrates too – is precisely the prospect of an indefinite suspension of the rules, of the *rex stultorum* ("king of fools") as *rex ipse* ("the king himself"), and of grotesque degradation leading to death without bodily renewal. This is not the feast of time but its suspension: a kind of grotesque cul de sac from which no positive exit can be envisioned (cf. Larmour (2007) 174–75, 207–21). Persius imagines philosophy as one answer and Juvenal admonishes us to pray for "a strong mind in a strong body" (*mens sana in corpore sano*, 10.356), but neither posits a robust vision of the truth, the body, or the state capable of resisting the corrosive impact of the sadistic images and desires their satires unleash. Rather, each posits a notion of winter without end, in which the resources of community, of a larger more inclusive collectivity, are either unavailable or

to be shunned (and this is exactly what Persius does in *Satire* 6, of course). What is envisioned instead is a withdrawal into the self, a cultivation of a protective interiority, what Hadot (1992) would name the “citadel of the self,” in which the irony of satire is deployed as one of our chief defenses: a way to warm ourselves in this the winter of our discontent.

FURTHER READING

For a survey of recent work on Bakhtin and antiquity, with special emphasis on Old Comedy, see Platter (2007) 1–41. For a summary of earlier work on Bakhtin and classics, see Miller and Platter (1993b), Barta *et al.* (2001), and Branham (2002). The main published work devoted to Roman satire and the carnivalesque is my 1998 article (Miller (1998)), with responses by Keane (2002a) and Plaza (2006). Behr (2009) contests my reading of Persius, focusing more on the dialogic elements in Bakhtin and Voloshinov than on the carnivalesque and grotesque degradation. In fact, the two are sometimes in tension. The allusive and citational rhetoric of Persius, as Behr argues, does lead to a more open text than does a strict focus on grotesque imagery. For an excellent overview of the tensions between *libertas* and *licentia* in satire, see Braund (2004a).

PART III

**PROSPECTIVES
THE SUCCESSORS OF
PERSIUS AND JUVENAL**

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Imperial Satire Reiterated: Late Antiquity through the Twentieth Century

Dan Hooley

Of the dozens of possible stories one could tell about the rise of Roman verse satire, some stressing its relationship to Greek comedy, to invective, to a broader satiric modality, or to Italian drama, others stressing its political involvements, complicities, and evasions, its dispositional politics (conservative or not), or its intertextuality and generic appropriations, one of the more conventional might go like this. Once upon a time, in the early part of the second century BCE, Quintus Ennius titled four books of miscellaneous poems *Saturae*. The poetry included in this book was not consistently satirical in the sense most of us think of, though some of it was. Ennius meant to suggest with this title some extension of the root sense of the adjective *satur*, full; so a full bag or plate or miscellany. We do not know whether to call this poetry proper “satire,” and so we usually default to the safer ground provided by Lucilius who in the latter half of the second century BCE wrote some thirty books of satires (though he did not call them that), most of them in the dactylic hexameters that would become canonical for the genre. Horace, who wanted to tell his own version of satire’s story, gives full credit to Lucilius as founding father. But generic fathers need displacing if things are to move along, and Horace, three-quarters of a century after Lucilius’ death, took it upon himself to resuscitate and then kill the master and his satire. Lucilian satire was too facile, too aggressive, too Greek, too yesterday, too *much*. In its stead Horace would look back to Ennius and Lucilius and draw from them elements whereby to formulate a very modern and polished, conversational genre (he, like Lucilius, called it *sermo*), set in the everyday Rome of the educated upper

classes. Stock ethical targets, the glutton, the miser, would be woven into the fabric of daily habits, encounters, and often comic scenes; where philosophy was discussed it was properly distanced or alienated so as not to take on too serious a role. Politics were treated delicately with a fair amount of enthusiasm for the principal players of the new regime. After publishing two books of these satires, the second more “dialogic” and expansive (Horace’s longest satires are here), the poet walked away from the feast of satire, sated, with the disastrous banquet described in *Sat.* 2.8, the “dinner at Nasidienus’ place.” Satire needed a purge, and the young, bookish, Stoic aristocrat Persius provided that, rendering Horace’s easy *sermo* into dense, rebarbative, wildly metaphorical verse. Persius meant his satire to be difficult, both in the reading and in the psychic processing. Persius is rough veg for the system, full of purgative imagery: clean the ears, chew down the scratchy stuff, clear out the mind. Some years after the early death of Persius (of a “stomach problem” according to the early biography), Juvenal, drawing far more from his immediate predecessor in the genre than he admits, picked up Persius’ theme of disgust and ran it up into an epic scale. Satire fattens up again, full of noise, rhetoric, offensive characters all around, bursting at the seams with everything that is “wrong” with Rome. Then, perhaps because no one could satirically out-big Juvenal, verse satire came to an end, a little anticlimactically with a half-finished poem targeting the military, written in the 130s. Finis.

The many other possible stories of satire recounted in the scholarship are far more detailed and scrupulous than this one, but they share with it the essential narrative qualities: beginning, middle, and end, the respective chapters usually corresponding to the principal remaining literary corpora, the poems of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal (Hooley (2004)). If one takes in Lucilius, whose work now exists only in extensive fragments, we have in our libraries 260 years or so of hexameter verse satire written in Latin and that is all. But the truth of these things always escapes our narratives, though the truth itself can only be another hypothetical and impossible narrative that takes into account the “everything” our possible stories necessarily occlude, erase, elide or subordinate. In this case, we know that Latin verse satire, though now lost, continued to be written and that it was imitated and otherwise processed in verse and prose for centuries after, and this latter material we do have. So there is another possible story, one that is *sine fine*; and it is truer. The book in your hands now, with *its* necessary exclusions, wants us to focus on the stories of Persius and Juvenal and, here in this chapter, on their literary afterlives from late antiquity onward to nearly the present. And while neither of the two later Roman satirists can properly be considered apart from Horace in particular, there is something to be gained in attending to the distinctive qualities of each that fit well, or ill, with posterity. (Horace and) Juvenal, as we shall see, come to play the dominant role in Roman satire’s reception history, particularly in the

Restoration and onward, while Persius, the perennial surprise, turns up, just as he would want it, persistently and naggingly.

15.1 Late Antiquity into the Seventeenth Century

The ancient biography of Persius tells us that his poetry was immediately popular upon its posthumous publication by his literary executors, Caesius Bassus and Annaeus Cornutus. That popularity was of a very select kind; Persius' dense Latin can only have appealed to the well educated, though Stoicism's broader appeal, as seen in Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* and via more popularizing authors like Epictetus (both writing in Greek), surely played a role in keeping Persius' texts in circulation on through the second and third centuries. The upsurge in Christian apologetics facilitated by the family resemblance between Stoic and early Christian ethics resulted in Persius' showing up in quotation in Lactantius and then several of the Church Fathers. Notable figures touched by Persius from the late fourth century on into the Middle Ages include Augustine, Jerome, particularly in his own satirical *Adversus Jovinianum*, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Paul the Deacon, Theodulf, Remigius, Pope Silvester, Abelard, William of Malmesbury, John of Salisbury, and the *Carmina Burana* (Morford (1984) 99–100; Hagendahl (1958); and in this volume Sogno, Chapter 16). Bischoff describes an eleventh-century partial commentary on the satires of Persius whose strange misreadings (from a classical perspective) demonstrate the degree to which Persius and Juvenal, who is treated similarly in another contemporary commentary, become naturalized in the mediaeval Christian moral and political landscape. On 1.95, *Sic "costam longo subduximus Apennino"* ("Thus 'a rib from the long Apennine we drew'"), meant to criticize contemporary versification and mannered style, the commentator proceeds thus:

In this passage Persius rebukes those who with enormous exertions begin a great undertaking from which they will derive no benefit once it is finished. It is just as if the king would command the people from Liège to help him in the war against the Saxons. Then they would all assemble and choose a peasant whom they would send to the king . . . At long last he would reach the king, but no one would pay any attention to him because he was only an ordinary person . . . this would be just as useless as when someone went to the Apennines with a great cart and many people in order to make the mountains longer by one rib etc. (Bischoff (1971) 85)

Moralizing and didactic and so probably intended for schools, the commentary, as do others on Juvenal and Horace in the period, subsumes satiric discourse to an agenda of instruction. It is for this reason that Persius was a widely read school

author, often via anthologies and florilegia (Hunt (1971) 55). As early as the Carolingian ninth century, Hieric of Auxerre was lecturing on Persius among others, and that trend continued (Bolgar (1954) 127). The eleventh-century *Ars Lectoria* of Aimeric places Persius in his highest category of worth among pagan authors, and Conrad of Hirschau lists Persius among regularly read Romans in the early twelfth century (Bolgar (1954) 423). On through the European Renaissance, Persius suffered from no lack of attention; as Morford observes, “no less than 378 editions were published in Europe before 1800” (Morford (1984) 100). Only translations, among major avenues of reception, came more slowly, with just two French and Italian printed translations before 1600, indicating in part that the more literary appreciations of Persius as satirist, in terms of style and attitude, would coincide with the rise of vernacular satire in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Juvenal’s satire, on the other hand, seems to have dropped out of circulation soon after the poet’s death (see Parker in this volume, Chapter 7). Hagendahl notes that Jerome, who quoted Persius conspicuously, quoted only one line of Juvenal, 1.15, three times (Hagendahl (1958) 284; cf. in this volume Sogno, Chapter 16). Augustine also largely avoided Juvenal, though he included one longer quotation (6.287–95) in a letter, *Epist.* 138.16 (Hagendahl (1967) 477). Juvenal was known to some extent, however, by Ausonius, Paulinus, Prudentius, Claudian, and Sidonius. In the fourth century, Ammianus (28.4.14) mentions “Juvenal,” *quidam detestantes ut uenena doctrinas, Iuuenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt* (certain people, loathing learning like poison, read with any real care only Juvenal and Marius Maximus [a third-century CE biographer in the tradition of Suetonius]). It is an odd comment to make of Juvenal unless Ammianus understood him to be read only very partially. Servius made mention of the satirist many times in his commentary on Virgil and the earliest Juvenal commentary, partially preserved in the Pithou manuscript, dates from this period (Highet (1954) 299). From the fifth century onward, with a hiatus from the later sixth through eighth centuries, Juvenal turned up with more frequency. Often paired with Persius in commentaries, editions, and collections, he was read, quoted, and taught for similar moralizing and instructive reasons: Hieric was an important pedagogical figure for Juvenal as well as Persius (Highet (1954) 194, 305). The widespread conception of “Juvenal the moralist” derives from his late antique and mediaeval reception, and it remained a commonly reiterated quality of the satirist through the eighteenth century. Bolgar notes one spicy tale dating from the tenth century (when in some Christian circles pagan authors were held in deep suspicion) in which Juvenal along with Horace and Virgil were named as the tempting demons that led a poor Ravenna student into heresy (Bolgar (1954) 191). After the twelfth century, instances of Juvenalian imitation and quotation multiplied – in Joseph of Exeter, Walter Map, Bernard Silvestris,

Boccaccio, Jean de Meun, and many others. Chaucer too had some acquaintance with Juvenal, as his clever Wife of Bath demonstrates:

Verray poverte, it syngeth proprely;
 Juvenal seith of poverte myrily:
 “The povre man, whan he goth by the weye,
 Bifore the theves he may synge and pleye.”
 (*Wife of Bath’s Tale*, 1191–94; Juv. 10.22)

Further traces of Juvenal (and Horace and Persius) can be located throughout late mediaeval European literature, usually drawn from florilegia, but, particularly in England, it is in the sixteenth century that Roman satire comes into play more centrally. It is worth dwelling for a moment on how that seems to have occurred, for the mechanics of literary reception too often slip behind the curtain of assumptions implicit in the nomenclature of classical “influence and tradition.” That is, if the directive locus of a text’s *Nachleben* is seen in the authority of the text itself, its author, and the constellation of classical achievement mustered around it, we are bound to misread the receptive process: we measure – as we have measured – later instances of reception against our proper understanding of the text’s meaning and force, noting what is missed or got “wrong” or what is “accurately” registered; and we celebrate successive renaissances and neoclassicisms while deploring later periods of classical decline. As in the case of English drama emerging from homegrown mystery plays and only later harking back to classical precedents, the long tradition of anti-ecclesiastical and “estates” satires and the “complaint” and flying modes of earlier English verse provided the basis for Tudor and Elizabethan classicizing. These English modes have nothing (strictly generically) to do with formal verse satire as practiced by the Romans, though educated poets and readers would recognize shared (modal) ground. Fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century references to the Roman satirists tended, thus, to be opportunistic or occasional rather than examples of generic modeling or imitation. Skelton’s satire on Wolsey, thus, merely points out the exemplary parallel:

I am forceably constrained
 At Juvynals request
 To wryght of this glorious gest
 Of this vaine glorious best,
 His fame to be encrest
 At every solempne feest,
Quia difficile est
Saturam non scribere.

But times *were* changing. Sebastian Brandt’s *Narrenschiff* of 1494, via Alexander Barclay’s translation, *Ship of Fools* (1509), has been said to be

the first important Juvenal-colored satire in England, and it was widely read and appreciated, influencing satiric taste for years to come. Yet perhaps more significant for our purposes was the reformulation of satiric energy into classical formal, stylistic, and conceptual rubrics by the mid-sixteenth-century group of French poets called the Pléiade under the guidance of their classical teacher Jean Daurat at the Collège de Coqueret. Pierre de Ronsard remains the most well known of the group, but Joachim Du Bellay consolidated their revolutionary views in his *Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française*, recognizing the generic distinction of Roman verse satire from other satiric modalities and advocating its imitation (Duval (2007) 81). Intellectual commerce between England and France (France usually taking the lead) throughout the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries ensured that by the 1590s English satiric energy was mapped onto Roman prototypes. Thus the early Horatianism of Thomas Wyatt was followed by the satires of Donne (c. 1593), who though he imitates Horace 1.9 in his first and fourth Satires, models his manner at least in part on Persius. Though Donne does not overtly imitate Persius, there were similarities, as Raman Selden remarks: “As satirists, they share a distaste for extravagantly expressed and unqualified idealism (Persius’ opposition to Alexandrian refinement and Silver Latin romanticism is paralleled by Donne’s rejection of Petrarchan mellifluousness), and the style of both combine colloquial plainness (Persius’ *plebeia prandia*) and philosophical or religious elevation” (Selden (1978) 59). The sharply aggressive satires of the period drew inspiration from both Persius and Juvenal, but the latter stands as the presiding genius of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century English satire. By 1599 or so, Shakespeare could have his Hamlet make a direct allusion (to Juvenal’s catalogue of the woes of old age at 10.188–288) that he would expect at least some of his audience to recognize:

- POL.: . . . What do you read, my lord?
 HAM.: Words, words, words.
 POL.: What is the matter, my lord?
 HAM.: Between who?
 POL.: I mean the matter that you read, my lord.
 HAM.: Slanders, sir: for the satirical rogue says here that old men have grey beards, that their faces are wrinkled, their eyes purging thick amber and plum-tree gum and that they have a plentiful lack of wit, together with most weak hams: all which, sir, though I most powerfully and potently believe, yet I hold it not honesty to have it thus set down, for yourself, sir, should be as old as I am, if like a crab you could go backward.
 POL. [Aside]: Though this be madness, yet there is method in it.

(*Hamlet* II.2, 193–208)

That “satirical rogue” Juvenal had by now become wedded conceptually and programmatically to the English verse satire of the late sixteenth century. Donne, John Marston, Thomas Lodge, and Joseph Hall were among the generation’s leading literary lights and most of them shared the experience of a classical education and a legal or (sometimes ultimately) a clerical career. They brought their Juvenal from their schools and universities and into the mix of traditional English moralizing satire and a strain of personal invective that was being cultivated by prose satirists like Thomas Nashe and others. All this, along with the example of the ambitious literary reinvention of the Pléiade, made not for a direct imitation of Juvenalian (and Horatian and Persianic) satire, but for an English satire fairly widely invested with classical authority. There are, to be sure, grounds for suspecting just how deeply Juvenal and the other satirists were read; many of the references that scholars of English verse and prose have been able to trace echo those gathered in moralizing florilegia, which remained popular through the sixteenth century. One sees, for instance, a preponderance of quotations from Juvenal’s tenth and fourteenth Satires, popular in florilegia; many fewer from, say, the sixth and eighth, which the genuinely learned Ben Jonson chose for imitation (Wheeler (1992) 146–47; for a more detailed treatment see in this volume Gillespie, Chapter 17).

It is clear that Jonson and university-educated poets had read Juvenal, Horace, and Persius whole, and while all play an important role in the period, Juvenal’s was pre-eminent for most Tudor and Elizabethan satirists. Selden points out that “the declamatory style of Juvenal has much greater affinities with the homiletic tone of Complaint than with the autobiographical *persona* of Horace with its self-indulgent playfulness and nuanced wit” (Selden (1978) 49). Horace’s restraint and self-reflexive irony would have to wait until the heady days of invective and verbal violence – the days of the Satyr – had passed. Juvenal’s precedent was, in fact, felt to embody the then prevailing understanding of satire’s origin in satyr plays or in the manly and nasty satyrs themselves. The notion that satyr plays were performed by satyr-masked actors and intended to reprehend vice derives from late antique misunderstandings of Greek drama but it was voiced by several sixteenth-century figures and was the dominant view for quite some time (De Smet (2001) 255–56). George Puttenham, for instance, as Alvin Kernan says, “transfers the qualities he believes to be present in the satyr plays to satiric poetry,” quoting from Puttenham’s *Arte of English Poetrie* (1589): “There was yet another kind of Poet, who intended to taxe the common abuses and vice of the people in rough and bitter speaches, and their invectives were called *Satyres*, and themselves *Satiricques*: such were Lucilius, Iuvenall, and Persius among the Latines, & with us he that wrote the booke called Piers plowman” (Kernan (1959) 56). To be sure, there were other popular and fanciful etymological theories in the air: “sat-irae” (enough or full of anger) or derivations from “Saturn,” but the hairy

satyr best suited the temper of the verse being composed and Juvenal, seen as the most satirical of the four classical models, became emblematic.

However conceived, so integral to the idea of English satire was Juvenal, and to a lesser extent Persius and Horace, that Joseph Hall's claim to priority as the first proper (classicizing) English satirist ("follow me who list, | And be the second English Satyrist") prompted fierce criticism from Marston. These were in fact contentious times, and Nashe, Marston, Hall, Guilpin, Jonson, and others were mutually engaged in polemics that seem to have prompted and transcended the Bishops' Ban (1599) and the burning of libelous satires. But through it all, Juvenal remains the contested patron and guiding spirit. A passage from the anonymous Cambridge Christmas comedy, *A Returne from Parnassus*, has been quoted in a couple of recent discussions but deserves quotation again here for its characteristic attitude toward the Roman (Burrow (2005) 248–49). The hero Ingenioso (based on Thomas Nashe), spoofed in this comic satire on literary fashion, enters with this bluster (Winkler (2001) xxxii):

I, Juvenall, thy jerking hand is good,
 Not gently laying on, but fetching bloud:
 So, surgear-like, thou does with cutting heale,
 Where nought but lancing can the wound avayle.
 O suffer me, among so many men,
 To tread aright the traces of thy pen
 And light my linke at thy eternall flame,
 Till with it I brand everlasting shame
 On the world's forehead, and with thine owne spirit
 Pay home the world according to his merit.
 Thy purer soule could not endure to see
 Even smallest spots of base impurity.

(II.1)

All the more for its being a parody of prevailing views, the passage is illuminating; it does not read radically differently from earnest programmatic declarations of the time, which makes it exceptionally good satire of satire. Notable here beyond Ingenioso's unrestrained admiration for the fiercely biting spirit seen in Juvenal is a related appreciation of the poet's principled nobility. Parody it may be, but that side of Juvenal, surprising to the modern reader trained or inclined to look through Juvenal's various and variously character-flawed rhetorical masks, remained consistently valorized on through at least the eighteenth century, though in decidedly different forms, as we shall see below.

If in this rising genre of verse satire and drama, Juvenal was the preferred model of the late 1590s, Horace and Persius were not lost to sight. Wyatt in the first half of the sixteenth century anticipated later fascination with the less demonstrative, modulated satire of Horace, and Jonson, at the beginning the

new century, openly espoused, especially in *Poetaster* (1601), both Horatian *persona* and Horatian aesthetic principles. Donne, as already noted, openly imitated Horace, and Hall too experimented at times with an Horatian manner. Persius, largely neglected by modern critics of the period, was translated occasionally and frequently appeared in literary discussion. The moral import of his Stoicism, along with his experiments in colloquial speech and dialogue, kept his stock fairly high, and he appears via reference, quotation, or imitation in most of the major satirists of the age (Wheeler (1992)). The difficulty of Persius' verse, a barrier to yet wider appreciation, was variously explained as either intentional obscurantism so as to elude the imperial eye or an artifact of distant topicality. In Marston's words, "Persius is crabby because ancient, and his jerks, (being particularly given to private customs of his time) dusky" (Davenport (1961) 100). And Barten Holyday, prefacing his 1616 translation, excuses him on political grounds: "From the affected obscuritie, wherewith this author hath hitherto laboured, I cannot altogether quit him, yet doubtlesse, it, in part, proceeded from the want of Libertie, which in his desperate times was altogether lost; though, I confesse, he durst say somewhat." Holyday does labor mightily to illuminate Persianic darkness, opening the tight juxtapositions, bold images, and sudden transitions into a more hospitable if far less striking paraphrase: "I may without ambition say, it is a New thing, *Persius Understood*." His version of the opening lines of the Prologue conveys a good sense of the whole project:

My lippes did never touch the spring
 Of the wing'd horse; nor can I bring
 To minde that ere I dream'd upon
 Two-capped Parnassus, that thereon
 I might be inspir'd, and So Up-start
 A Poet, by infused Art.
 And all the Muses that doe dwell
 'Bout pale Pirene, and the well
 Of Helicon, so Those I leave,
 Unto whose statue's browes doth cleave
 the Ivy-greene incircling Crowne,
 In humblenesse I halfe a Clowne
 Doe onely bring this my rude line,
 Unto Apollos sacred shrine . . .

Fourteen taut lines of Latin choliambics are expanded into exactly twice that number of explaining and diluting English couplets. The register of speech is raised to a comfortable norm – no "nag" here for Persius' *caballinus*, a point Holyday explains at some length in his preface, and no scathing ironies. Dryden

would have much to say about Holyday's popular version, which was yet too literal for the Restoration poet, but for the nonce we can observe that by broadly Englishing Persius, he brings the satirist out of the cloistered and partializing confines of florilegia into the currency of a relatively wide readership.

He was preceded in the scholarly world by the Frenchman Isaac Casaubon, whose 1605 commentary on Persius radically altered the poet's relative status. Marston's appraisal of Persius' difficulty quoted above answers to scholarly opinion prior to Casaubon; thus J.C. Scaliger found little to like in Persius' manner: "In truth, the style of Persius is crabbed, and the poet himself inept. While he wishes what he has written to be read, he does not want people to understand what they read" (Scaliger (1561) 6.6). Casaubon responded with an appreciation of the philosophical character of the poet: "more philosophical than either of the other two [Horace or Juvenal], and far better in this regard than Horace, in that, dedicated to virtue alone, relentlessly hostile to vice, consistent in himself, he enriches the poetic by means of the more serious arts" (Casaubon (1605a) pref.). Further, his extensive appendix itemizing Horatian imitations in Persius began to draw attention to the densely intertextual nature of the poetry itself. Casaubon's scholarly coup, followed up by Holyday's English version, marked the beginning of another period of legitimate and ample popularity for Persius' satire. Yet more significant, perhaps, this first complete English version of Persius effects a transition from the spirited but occasional use of the satirists by Tudor and Elizabethan writers prior to the Bishops' Ban in 1599 to their much more wholesale and integrated presence in the Restoration.

Yet in terms of classically influenced verse satire leading up to and through the Civil War in England, the fertile Elizabethan period saw no immediate follow-up. Far the most important figure is Ben Jonson, who can, for the purposes of this survey, be called transitional. Which is to say that after 1599 and the radical decline of "satirical" invective, Jonson best effected the translation of satire into theatrical modes. *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) and *Poetaster* (1601) satirized Marston and Dekker, and it was in this "War of the Theatres" that Jonson first conspicuously adopted his Horatian *persona* and manner that were to remain with him for the rest of his literary career. Horace was his major classical affiliation, but Jonson's reading in the classics was wide and deep and he shows evidence of having read both Persius and Juvenal through. He owned and then presented as a gift to Sir John Roe a copy of Casaubon's Persius, and occasionally includes references to the satirist in his own verse (Wheeler (1992) 179). Juvenal appears more systematically and at greater length, though (barring his dramatic *Sejanus His Fall*) not in anything like a full adaptation; references to and quotations from the first, second, third, fifth, eighth, and tenth Satires show up throughout Jonson's drama and verse

(Wheeler (1992) 180–93). Yet Jonson did not write verse satires and in fact reprehended their manner in his Elizabethan contemporaries, and after Jonson few instances of classically colored satire appear before the Restoration. Translation then became the major medium of engagement with Roman satire. Beyond Holyday's Persius, William Barksted published a version of Juvenal's tenth in 1617, which was followed by a version of the same poem by Sir John Beaumont, who had also Englished Persius' second, in 1629, the same year that saw George Chapman's version of Juvenal's fifth. In 1646 the royalist Henry Vaughan published yet another version of the ever popular tenth Satire, allowing the poem to comment obliquely on the times (Wheeler (1992) 205). Robert Stapleton's 1647 rendering was the first complete English Juvenal in print, preceded in French by André du Chesne (1607) and followed in English by a posthumous translation by Holyday in 1673.

15.2 English Satire's Big Show: The Long Eighteenth Century

Translation as vehicle of satire's reception would only become more fertile and prolific from the Restoration through the eighteenth century, when once again it came into productive contact with another ascendancy of English verse satire; both found their ways into prominence and enjoyed their highest and most sustained moments in the sun. And once again, the great English translators of that period, particularly the influential Dryden, take their bearings from across the channel, particularly with respect to the integrating adaptations, not translations themselves, of Nicolas Boileau Despréaux. Boileau's *Satires* and *Art Poétique* were particularly influential. His satiric adaptations were focused on his own modern France but were modeled on, and frequently alluded to, Horace and Juvenal. On a broad thematic scale, his first leans on Juvenal 3 and 7, his fifth on Juvenal 8, his sixth again on Juvenal 3, and his tenth on Juvenal 6, but references to Juvenal and Horace occur throughout the twelve. Boileau had behind him, of course, a long tradition of classically influenced satire going back among prominent figures at least as far as Rabelais and Montaigne, as well as to the "neo-classicism" of the Pléiade, so that his Romans were already fairly naturalized into seventeenth-century French sensibility. Boileau's diction is restrained and the register of language and expression relatively high; this is a fully engaged *French* satirist who has assimilated his Romans to such a degree that charges of plagiarism (of Roman ideas and language) were leveled against him. All of which may be deplored as a diminishment of Roman imagination and vigor, but Dryden, who wrote the foundational English treatise on the reception of Roman satire, did not see the problem.

Rather, it was precisely the political courage of the early satires and Boileau's high-mindedness that made his adaptations of Juvenal and Horace such attractive models in England. Here again the operating principles of reception become particularly manifest; the long English eighteenth century was made for satire, but not necessarily classical satire. The protracted struggles of English governance, revolution, restoration, the Dutch naval disasters (prompting Marvell's *Instructions to a Painter*), the prorogation of Parliament, the "exclusion crisis," the counter-revolution, Tory and Whig, Puritan, Catholic, and Anglican partisanship, together with a crazy quilt of factional interests, created a noisy atmosphere of debate, much of which was expressed in other than the strictly literary language available to the classically educated writer. Satire and polemic filled the air in broadsheets, doggerel verse, lampoon, and cartoon, its spirit fully alive in coffeehouses, theaters, debating societies, salons, the periodical papers, and Grub Street pamphlets. The remains of this material far exceed classically colored literature of the period, much of it *ad hominem* polemic, much of it politically engaged and influential. Most of it was not even "literary" in the customary sense of the kinds of works we study in universities and read for pleasure. But so prolific was this period of satiric energy that even the smaller subset of literary satire – from Marvell through Rochester, Oldham, Shadwell, Buckingham, Dryden, Defoe, the Scriblerians Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, Harley, Gay, and many others – constitutes a very substantial amount of material. These were educated writers, their satire allusive and learned, taking many forms. Dryden preferred to think of his own great satires *Absalom and Achitophel*, *Mac Flecknoe* and *The Medal* as Varronian, that is, of the vaguely defined and understood Menippean mixed mode rather than modeled on Roman verse satire, and that has become a useful critical designation for much Restoration and eighteenth-century work (Weinbrot (2005)).

But Dryden's major contribution to the reception of Roman verse satire came with his 1692 translation of Persius and Juvenal (for a more detailed treatment of Dryden see Osgood and Braund in this volume, Chapter 18). The Persius was virtually all Dryden's own as well as *Satires* 1, 3, 6, 10, and 16 of Juvenal (the others apportioned to Dryden's sons, Congreve, Tate, Hervey, and others, though many if not all were revised extensively by Dryden himself). Prefacing his volume is the long essay, *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*, itself based on a number of sources: primarily, Casaubon's 1605 *De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira* as well as his 1605 edition and commentary on Persius, but also the work of André Dacier, Daniel Heinsius, Nicolas Rigault, and René Rapin, through whom the debate about satire's origin (satyr/*satyr*) had been played out. Dryden's position on satire's origin largely follows Casaubon (*satyr*) as he discusses the role and appropriate style of modern satire, and the relative merits of the Romans. Persius is, at the outset, relegated to third position, largely as a consequence of his obscurity and

difficulty of style: "his verse is scabrous and hobbling, and his words not everywhere well chosen . . . his diction is hard, his figures are generally too bold and daring, and his tropes, particularly his metaphors, insufferably strained" (Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 393). "Persius was an apt scholar, and when he was bidden [allegedly by Cornutus] to be obscure in some places where his life and safety were in question, took the same counsel for all his book, and never after wrote ten lines together clearly" (397). More attention is given to the claims of Horace and Juvenal for primacy, and while conceding that Horace "instructs more usefully" (400) and takes the palm for "the delicacy of his turns, his choice of words, and perhaps the purity of his Latin" (405), Dryden finds, decisively, that Juvenal gives him "as much pleasure as I can bear" (412). An almost sensual pleasure at that:

He fully satisfies my expectation: he treats his subject home: his spleen is raised and he raises mine; I have the pleasure of concernment in all he says; he drives his reader along with him, and when he is at the end of his way, I willingly stop with him. If he went another stage, it would be too far; it would make a journey of a progress, and turn delight into fatigue. (Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 412)

Beyond these largely aesthetic qualities of the satirists, the most interesting discussion revolves around Dryden's personal and political bearings: "[Juvenal's] spirit has more of the commonwealth genius; he treats tyranny and all the vices attending it as they deserve, with the utmost rigour; and consequently a noble soul is better pleased with a zealous vindicator of Roman liberty than with a temporizing poet, a well-mannered court slave" (Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 414–15). Persius, despite his faults as a composer of poetry, is praised too for his morality, his philosophical consistency, and honesty: "He sticks to his one philosophy; he shifts not sides, like Horace . . . nor declaims like Juvenal against vices, more like an orator than a philosopher" (402); for "Satire is of the nature of moral philosophy" (400). Persius is a salutary, philosophically serious and morally uplifting medium between the competing prototypes of Horatian and Juvenalian satire. This positioning is important to Dryden. His survey of classical precedent in the genre has distilled, in its very end, an objective correlative for satire as it *should* be, instructing as in Horace, virile and courageous as in Juvenal, measured and philosophical as in Persius. That triangulation, however imprecise its terms, becomes Dryden's stay in the fiercely contested literary-political climate of his day. The length, detail, and evident effort of the *Discourse* marks its personal importance for Dryden as much as anything could. The qualities he isolates for praise and blame trace back to Dryden's own life and self-fashioning, as he tracks the authority of Roman satire through the fractious and contentious muddle of "satire" in and about London in the 1670s through 1690s, adumbrating exemplars of political independence and principled strength of character, qualities he, reflecting on

his own situation, saw in Juvenal and Persius – and Boileau (of his *Le Lutrin*): “This I think . . . to be the most beautiful and noble kind of satire. Here is the majesty of the heroic finely mixed with the venom of the other, and raising the delight which otherwise would be flat and vulgar by the sublimity of the expression” (441).

This is not the language twenty-first-century readers of Roman satire use in describing the poets or the poetry. But Dryden’s treatise, however evidently a self-vindication, brought Roman satire itself again to the fore in the terms he outlined. More translations and imitations followed his, many of them functioning in overtly political terms. The old notion of Juvenal as moralist, never quite moribund, leapt into prominence again and one sees in many of the translations of the eighteenth century the additional quality of fierce anti-collaborationist positions in respect of the government of George II and his first minister Walpole. Curiously, in the early part of the century, Horace too assumes a major, perhaps predominant role in imitations and translations, though this is in part a reflection of interest in his lyrical and epistolary work as well as experiments in Horatian tenor and writerly *persona* as well. A number of writers after all, composed in what was understood as the Horatian mode (Wyatt, Denham, Cowley, Garth, Young, Walsh, Granville, Congreve, Wycherley, Addison), while Rochester, Boileau (earlier), Swift, and of course Pope himself contributed substantially to Horatian translation and imitation even while writing in a tenor that smacked more of Juvenal than Horace. Paradoxically, this period of brilliant Horatianism is framed by the most important and abiding Juvenal translations of the long century: Dryden’s and Johnson’s.

By the time Dryden undertook his translations of Persius and Juvenal in the early 1690s a number of other versions of Juvenal were in circulation; among other whole and partial versions, there were Holyday’s and Stapleton’s complete, Shadwell’s 10, Oldham’s 3 and 13, John Harvey’s 10, Henry Higden’s 10 and 13, most of them in one way or other influential upon Dryden’s composition (Hopkins (2010) 130–62). Among these Oldham and Higden, though the latter not consistently, employed modernizing transpositions into English settings, the technique Johnson would later use in his *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. Dryden, intending to bring intelligible versions to the literate but not scholarly public, avoided overt modernizing in the felicitous, frequently witty, couplets that would become the standard verse medium for well over a century (*Sat.* 1.1–8):

Still shall I hear, and never quit the Score,
Stunn’d with hoarse *Codrus Theseid*, o’re and o’re?
Shall this Man’s Elegies and t’others Play
Unpunish’d Murther a long Summer’s day?
Huge *Telephus*, a formidable page,

Cries Vengeance; and *Orestes's* bulky rage
Unsatisfy'd with Margins closely writ,
Foams o're the Covers, and not finish'd yet.

Dryden's method, "paraphrase," the well-known middle term between metaphor and imitation, allows scope for explanatory expansion and a stately decorum contrasting, for instance, with the jingly hudibrastics of Higden. It serves him particularly well in representing the opaque textures and imagery of Persius, and Dryden's Persius was widely seen to have redressed Holyday's poetic ineptitude while "elucidating" difficult passages, like the following (1.48–55 [Pers. 1.22–28]):

Base Prostitute, thus dost thou gain thy Bread?
Thus dost thou feed their Ears, and thus art fed?
At his own filthy stuff he grins, and brays:
And gives the sign where he expects their praise.
 Why have I Learn'd, say'st thou, if thus confin'd,
I choak the Noble Vigour of my Mind?
Know, my wild Fig-Tree, which in Rocks is bred,
Will split the Quarry, and shoot out the head.

Tun' uetule auriculis alienis colligis escas?
Auriculis, quibus & dicas cute perditus, ohe.
Quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum, & quae semel intus
Innata est, rupto jecore exierit caprificus?
(Dryden's Latin copy text, Chambers and Frost (1974))

In general, Dryden is vastly expansive with his Persius, taking for instance 275 lines to translate the 134 of Persius' first Satire, with similar proportions throughout. He largely avoids overt references to contemporary politics, though a number of instances of word choice and reading might be seen to betray his disposition.

But if his Persius was largely a labor of elucidation, Dryden's Juvenal was much more a labor of love, offering scope for the full voice of satire unconstrained (1.220–30 [Juv. 1.147–53]):

No Age can go beyond us: Future Times
Can add no farther to the present Crimes.
Our sons but the same things can wish and do;
Vice is at stand, and at the highest flow.
Then Satyr spread thy Sails; take all the winds can blow.
Some may, perhaps, demand what Muse can yield

Sufficient strength for such a spacious Field?
 From whence can be deriv'd so large a Vein,
 Bold Truths to speak, and spoken to maintain;
 When God-like Freedom is so far bereft
 The Noble Mind, that scarce the Name is left?

The spirit of satire Dryden descried in his Romans “nobly” speaks up here, even in the perilous sea of “present Crimes.” The voice echoes strains of the *Discourse* and seems to express not only the Juvenalian (sometimes) epic tenor but also the Roman valorization of satire as Dryden saw himself practicing the art.

Yet Juvenal is scarcely always high-minded, and Dryden can answer to a lower register in good, base Restoration style. Here, in a passage omitted from the original publication, lusty female carousers relieve themselves on the image of Pudicitia (Braund (1992b)) before getting on with the business (Juv 6.309–11):

They straighten with their hands the nameless place
 And spouting thence bepiss her venerable face:
 Before the Conscious Moon they get astride;
 By Turns are ridden & by Turns they ride.

noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic;
 effigiemque Deae longis siphonibus implent;
 inque uices equitant, ac Luna teste mouentur.

Other omitted passages, more graphic, and quite at home in the age and circle of Rochester, show the poet not too fastidious about getting into the messy vulgarity of Roman manners. The satirist, as Dryden seems to recognize obliquely, is always implicated and invested in the monster he creates for satirizing. The “othering” distance between satirist and target necessarily contracts the moment the satirist sets out to dress his target in particularly repulsive garb. Which creates a problem – one blithely ignored by Juvenal – for the satirist who would be moralist, and a little self-justificatory, as well. Dryden negotiates his position on Juvenal’s misogyny in the argument to the sixth Satire and thus points up the problem, especially in his designation of this as the “wittiest” of Juvenal’s satires:

[T]his [satire] he reserv'd wholly for the Ladies. How they had offended him I know not: But upon the whole matter he is not to be excus'd for imputing to all,

the Vices of some few amongst them. Neither was it generously done of him, to attack the weakest as well as the fairest part of the Creation . . . the whole World must allow this to be the wittiest of his Satyrs; and truly he had need of all his parts, to maintain with so much violence, so unjust a Charge. I am satisfied he will bring but few over to his Opinion: And on that Consideration chiefly I ventur'd to translate him: Though there wanted not another Reason, which was, that no one else would undertake it . . . Let the poet therefore bear the blame of his own Invention; and let me satisfie the World, that I am not of his Opinion. (Chambers and Frost (1974) 145–46)

Just where Dryden “is” in these translations, despite their avoidance of modernization and, by and large, faithfulness to the general import and plan of the originals, is sometimes evident in lines significantly adapting or added to the original. Frequently observed, and most conspicuous, are the lines of the third Satire where Umbricius, departing in disgust from Rome, opens *his* satire of the city (1.37–44):

Then thus Umbricius, (with an Angry Frown,
And looking back on this degen'rate Town)
Since Noble Arts in Rome have no support,
And ragged Virtue not a Friend at Court,
No Profit rises from th'ungrateful Stage,
My Poverty encreasing with my Age;
'Tis time to give my just Disdain a vent,
And, Cursing, leave so base a Government.

As critics have noted, “Court,” “th'ungrateful Stage,” and “so base a Government” have no correspondence to the Latin but do reflect Dryden's situation. As Hopkins puts it, “he had lost his former position as quasi-official spokesman for the Court, had seen his Poet Laureateship conferred on his old enemy Thomas Shadwell, and had been forced, for financial reasons, to resume the career as playwright which he had often found uncongenial, and which had never brought him adequate monetary reward” (Hopkins (2010) 132–33). Juvenal's Umbricius is, further, not a poet – as Dryden's Umbricius clearly is (Combe (1989) 41). These lines are conspicuous, but it is not difficult to find others with similar resonance, which does not make the translations overtly political in character (here I agree with Hopkins (2010) 130–62). Rather, the passage, along with others just mentioned, seems to make for a palimpsestic effect whereby both Juvenal and Dryden become “visible” to the reader. The effect is more nuanced than, say, Dryden's simply bringing Juvenalian or classical authority and example into informing and redeeming relation with his own poetry. And it may be more powerfully, because more subtly, effective

than the simple transposition to modern London Oldham had fashioned. Instead of a re-presentation of the modern city in Juvenalian terms, Dryden *shows* us Dryden writing Juvenal again.

But if the Restoration poet backed away from imitation and overt politicization of his London/Rome, Samuel Johnson, forty-six years later, did not. The first of Johnson's two great Juvenal imitations, *London*, was written and published in 1738, not long after the twenty-eight-year-old writer and teacher had come to the city to find a living. It was his first major published poem. Johnson, thoroughly soaked in his Latin from a very young age, knew Juvenal virtually by heart, and upon settling into London literary culture, had a ready-made genre for his talents. After Cowley's and Rochester's Horaces, Oldham's and others' Juvenals, and the free adaptations of Boileau, the literary mode of imitation had hit full stride by the opening of the eighteenth century. The works of Horace received exceptional attention. Among many others and beyond Swift's several Horatian imitations, by far the most important of the century were Pope's *Imitations of Horace* (1733–38). Written in reaction to criticism of earlier work, and overtly political, their anti-Whig, anti-Walpole, country-over-court disposition is evident throughout, and it is in this mode that Johnson too undertook his first literary experiment.

Juvenal had been perceived, since before and certainly after Dryden's *Discourse*, as the Roman most capable of voicing strong opposition to a hostile government. As Niall Rudd puts it, "[Juvenal] was widely admired as the 'opposition satirist' par excellence, and Dryden was following a long tradition when he praised him as 'a zealous vindicator of Roman liberty'" (Rudd (1981), ix). At times, Johnson's Juvenal, or his Thales (for Umbricius), does just that (51–60):

Here let those reign, whom pensions can incite
To vote a patriot black, a courtier white;
Explain their country's dear-bought rights away,
And plead for pirates in the face of day;
With slavish tenets taint our poison'd youth,
And lend a lye the confidence of Truth.

Let such raise palaces, and manors buy,
Collect a tax, or farm a lottery,
With warbling eunuchs fill a licens'd stage,
And lull to servitude a thoughtless age.

Walpole's pensions, the patriot "party" in opposition to the court, conflict with Spain over commercial rights in the slave trade (paradoxically, Johnson was opposed to slavery), tax rises, the new state lotteries, Italian opera, and

the Licensing Act of 1737 (designed to control on-stage criticism of the government) – all were controversial and all targeted here. Over against these abuses are juxtaposed scenes of primeval (Elizabethan) English innocence (21–26):

On Thames's banks, in silent thought we stood,
Where Greenwich smiles upon the silver flood:
Struck with the seat that gave Eliza birth,
We kneel, and kiss the consecrated earth;
In pleasing dreams the blissful age renew,
And call Britannia's glories back to view.

Or when skewering the French, English triumphalism (117–22):

Ah! what avails it, that, from slav'ry far,
I drew the breath of life in English air;
Was early taught a Briton's right to prize,
And lisp the tale of Henry's victories;
If the gull'd conqueror receives the chain,
And flattery subdues when arms are vain?

It is all a bit much, and it has been speculated that this imitative exercise has more to it than a young writer's jingoism, precisely as a function of the imitative overlay on a complex satire whose shifting and self-interested perspectives are not disguised (Hooley (2005) 282–83). Johnson later regretted some of the evident political animus, and it is interesting that much of the political satire is front-loaded in the poem, with the latter sections largely, though not exclusively, devoted to more broadly entertaining transpositions of scenes and exempla. Whatever Johnson's genuine commitment to the political position taken and the contemporary satire in the imitation, certainly the seemingly most heartfelt passage has to do with the struggling poet's personal experience (174–77):

Quick let us rise, the happy seats explore,
And bear oppression's insolence no more.
This mournful truth is ev'ry where confess'd,
SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPRESS'D.

Similar personal investment can be found in Pope's imitations, where they often take on the character of bristling defiance and personal invective; Johnson's note is melancholy resignation, which is one conspicuous link to

his greater imitation, *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, composed some ten years later. Points of commonality between the two imitations are several: in both Johnson shows a predilection for abstractions and movement away from topical particulars (more conspicuous in *Vanity*); the same epigrammatic touch is evident in both, as is a willingness to elide or adapt Juvenal's original. But despite his happily escaping Grub Street via the great dictionary project (1746 and after) and turning to the kind of writing that would characterize his later career, the dark pessimism incipient in *London* grows to the great shade that dominates the tenor of *Vanity* ("Year chases year, decay pursues decay, | Still drops some joy from withering life away" (306–7)), and renders this "Juvenal" something quite other than satire. The tragically colored Christian meditation on human vanity that it *is* harks back to late antique inflections of Juvenal, which, too, make Juvenal the satirist over into Juvenal the Christian moralist. But Johnson is different too, no father of the Church selectively dipping into a reserve of ready dicta, but consummate poet rendering Juvenal's text into a bleakly coherent vision of human despair – and consolation. The ghost of satire remains, its themes and instances carrying over from Juvenal, but all modally transposed, via poised, balanced cadences, and the surest epigrammatic touch.

Ambition (73–76):

Unnumber'd suppliants crowd Preferment's gate,
 Athirst for wealth, and burning to be great;
 Delusive Fortune hears th'incessant call,
 They mount, they shine, evaporate, and fall.

Avarice (285–90):

But unextinguish'd Avarice still remains,
 And dreaded losses aggravate his pains;
 He turns, with anxious heart and crippl'd hands,
 His bonds of debt, and mortgages of lands;
 Or views his coffers with suspicious eyes,
 Unlocks his gold, and counts it till he dies.

On age and decline (314–18):

In life's last scene what prodigies surprise,
 Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise!
 From Marlborough's eyes the streams of dotage flow,
 And Swift expires a driv'ler and a show.

At the close, Johnson (rendering Dodsley's eighteenth-century text [Rudd (1981) xiv]) takes Juvenal's modified, self-sufficient Stoicism:

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
 Fortem posce animum & mortis terrore carentem;
 Qui spatium uitae extremum inter munera ponat
 Naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores . . .
 Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare; semita certe
 Tranquillae per uirtutem patet unica uitae.
 Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; sed te
 Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam, coeloque locamus.

and runs it up into a full blown Christian *consolatio* (349–52; 355–57; 359–60):

Enquirer, cease, petitions yet remain,
 Which heav'n may hear, nor deem religion vain.
 Still raise for good the supplicating voice,
 But leave to heav'n the measure and the choice . . .
 Implore his aid, in his decisions rest,
 Secure whate'er he gives, he gives the best . . .
 Pour forth thy fervours for a healthful mind,
 Obedient passions, and a will resign'd.

This abandons satire's *indignatio* altogether, adapting the explicit "prayer" theme Juvenal had inherited from Persius 2, and significantly, given Johnson's own history of physical malady (how he, like Pope, must have prayed for relief at times in his life!), substituting that Stoic, sound body with "healthful mind, obedient passions, and a will resign'd." Readers will come to different views of the faith and quietism of the poem's final lines, which swell and overwhelm the Latin original, finding there either sublime resolution or yet another precarious stay against the inevitable onrush of loss and disappointment.

15.3 A Few Modern Receptions

The classical satire Dryden had so instrumentally ushered into the vernacular playground of English satire is here dismissed, or made over into another register and purpose, which sometimes gives the false impression that the Romans fell out of currency in the latter half of the eighteenth century and after. The popularity of Juvenal translations and imitations in full swing before Johnson's *Vanity*, by Defoe, Congreve, Gay, Gilbert, Fielding, John Brown,

continued afterwards with versions and adaptations by Greene, Churchill, Wakefield, Owen, Madan, and others (see further in this volume Nisbet, Chapter 21). Wordsworth, Gifford, Hodgson, Byron, and Lionel Johnson tried their hand as well on through the English nineteenth century; of these, Byron's jaunty imitations, "English Bards and Scotts Reviewers," based on Juvenal 1 and transposed into English literary polemics, still has, or should have, interest for the reader (Winkler (2001) 345–52). Dryden's Persius dominated the eighteenth-century scene for quite a long time, through ten printings in fact, but Sheridan, Greene, Brewster, Owen, Madan, and Drummond undertook versions in the century, with further versions by Gifford, Reynolds, Hobhouse Wollaston, and Shaw in the nineteenth century (Frost (1968)). These versions run the gamut between experiment, burlesque, parody, fantasia, and serviceable translation, several of them promulgating the strain of Christian moralizing (assisted by judicious selection and excerpting) seen in rarer form in Johnson – a situation helped along by the decline of vernacular satire, which in turn was being eclipsed by the rise of Romanticism and a very different literary sensibility. Frost is probably correct in claiming that Persius was "naturalized" in the English speaking world in the eighteenth century, when his translators, by turns, showed influence from and offered inspiration to the creative verse of the period; he suggests a few reasons:

[the Enlightenment's] romantic admiration of antiquity, its love of colloquial dialogue in strictly contoured verses, its interest in social values and social situations, its less than rapturous view of poetry and poets in general, its admiration of verse satire itself, its anticlericalism, its willingness to accept, even to value, the sexual explicitness common in ancient comedy and satire. Perhaps most important of all is the delight that age took in irony, its enthusiasm for a dramatic scene that makes its own moral or critical point. (Frost (1968) 97–98)

Persius' star would enter a decline in the following century with fewer and less interesting translations published. Juvenal remained popular enough as moralizing satirist without playing anything like the central role in literary and political matters he once did. Among those attracted to him for various reasons were Tennyson, Emerson, Flaubert, and Hugo (Highet (1954) 225–30). Winkler mentions the ongoing tradition of the richly corrupt city, tracing it through Victorian England up through the modern industrial city, as seen in Eliot and Auden (Winkler (2001) lii–liii). It remains a current theme in contemporary verse and prose. Scholarly interest has remained consistently active through the twentieth century, and Juvenal in particular was and is popular enough in the curriculum to account for imitations like Geoffrey

Howard's "Oxford: A Satire" (1910) and a fairly steady stream of very good complete translations (Rolfe Humphries, Hubert Creekmore, Jerome Mazzaro, Peter Greene, Niall Rudd, and Susanna Braund [with Persius for the Loeb Library]) for the academic and popular market (and in this volume see Richlin's discussion, Chapter 20).

Adaptations and imitations (poems that "could not have been written but for" Juvenal) appear fairly regularly in literature from Byron on through A.E. Housman. Roy Campbell's *Wayzgoose* (1926–28), a political satire on the poet's native South Africa, written before his more spitefully *ad hominem* attack on the Bloomsbury group, the *Georgiad*, is interesting less for particular borrowings than for its Juvenalian brio, its pastiche of eighteenth-century manners (invoking Pope's *Dunciad*), personal combativeness, and belief in the powers of satire (Campbell (1949) 248):

I sail on Satire's wings,
Satire, who dares to box the ears of kings,
And comes to statesmen as to roughish boys
To snatch from them their baubles and their toys.
In vain you'll strive to minimize my powers
Whose laughter will outlast your tallest towers.
I mock you to last; you scold poor rats! to die
Save in my verse where you immortal lie –
Yea, when my grandsons bind my works in calf,
Your own unfeeling progeny will laugh
To see their grandsires pickled in my ink –
And Dullness will to future ages stink!

Campbell's cranky anachronism (Byron's Juvenal is surely an influence) and strong, jingling rhymes, teetering it all toward doggerel, do lend his screed a sense of diachronic fun and a satiric energy absent in, say, Robert Lowell's 1967 version of Juvenal 10, which follows even as it secularizes Johnson (379–84):

this hero
like Hercules, all pain and labor, loathes
the lecherous gut of Sardanapalus.
Success is worshipped as a god; it's we
who set up shrines and temples to her name.
I give you simply what you have already.

Despite the lack of vigor evident in Lowell's version, there are a fair number of notable modern versions (Winkler (2001) 392–476), some of which,

disturbingly on a number of levels, have been yoked to right-wing and fascist political programs and sensibility (Winkler (2001) liii–liv). One sees how *that* reception could be, just as the triumphalist Virgil, along with Horace and Augustus, took center stage in the fascist bimillenary celebrations in Italy in the 1930s. Reception works that way, through partial, tendentious readings reflecting current interests and purposes. But it is abundantly clear that the richly multivalent nature of Juvenal’s poetry continues to draw out other kinds of responses as well, in scholarship, in the classroom, and to a lesser degree in literary imitation. Juvenal remains verse satire’s big voice (see further in this volume Winkler, Chapter 22).

But the quieter, introspective Persius has not gone away either. Recent academic translations (Niall Rudd, Guy Lee, Susanna Braund) all render the sometimes vexing Latin into clear, idiomatic English, and scholarly and critical attention has recently been at least as much engaged with Persius as with his fellow verse satirists. On the other hand, the shadow of Persius falls lightly on the twentieth century’s creative poetry, with only one major contemporary poet, W.S. Merwin, undertaking a complete translation, originally published in 1961. It is, like some of the ambitious versions just mentioned, an elucidating translation that steers a prudent course through Persius’ concentrated language. Merwin in the late 1950s had just returned from an extended stay in Europe where he’d been translating regularly from Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Middle English, work which, as it did for Pound, allowed him to play with registers, tone, and *personae*. But the Poundian moment had passed by mid-century, and Merwin’s instinct, which was at this point in his career inclining toward a more open, conversational mode than seen in his earlier original work, did not drive him toward radical experiment. The translational “restitution” (Steiner (1975) 296–303) Merwin provides is a loose, metrically irregular line, often ending in weak stresses, written in a register that shifts from standard American to colloquialism and slang. This is an unpretentious and plain-speaking Persius – the clotted and opaque Persianic style rendered as Horatian *sermo* (*Sat.* 1.13–21, p. 56):

Locked in, we get down to it – verse, prose, something
Grand, making uncommon demands on the breath.
And in due course you’ll favor the crowd with it, out of
A raised chair, in a new white robe, groomed to a hair,
Your throat loosened with syrup, a birthday sardonix
Large in your gestures, and your eye, every so often,
Letting them in on it. Then, as the deft phrases
Find the way to their loins and stroke them within there,
You’ll see the hefty sons of Rome’s best families roused
Not in a nice way: quivering, and their words not edifying.

There is in fact much to like here: surprising turns of phrase, more apt than not, the scene lucidly adumbrated. But Persius' Latin builds this little drama out of its details, a series of nearly dissociated, intensely visceral images: *quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet* (gasping lungs putting it out), *liquido cum plasmate guttur | mobile conlueris* (lubricated throat, to grease the elocution), *patranti fractus oculo* (that orgasmic eye), *cum carmina lumbum | intrant et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima uersu* (the words travel *in there*), *ingentis trepidare Titos* (burly Tituses getting all pathic). The whole treads a fascinating line between the graphic and metaphorical: this bad, popular verse-in-recitation almost literally, as Persius satirically presents it, fucks you (over). How that matters to Persius is a big (and perhaps another) story, but the fact that it is *there* in the language is a provocation. As the reader, here and elsewhere, composes the strained, disjunctive parts into an always unlovely picture, s/he is both challenged by it and implicated in it. Resisting the implication while recognizing the challenge, Dryden, much earlier, turned away, writing of another graphic passage in Persius' *Satire 4*, "I understood it, but for the reason turned it over" (Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 398). Merwin too "turns it over" in his way, and misses out the passage's real interest and challenge.

Yet Persius' satire is in many ways written *to* the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Henderson (2005) 313), which like Dryden's and Rochester's Restoration can (if it sometimes doesn't) manage unsettling language without necessarily or always turning it over, and which has had its own fascination with the metaphysical wit of the age of Donne, poetry that in its turn harked back to Persius. So it is that the dense and allusive poetry of the modernists, founded as it is on the associative links of juxtaposed images, an (often unacknowledged) moral urgency, and dark satire, shares much with the Roman satirist's experimental manner. The early-middle Pound or even early Auden might have managed an imitation that would stand with the period's best poetry. They did not, and that fact might suggest, as it has to some, that verse satire's tale is coming to an end (Kennedy (2005)). That outcome remains to be seen. But the taste for satire, as mode or disposition, is far from languishing in this later day, but, rather, fully present in the polemical deformations of our time's aggressive political, religious, sectarian contestations. Into that register, that *necessary* vein of expression, both Juvenal and Persius speak as incisively, disquietingly, and ambiguously to readers now as ever.

FURTHER READING

Two excellent sources for Juvenal's *Nachleben* are Highet (1954) and Winkler (2001). I have depended on both, and especially Winkler's superb collection of passages, throughout this essay. For Persius' early reception there is Morford's (1984) brief but

well informed outline. For comprehensive detail on both Juvenal and Persius in late antiquity and the Middle Ages see Hagendahl (1958), (1967). For Persius in Germany, there is Hering (1935). On Juvenal and Persius in Shakespeare, see Baldwin (1944). Highet (1954) has a good, brief summary of Juvenalian presence in Boileau, and Escal's notes to the *Oeuvres Complètes* (Boileau Despreaux (1966)) are generally very good in noting Boileau's references to the Roman satirists among others. See too Benecke (1879). On the use of the Romans in Baroque satire, Highet (1949a) is helpful. Wheeler (1992) should be the starting point for any consideration of English adaptations of Roman satire in the seventeenth century. For Dryden's sources and context, Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) are unsurpassed. Rudd's (1981) edition of the texts of Johnson's *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, including as it does earlier drafts, is valuable, and Johnston (2012) is a good discussion of Johnson's Latin and the imitations. On the satirists in the long eighteenth century, Hooley (2012) and Hopkins (2010) should both be helpful. Sullivan (1992) remains an excellent resource. A number of good essays in literary "Companions" will reward reading: germane to the present focus on Juvenal and Persius are Jensen (2007) on the English Renaissance, Burrow (2005) on the English sixteenth century, Gouldbourne (2007) on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, Griffin (2007), Hooley (2005), and Engell (2007) on the Restoration and eighteenth centuries in England, Martindale (2005) on "The Horatian and Juvenalesque in English Letters" and Henderson (2005) for incisive comments on satire's reception. A reader interested in browsing through translations and adaptations should turn first, for Juvenal, to Winkler (2001), but also Poole and Maule (1995) for samples from both Persius and Juvenal. Frost (1968) on Persius may seem dated in its critical perspectives, but is still valuable. A full study of satire's presence in the twentieth century remains to be written, but see now in this volume Winkler, Chapter 22.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Persius, Juvenal, and the Transformation of Satire in Late Antiquity

Cristiana Sogno

Latin hexameter satire, that all-Roman genre, dies with Juvenal. Or that, anyway, seems to be the conclusion one must draw from the fact that no hexameter satire survives in the Latin literature of late antiquity, a notoriously difficult period to define chronologically, but here intended as the period from the late second to the sixth century CE (cf. Shanzer (2006) 179). A closer look at our sources, however, shows that hexameter satires were still being written in the fourth and fifth century. A verse letter addressed to a certain Tetradius (Ausonius *Letters* 11.1–10) indicates that the correspondent and former pupil of Ausonius revived and enriched (*opimas*) the ancient tradition of satire (*uetustos . . . sales*) with his rich eloquence (*uberi facundia*), but had the merit of softening his satiric blows by “blending gall and honey in [his] poetry” (*felle carmen atque melle temperans*). In doing so, Tetradius managed to “outstrip the unpolished Muses of Suessa,” the birthplace of Lucilius, and to be “second in age but not in style” (Ausonius *Letters* 11.9–10: *rudes Camenas qui Suessae praeuenis | aeuoque cedis non stilo*). The fact that Tetradius is said to have surpassed Lucilius, the acknowledged father of Latin satire, proves that Tetradius’ poems were, in fact, satires in the strict and classical sense of the word. The same seems true with regard to a certain Lucillus, the father of the governor of Tuscia and Umbria (*consularis Tusciae et Umbriae*) in 416 CE. According to Rutilius Namatianus in his *On a Voyage Back to Gaul* (*De reditu suo* 1.603–6), Lucillus wrote moralizing satires as powerful as those of Juvenal and his predecessor Turnus:

huius [= Lucillus] uulnificis satira ludente Camenis
 nec Turnus potior nec Iuuenalis erit.
 restituit ueterem censoria lima pudorem;
 dumque malos carpit, praecipit esse bonos.

Neither Turnus nor Juvenal shall surpass Lucillus' satire, sportive in its mordant poetry. His censorious file has restored old-fashioned decency: in attacking the bad, it teaches to be good. (adapted from the translation by Duff and Duff (1934))

And there are several tantalizing allusions to verse satires in the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris (Shanzer (2006) 187).

In the absence of actual evidence, it is perhaps too easy to dismiss Ausonius' and Rutilius' positive assessments of late Latin satires in verse as empty flattery – a common prejudice that deeply affects our perception of Late Antique literature and literary criticism. But regardless of these poems' real merit, Ausonius' and Rutilius' remarks emphasize the continuity and vitality of the genre, which is further confirmed by a vigorous interest in classical satire and the rediscovery and re-evaluation of Juvenal's poems in the second half of the fourth century CE. In that, as in the following century, satire seems to enjoy a second blossoming, when "in spite of the fact that Rome's real power was broken, the intellectual power of the metropolis took a significant upswing again" (Knoche (1975) 157). Moreover, the development of a tradition of Christian satire independent from the hexameter form but deeply rooted in classical satire culminates in late antiquity, when the word *satiricus* came "to be used without regard to form in a sense approximating that of our word 'satiric'" (Wiesen (1964) 2). Christian apologists, the putative fathers of prose satire, were certainly more concerned with the moral message of satire than with its form; and their transition from hexameter satire to satire in prose might have been made easier by the fact that even classical satirists seem to exclude themselves from the category of "poet," as Horace's famous claim in *Satire* 1.4.39–42 suggests (Coffey (1989) 73–74). But ultimately, the blossoming of prose satire in late antiquity and its coexistence with traditional verse satire are among the best and most emblematic examples of the blending of genres and blurring of boundaries between genres that constitute the most characteristic and defining features of late antique literature.

The sections that follow offer a general – though by no means exhaustive – overview of the transformation of satire in late antiquity. The four main topics in which this overview is articulated are arranged roughly in chronological order, and each section builds on the preceding one. The first section focuses on a new concept of satire as developed by the Christian apologists of the second, third, and early fourth centuries, and its indebtedness to the Juvenalian concept of satire. The second section analyzes the new-found appreciation of

Juvenal's satires in the late fourth century and the impact that this Juvenalian renaissance had on the literary production of the period. The third section is devoted to the use of prose satire in historiography and offers an in-depth analysis of two long satiric excursuses in the history (*Res gestae*) of Ammianus Marcellinus – an especially intriguing example of the profound influence of Juvenal's satires on the literature of the period. The fourth and final section examines the case of Jerome, the first self-styled “satiric writer in prose” (*scriptor satiricus in prosa*), and explores his debt to Persius as well as his originality in elaborating medical metaphors to describe the purpose and effects of satire. Notwithstanding Horace's continued popularity and admiration of Lucilius as the founding father of satire, post-classical satire seems to take Persius and Juvenal as its preferred models.

16.1 Christian Satire

If, as we have seen, the evidence for hexameter satire after Juvenal is only indirect, the “vigor of the pagan satiric tradition” lives on in the writings of Christian apologists of the second, third, and fourth century CE (Wiesen (1964) 3). There can be little doubt that Christian writers became the “new satirists” (Shanzer (2006) 188). Christian authors read and came to appreciate pagan verse satire not for its form, but because Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal had used it effectively as a “literary means of attacking men and morals” (Wiesen (1964) 2); and even though they did not maintain the traditional hexameter form of satire, Christian apologists used satiric technique and often also quoted the work of the classical satirists in order to attack pagans, their gods, and the decadent *mores* of their age.

The combination of satiric technique and knowledge of the pagan satiric tradition is especially evident in the writings of Tertullian (c. 160–after 220 CE). The works of Tertullian abound in satire, and Tertullian's penchant for it is usually attributed to his fiery and irascible temperament (Labriolle (1947) 155). The strong satirical element in *On the Philosopher's Cloak* (*De pallio*), a baffling and poorly preserved work, has induced some scholars to speculate that it was based on a lost Menippean satire (Geffken (1909); cf. Säflund (1955) 59). According to more recent scholarship, however, *On the Philosopher's Cloak* can be better understood as an epideictic speech that was “delivered by a proficient public speaker to a numerous audience” (Hunink (2005) 16). The main topic of the work is the speaker's adoption of the simple garment of the title (*pallium*) instead of the toga, which symbolizes the wearer's “preference of education over materialism.” Whereas the toga is worn by all kinds of disreputable characters and is in no way a guarantee of good

morals, the *pallium* is the garment of philosophers and, ultimately, Christians. By arguing that “a decent man must forsake the toga for the *pallium*,” Tertullian not only tries to prove “in terms of pagan preconceptions” that a decent man ought to become Christian, but shows that “a Christian can take his pagan intellectual inheritance with him in his new faith” (Barnes (1971) 231).

The personal tone and presence of themes dear to classical satire, such as the attack on women in 4.4, are indeed prominent in *On the Philosopher's Cloak* (McKechnie (1992)). But other texts better illustrate Tertullian's debt to classical satire and his impact on the development of Christian satire. In *A Defense of Christianity* (*Apologeticum*), one of his most important and famous works, Tertullian offers an impassioned defense of Christianity and a vigorous refutation of paganism, which are combined in a “characteristically aggressive” and rhetorically elaborate fashion (Barnes (1971) 107). Many passages of the *Defense* can be described as satiric, insofar as they display two of the characteristic traits of satirical technique, namely irony and extremely detailed descriptions whose purpose is ridicule. An excellent example of this technique can be found in the chapters (*Apol.* 35.2 and 4, discussed by Wiesen (1964) 13) where Tertullian satirizes pagan religious festivals:

grande uidelicet officium focos et toros in publicum educere, uicatim epulari, ciuitatem tabernae habitu abolefacere, uino lutum cogere, cateruatim cursitare ad iniurias, ad impudentias, ad libidinis illecebras! sicine exprimitur publicum gaudium per dedecus publicum? haecine solemnes dies principum decent, quae alios dies non decent? . . . honesta res est solemnitate publica exigente induere domui tuae habitum alicuius noui lupanaris!

Splendid service, I assure you, to bring braziers and couches out into the open air, to stuff ourselves at banquets in every single neighborhood, to destroy our city by transforming it into a tavern, to turn our streets to mud by the wine spilled, to run about in crowds to make damage, hurl insults, and incite people to lust. Is this the way that public joy is expressed? By public disgrace? Is this kind of behavior appropriate to the anniversaries of emperors? The kind that is not considered appropriate on any other day? . . . And what an honourable practice it is to decorate your house with the get up of some new brothel! (adaptated from Rendall's translation (1931))

An earlier chapter of the *Defense* (*Apol.* 6) is devoted to a theme dear to classical satire, that of the degeneracy of contemporary Roman *mores* compared and contrasted with those of an ideal(ized) past. Tertullian mourns the virtual disappearance of the sumptuary laws that used to “repress expensive and ostentatious ways of living” (*Apol.* 6.2, *quonam illae leges abierunt sumptum et ambitionem comprimentes?*). The frugality of dinner parties and the strict control exercised over wealth, theaters, and people's attire in the good old

days are contrasted with the lavishness of the banquets, the obscene display of wealth, the proliferation and embellishment of theaters, and the scandalous attire of women in Tertullian's time. Tertullian's remark that not only the old aristocracy (*senatorum*), but even former and current slaves (*libertinorum uel adhuc flagra rumpentium*) indulge in this display of wealth points out an apparent collapse of the traditional social order, which further fuels his indignation. Moreover, the "absence of any difference between the attire of a well born married woman and that of a prostitute" (*uideo et inter matronas atque prostibulas nullum de habitu discrimen relictum*) reinforces the contrast between past and present. Tertullian's carefully constructed comparison between then and now is meant to convey an exaggerated impression of Roman moral decline: not only did the Romans of old have strict sumptuary laws that enforced and regulated the proper social order, but those laws were designed to prevent lowly born people from "usurping rashly or with impunity the prerogatives of the high-born" (*dignitatum et honestorum natalium insignia non temere nec impune usurpari sinebant*). What should be shocking to the reader is not only the absence of laws promoting social order in Tertullian's time, but the unnatural desire of the *high-born married women* (*matronae*) to dress like *lowly* prostitutes. Women are further singled out in Tertullian's tirade against the decline of Roman *mores* because the obsolescence of the "ancestral laws" (*illa maiorum instituta*) apparently had the deepest impact on their behavior (*Apol.* 6.4–6). Opulent jewelry, heavy drinking, and divorce are seen as the prerogatives of Roman women in Tertullian's time.

The misogyny and misogamy of Tertullian's satiric attacks – both themes dear to classical satire – are not only a clear indication of the continuity of the satiric tradition, but also illustrate Tertullian's role as innovator in the development of Christian satire. Tertullian can rightly be said to have "devoted his caustic genius to inveighing against women and marriage" (Wiesen (1964) 116) in works such as *An Exhortation to Chastity* (*De exhortatione castitatis*), *On Monogamy* (*De monogamias*), and *On Modesty* (*De pudicitia*), and satiric technique is again put to good use in two passages that ridicule women's obsession with their hairstyles and with beauty in general in his *On Women's Fashion* (*De cultu feminarum* 2.7) and *On the Veiling of Virgins* (*De uirginibus uelandis* 12.3). But it is the opening of *On Modesty* (*De pudicitia* 1.1) that makes Tertullian's debt to classical satire most clear:

pudicitia, flos morum, honor corporum, decor sexuum, integritas sanguinis, fides generis, fundamentum sanctitatis, praeiudicium omnibus bonae mentis, quamquam rara nec facile perfecta uixque perpetua, tamen aliquatenus in saeculo morabitur.

Modesty, the flower of manners, the honor of our bodies, the grace of the sexes, the integrity of the blood, the guarantee of our race, the basis of moral purity, the pre-indication of every good disposition, rare though it is, and not easily perfected, and hardly eternal, will nonetheless linger in the world. (adapted from Thelwall's translation in Roberts and Donaldson (1885))

In depicting the dishonor into which modesty has fallen, Tertullian transposes into Christian terms the beginning of Juvenal's sixth Satire (Barnes (1971) 202), where the poet asserts his belief that "Chastity lingered on earth during Saturn's reign" (Juvenal 6.1–2, *credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam | in terris*; trans. Braund (2004b)). This as well as other echoes of Juvenal (Highet (1954) 183 and 297) is especially striking, given the fact that Juvenal's writings fell into near oblivion shortly after his death and were rediscovered only in the late fourth century. More importantly for the purposes of our discussion, the allusion to Juvenal is Tertullian's open acknowledgment of a "thematic" adherence to the tradition of classical satire, insofar as that tradition (and Juvenal's satires in particular) provided "a useful supplement to the book of Revelation, for a vivid denunciation of the vices of pagan Rome" (Cameron (1964) 369).

Tertullian's importance for the development of Christian satire can be seen in the influence that he exercised on Jerome. As De Vogüé noted ((1991) 269–70), Jerome's famous letter to a young woman, Eustochium, *On the Preservation of Virginity* (*De uirginitate seruanda*), stands out for the importance that classical satire plays in it. The letter (22.29) contains a clear echo of a line of Persius (1.104–5; see Hagendahl (1958) 110), and Jerome's attack upon women with literary pretensions in the same paragraph seems inspired by a similar passage in Juvenal's sixth Satire (Juvenal 6.434–56). But De Vogüé's suggestion that Jerome's satiric turn was influenced mainly by Tertullian is certainly correct. Not only is *Letter 22* deeply indebted to the works of Tertullian, as the numerous parallels between Tertullian's works and Jerome's letter show (cf. Tertullian *On the Veiling of Virgins* 17.2 and *To the Wife* 1.8.4–5 with Jerome's *Letter 22.13* and *22.29* respectively), but in that as in other letters (see section 16.4 "A New Theory of Satire" below), Jerome acknowledges that he writes satire in prose, while distancing himself from the *ad hominem* attacks of classical satire. Jerome, in fact, elaborated and articulated the concept of a new kind of satire in prose that was distinct from the tradition of Menippean satire with its blend of poetry and prose, and he explicitly cited as his model the satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. Jerome's debt to and complex relationship with pagan verse satire are discussed in detail in his letters, but his theory of Christian prose satire finds an important source of inspiration also in the works of Tertullian.

Subsequent Christian apologists put satirical technique to good use to “handle (and legitimize) improper material” such as sexual and obscene material. Danuta Shanzer has shown how Arnobius (d. c. 327 CE) exploits this technique in several passages of his apologetic treatise *Against the Pagans* (*Adversus nationes*; see Shanzer (2006) 188–90). Unlike Tertullian’s *Defense*, where the defense of Christianity and attack of paganism are skillfully blended, Arnobius’ treatise is divided into two distinct parts, the first devoted to the defense of Christianity (Books 1 and 2), the second to an attack on pagan gods (Books 3–5) and pagan rites (Books 6–7). The attack on pagan gods in particular provides Arnobius with the opportunity to indulge in some scurrilous and sexually explicit satire (Shanzer (2006) 188–89). In Book 3 of *Against the Pagans* (*Adversus nationes* 3.10), the “favorite Christian poser: do gods have genitals?” is followed by an “explicit and gross *reductio ad absurdum*” that concludes that, if gods have genitals, they must also have orgasms, menstruate, and have miscarriages and abortions. In *Against the Pagans* 4.7, Arnobius ridicules the extreme specialization of the Roman gods – a beloved subject of jokes also in pre-Christian literature – by offering a detailed satirical description of the four gods presiding over human sexual activity. But the best examples of sexually explicit and scurrilous satire can be found in Book 5, where Arnobius describes with evident relish and undeniable satiric flair an exhibitionist goddess (5.25), as well as surrogate necrophilia and buggery (5.28). Another passage in the same book shows an intriguing combination of satiric technique and quotation of classical satire in the description of a female engaging in sex with multiple gods in the shape of penises at once (5.18.4–5). A brief mention of the fertility gods (*dii conserentes*) in 5.18.4 affords Arnobius the welcome opportunity to dish some more dirt on pagan “gods” and the birth of kings. As gods morphing into human penises (*deos conserentes . . . in humani penis similitudinem uersos*), the *dii conserentes* were an easy target for satire, and Arnobius flaunts his knowledge of classical satire by alluding to a (lost) passage of Lucilius that depicted in graphic detail how Ocrisia, the mother of Servius Tullius, became pregnant with the “gods” child (5.18.5):

Ocrisiam prudentissimam feminam diuos [i.e. diuos conserentes] inseruisse genitali, explicuisse motus certos: tunc sancta ecferuentia numina uim uomuisse Lucilii ac regem Seruium natum esse Romanum.

Ocrisia, a very clever woman, inserted the gods into her genitals and started moving rhythmically: then the blessed gods boiling over poured forth the power of Lucilius and the Roman king Servius was born.

The use of classical satirists in satiric attacks against paganism features prominently also in the *Divine Institutes* (*Diuinae institutiones*) of Arnobius’ former pupil, Lactantius (c. 250–after 325 CE). Lucilius again is mentioned by

name in the first book of the *Divine Institutes*, but Lactantius makes use of Horace's and Persius' satires to ridicule the images of the gods (Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.1 quoted in *Div. inst.* 2.6; cf. also Persius 2.61 quoted in *Div. inst.* 2.2), to criticize the dedication of golden objects to the gods, to attack philosophy, and to condemn the practice of sacrifice to the gods as superstitious (see respectively Persius 2.68–69 quoted in *Div. inst.* 2.4; Persius 6.38–39 quoted in *Div. inst.* 3.16; Persius 2.29 quoted in *Div. inst.* 6.2). As in the case of Tertullian, Lactantius' striking knowledge of classical satire encompasses the work of Juvenal, which had not yet been widely rediscovered. Lactantius quotes and praises Juvenal for showing that “with wisdom no divinity is needed,” and that it is men who “make Fortune a goddess” (*Div. inst.* 3.29):

huius itaque peruersae potestatis cum uim sentirent uirtuti repugnantem, nomen ignorarent, fortunae sibi uocabulum inane finxerunt; quam quod longe a sapientia sit remotum, declarat Iuuenalis his uersibus [Juv. 10.365–66]: “nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te, nos facimus, Fortuna, deum, caeloque locamus.”

Since they felt the force of this perverse power that opposes virtue, but ignored its name, they invented for their own sake the empty name of fortune; but how far this is removed from wisdom, Juvenal makes clear in his verses: “Fortune, you'd have no power, if we were sensible; it's we who make you a goddess, it's we who give you a place in the sky.” (Juvenal trans. Braund (2004b))

But whereas Tertullian's transposition of Juvenal's lines seems to acknowledge an ideal thematic continuity between traditional verse satire and Christian prose satire, Lactantius' quotation immortalizes Juvenal “as a thinker with standards higher than most pagans, and as a coiner of pithy and memorable epigrams” (Hightet (1954) 184).

16.2 A Juvenalian Renaissance

Verse satire seems to have been a consistently popular genre throughout antiquity, and the satires of Lucilius, Horace, and Persius continued to be read and quoted frequently throughout Latin literature. All three authors are cited by the fourth-century grammarian Diomedes as the acknowledged models of the genre (see Diomedes' passage quoted below). If Lucilius was known to fourth-century and subsequent authors mostly from florilegia and from references in Cicero and Horace, Horace and Persius had become by then an important part of the school curriculum (Wiesen (1964) 4–5), and their texts were read and expounded in the schools of the Latin-speaking Western half of the Roman Empire (Jerome *Against Rufinus* 1.16). But, even though

he did eventually become a school author (Highet (1954) 299), Juvenal was initially considered one of the *neoterici* (meaning poets after Virgil) on a par with Lucan and Statius, as Servius states (see Kaster (1978)).

In contrast to his fellow satirists, Juvenal achieved virtually no recognition for more than two hundred years after his death. There is something paradoxical in the fact that such an “eminently quotable author” was ignored for so long (Cameron (1964) 368). With the exception of Tertullian and Lactantius, no mention of Juvenal or quotation of his satires is found in Latin literature until the second half of the fourth century CE. But, just as his disappearance from the literary record had been (almost) total, Juvenal’s comeback was a smashing success. The evidence for his popularity is provided by a well-known passage of Ammianus Marcellinus’ history (*Res gestae* 28.4.14, discussed in the following section), which suggests that Juvenal’s satires were one of the few works that the Roman senatorial aristocracy read and enjoyed. Its tendentiousness notwithstanding, Ammianus’ remark finds confirmation in the number of authors from the second half of the fourth century onward who quote Juvenal’s satires.

Juvenal’s striking and “unorthodox” use of language is key to understanding his success in this period. Since the “mosaic technique of composition” (Roberts (1989) 70) dominated the production of literature and informed the aesthetics of the age (cf. Shanzer (2009) and Formisano (2012)), it comes as no surprise that all the major poets of the fourth and fifth century seem to appreciate Juvenal’s ability to coin phrases. Quotations, echoes, and adaptations of Juvenalian lines are found with a certain frequency in Ausonius, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, and Claudian (Highet (1954) 181–90 and 296–303), and the grammarian Servius quotes Juvenal seventy-four times in his commentary on Virgil (Cameron (1964)).

Past scholarship has focused mostly on identifying and listing actual echoes of Juvenal’s satires, but more recent work has put such *Quellenforschung* to good use by analyzing the inner workings and implications of this allusive practice. The case of Ausonius (c. 310–95 CE) is especially interesting in this respect. On one occasion Ausonius mentions Juvenal by name and quotes a line of Juvenal’s second Satire (2.3) to invite the reader of his *Nuptial Cento* (a “patchwork” poem composed by stitching together half-lines of Virgil) to stand against the hypocrisy of possible critics of the obscenity of his poem – the kind of people who “imitate the Curii and live like the Bacchanals.” Juvenal is the first of a list of Latin and Greek authors that culminates with Virgil and is meant to show not only the ubiquity of obscenity in Greco-Roman literature, but also that a “naughty piece of writing” (*lasciua pagina*) is not incompatible with a “pure life” (*proba uita*). For the most part, however, Ausonius’ quotations of Juvenal follow a different “fixed but fluid model,” whereby a carefully selected Juvenalian tag – no more than two or three words quoted

almost always verbatim – is “embedded in a matrix of less direct echoes that are thematic in nature” (Sosin (1999a) 91). The Juvenalian tag is the true hidden gem of the Ausonian line, but is also much more than a rhetorical embellishment or a display of erudition on the part of the poet. Its discovery is meant to help the discerning reader to recognize the “more thematic and interpretive pattern of echoing” that gives meaning to the poem in which it is inserted.

Radically different and more linear is the allusive strategy followed by Claudian (c. 370–c. 404 CE). Even though Juvenalian echoes occur in other works, Claudian’s main debt to Juvenal can be seen in his virulent attack against the eunuch Eutropius, the ill-fated consul of 399. In the two books of *Against Eutropius* (*In Eutropium*), Claudian reviles the former chamberlain and gloats unabashedly over his demise. In both books, Claudian makes use of Juvenalian images and phrases (discussed by Long (1996)) and adopts the bitter and angry tone of Juvenalian anger (*indignatio*).

Echoes of Juvenal appear also in prose authors of the fourth and fifth century, pagans and Christians alike. One sure quotation of Juvenal (1.18) can be found in the letters of Symmachus (4.34.3), and several echoes of the satires have been identified in the *Emperors’ Lives* (*Historia Augusta*; see Cameron (1964)). Neither Augustine nor Jerome mentions Juvenal by name, but Augustine quotes several lines of Juvenal’s sixth Satire (6.287–95) in a letter in which he refers to Juvenal as “their (i.e. the pagans’) satirist” (138.3.16, *audiant satyricum suum uera garrientem*, “they should listen to their satirist since he rattles off the truth”). As for Jerome, the extent of his knowledge of Juvenal is a matter of scholarly dispute, as is the identification of truly Juvenalian quotations in his works (Adkin (1994)). But Jerome’s knowledge of Tertullian and his own penchant for satire suggest that Jerome might have been interested in Juvenal’s work, and a possible Juvenalian echo in the letter to Eustochium seems to confirm Jerome’s early acquaintance with the *Satires*.

16.3 Satire in Historiography

With Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–c. 400 CE), the last classical historian within the tradition of Greco-Roman historiography, “satire entered *history* and re-emerged as a prose-form” (Shanzer (2006) 187). Two long and complex digressions on the vices of the Roman senatorial aristocracy and – to a lesser extent – those of the Roman plebs (14.6 and 28.4) well illustrate the transformation of the genre and Ammianus’ penchant for it. Unlike Jerome, Ammianus does not explicitly claim to write satire in prose, but his choice of themes, the clear demarcation of both passages as excursuses within his historical narrative, and the self-conscious allusions to the tradition of Roman satire indicate that Ammianus intended to do precisely that.

In keeping with the satirical tradition, both passages expose and chastise the corrupt *mores* of the age, focusing on the vices of the aristocracy first (14.6.7–24 and 28.4.6–27) and then moving rather quickly through those of the plebs (14.6.25–26 and 28.4.28–34). The attack on the decline of the aristocracy features prominently also in both Persius' and Juvenal's satires that target Roman nobles because they fall short of the high ethical standard to which they should be held (Duff (1936) 158). Ammianus' first digression is prompted by the necessity to explain to non-Roman residents (*peregrini*) why, when the narrative turns to Roman events, it ends up focusing solely on "rioting, drunkenness, and scandals like this" (14.6.2, *nihil praeter seditiones narratur et tabernas et uilitates harum similes alias*; trans. Matthews (1986) 20).

The contrast between a past golden age and a morally decadent present was a popular commonplace (*locus communis*) in the schools of declamation that made its way into satire (Wiesen (1964) 20–21) and is frequently found also in historiography. This commonplace is elaborated by Ammianus in an original and nuanced way. Tellingly, Ammianus introduces his "satiric description of present decadence" with the same expression used by Juvenal (cf. *at nunc* in Ammianus 14.6.11, and in Juvenal 11.120; 14.189). There is no real sense of decline in the depiction of the history of Rome personified (14.6.3–6). The development of the history of Rome is described in biological terms and follows the same tripartite life cycle as any living organism (infancy–adulthood–old age). But Roma qua goddess seems to defy the laws of biology by continuing to live and conquer (14.6.3 and 6):

tempore quo primis auspiciis in mundanum fulgorem surgeret **uictura dum erunt homines Roma**, ut augeretur sublimibus incrementis, foedere pacis aeternae Virtus conuenit atque Fortuna plerumque dissidentes, quarum si altera defuisset, ad perfectam non uenerat summitatem . . . et olim licet otiosae sint tribus pacataeque centuriae et nulla suffragiorum certamina set Pompiliani redierit securitas temporis, per omnes tamen quotquot sunt partesque terrarum, ut domina suscipitur et regina.

When **Rome, who shall live and conquer as long as there are human beings**, first began to rise into a position of world-wide splendour, Virtue and Fortune, ordinarily at variance, formed a pact of eternal peace in order that she might grow to a towering stature; for if either one of them had failed her, Rome had not come to complete supremacy . . . And although for some time the tribes have been inactive and the centuries at peace, and there are no contests for votes but the tranquillity of Numa's time has returned, yet throughout all regions and parts of the earth she is accepted as mistress and queen. (adapted from Rolfe's translation (1935–39))

The two meanings of *uictura* (Matthews (1986) 20) nicely emphasize both the eternity and the strength of Rome, thus dispelling any impression of the decline usually associated with old age. As a symbol of its empire, Rome has grown into a dignified and peaceful old age and shall continue to live and conquer “as long as there are human beings.” And yet the idealized picture of the Roman past and present only heightens the contrast between the Roman senate of the past and the handful of corrupt senators living in Rome who are the main object of Ammianus’ scathing indictment. Because of their unsenatorial lack of gravity (*leuitas* is “the formal opposite of Roman *grauitas*,” as Matthews (1986) 20 perceptively observed), the Roman senators of Ammianus’ time are unfavorably compared with their predecessors (14.6.11), and, not surprisingly, the golden standard of senatorial behavior is established by the senators of the republic. Moreover, as is the case in satire, the vices of the nobility are presented by Ammianus as a peculiar characteristic of his age (28.4.17), and Ammianus reviles the materialism of contemporary senators who constantly boast of their wealth and contrasts it with the republican ideal of poverty (*paupertas*) to which their ancestors subscribed (14.6.10–11).

The clear disproportion in the two passages between the vices of the Roman senatorial aristocracy and those of the Roman plebs is consistent with Ammianus’ “aristocratic” view of historiography, as exemplified by his claim elsewhere that “not everything that has taken place among persons of the lowest class is worth narrating” (28.1.15). This view is coherent in turn with the Ciceronian ideal of *grande histoire* that Ammianus wholeheartedly embraces in his history (Matthews (2007) 204, 457, 459; Kelly (2008) 292–93). In a deservedly famous passage (26.1.1), Ammianus claims with passionate conviction that history marches along the high places and should not be concerned with “the trifling details of unimportant matters” (*humilium minutias . . . causarum*).

These considerations help us understand the importance of Ammianus’ remark at the beginning of the first digression on the Roman vices (14.6.2). According to Ammianus’ lofty view of historiography, “rioting, drunkenness, and scandals like this” should have no place in his history, because they do not qualify as appropriate subject matter for history; and Ammianus plainly tells us as much when he concludes that nothing “weighty” and therefore worthy of history happens in Rome (14.6.26, *memorable nihil uel serium Romae agi*; the adjective *memorable* used here is a clear allusion to the expression *memoria digna*, which indicates the appropriate subject matter of history). But, given the moral purpose of history as understood by Ammianus (Matthews (2007) 431 and 461), the two excursuses are ultimately included in his history as satire because they expose Roman vices, and Ammianus reassures the reader that he will apply to satire the same exacting principle of truth that governs his writing

of history (14.6.2; cf. Ammianus' profession of truth in historiography in 31.16.9):

et quoniam mirari posse quosdam peregrinos existimo haec lecturos forsitan, si contigerit, quamobrem cum oratio ad ea monstranda deflexerit quae Romae gererentur, nihil praeter seditiones narratur et tabernas et uilitates harum similis alias, summam causas perstringam nusquam a ueritate sponte propria digressurus.

Now I think that some non-Roman residents who will perhaps read this work (if I shall be so fortunate) may wonder why it is that when the narrative turns to the description of what goes on at Rome, I tell of nothing save rioting, drunkenness, and scandals like this. Accordingly, I shall briefly touch upon the reasons, intending nowhere to depart intentionally from the truth. (adapted from Rolfe)

The third element that suggests that Ammianus is in fact writing satire in prose is the use of self-conscious allusions to the satires of Juvenal in both digressions. Juvenal is actually mentioned by name in a passage that further elaborates on the topic of the cultural decline of the Roman aristocracy (28.4.14). The supposedly well-stocked libraries of the Roman nobility are "closed like tombs" (14.6.18), and the only books that the Roman senators read with "excessive interest" (28.4.14, *curatiore studio*) and waste their *otium* on are those of Juvenal and Marius Maximus, the author of notoriously prurient imperial biographies that have not survived. As we have seen previously, Ammianus' remark is confirmed by what seems to amount to a true Juvenalian renaissance in the second half of the fourth century, and Juvenal's satires are quoted by practically all the important writers and poets (Cameron (1964)). More importantly, Ammianus himself seems to have been a careful and perceptive reader of Juvenal, and, no matter how dismissive his mention of Juvenal might be, Ammianus' satiric digressions make his debt to Juvenal's satires clear.

Three passages in Ammianus' Roman digressions contain meaningful allusions to Juvenal (Amm. Marc. 14.6.9 referring to Juv. 1.26–30; Amm. Marc. 14.6.13 referring to Juv. 1.97–99; Amm. Marc. 28.4.24 referring to Juv. 6.572–78 are discussed by Kelly ((2008) 167); other Juvenalian allusions in the *Res gestae* include Amm. Marc. 27.3.5 referring to Juv. 3.106–7; Amm. Marc. 29.2.18 referring to Juv. 6.221). But before commenting on any specific passage it will be useful to provide a definition of allusion. Following Kelly (2008), who in turn follows Hinds's classic study (1998), I use the term allusion to indicate "the way a text redeploys or is influenced by an earlier text"; according to this definition, allusion is "the conscious or at the very least subconscious use of words, ideas or associations from an earlier text in a way that can be recognized by an outsider." A text can be said to allude to another when "some similarity or opposition of ideas" exists between the two texts considered, and when one can find "connections between at least two identical

or related words in each text, though a single word may suffice if particularly rare, and more evidence may be desirable if the words in question are relatively common” (Kelly (2008) 166–67).

The first passage here considered well illustrates this definition. In mocking the misplaced pride that (some) Roman senators take “in carriages higher than usual and in ostentatious finery of apparel,” Ammianus focuses on the (gross) detail of their sweating under the heavy cloaks (*sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum*), which they lift and wave “with their left hand especially” (*maximeque sinistra*) in order to display the richly embroidered tunics they wear underneath (14.6.9):

alii summum decus in carruchis solito altioribus et ambitioso uestium cultu ponentes sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum, quas in collis insertas iugulis ipsis adnectunt, nimia subtegminum tenuitate perflabilis, expandentes eas manu utraque et uexantes crebris agitationibus maximeque sinistra, ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant uarietate liciorum effigiatae in species animalium multiformes.

Other men, taking great pride in the carriages higher than usual and in ostentatious finery of apparel, sweat under heavy cloaks, which they fasten about their necks and bind around their very throats, while the air blows through them because of the excessive fineness of the material; and they lift them up with both hands and wave them with many gestures, especially with their left hands, in order that the over-long fringes and the tunics embroidered with multi-coloured threads in multiform figures of animals may be conspicuous. (adapted from Rolfe)

There is a clear allusion here to Juvenal 1.26–30 where the one-time slave Crispinus is depicted as flaunting his expensive cloak (itself a sign of decadence as remarked by Braund):

cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum uerna Canopi
Crispinus Tyrias umero reuocante lacernas
uentilet aestiuum digitis sudantibus aurum
[nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae]
difficile est saturam non scribere.

when the remnant of the Nile’s trash, that native slave of Canopus, that Crispinus, wafts a gold ring in summer on sweaty fingers [and cannot endure the weight of a larger stone] while his shoulder hitches up a Tyrian cloak! – then it is hard *not* to write satire. (trans. Braund (2004b))

Insofar as they both mock the ostentatious display of wealth in their targets’ apparel, the passage of Ammianus and that of Juvenal share a similarity of ideas, and connections can be found between more than two words in the two passages (*sudant–sudantibus*, *lacernarum–lacernas*, *ponderibus–pondera*).

There is a further implied similarity between the gesture of Crispinus and that of the Roman senators: by lifting and waving their cloaks “especially with their left hand,” the Roman senators show off their rings, which is what Crispinus does. More importantly, the possibility of seeing a deeper significance in this allusion makes its identification both certain and meaningful (for “interpretability” as one of the criteria for determining when an allusion is in fact an allusion see Kelly (2008) 170). In Juvenal’s satire, the unforgettable image of Crispinus, (possibly) a former slave who rose to a position of influence under Domitian, is the last and ostensibly the worst in a list of four abhorrent and aberrant characters that also comprises a married eunuch, a Roman married woman (*matrona*) fighting bare-breasted in the arena, and a barber-turned-millionaire. This topsy-turvy world in which the norms of sexual behavior are perverted and the social order inverted is the reason why Juvenal writes satire, and he maintains that it would be impossible not to do so. By alluding to this very passage, Ammianus seems to be making a similar point: when Roman senators behave in the same disgraceful and demeaning manner as the parvenu Crispinus, it is impossible to write history, and all that is left is (Juvenalian) satire.

One last question needs to be addressed if not answered: why would Ammianus allude to an author he seems to despise and engage in a genre whose popularity he considers a sign of cultural decline? The mention of Juvenal in the same sentence as Marius Maximus, whose biographies amounted to little more than (lurid) gossip, can hardly be a compliment to Juvenal (28.4.14), and some critics have interpreted Ammianus’ dislike of Juvenal as the (natural) reaction on the part of the historian (who famously describes himself as “Greek” in 31.16.9) to the xenophobia that Juvenal’s satires express. But Ammianus’ remark in the first of his satiric digressions about the libraries of the Roman nobility being “closed like tombs” (14.6.18) suggests that the real issue is the complete disregard of the Roman senatorial aristocracy for its cultural heritage. The senators’ unworthiness of their heritage is a leitmotif that recurs in both satiric digressions of Ammianus: the true mark of their deep cultural decline is not the fact that Roman senators love to read Juvenal and Marius Maximus, but that those authors are *all* they read, when in fact “considering the greatness of their fame and of their parentage, they ought to pore over many and varied works” (28.4.15, *cum multa et uaria pro amplitudine gloriarum et generum lectitare deberent*).

16.4 A New Theory of Satire

The writings that best represent the vitality as well as the vitriolic character of satire in late antiquity are those of Jerome (c. 347–c. 420 CE). The famous

definition of satire elaborated by the fourth-century grammarian Diomedes (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 485) well illustrates the nature and purpose of Jerome's satiric attacks as well as his main literary models in that area:

satura dicitur carmen nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum uitia compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius.

"Satire" is the name of a poem which, at least by now, is abusive and apt to carp at the vices of men; examples are the works of Lucilius, Horace, and Persius. (adapted from von Albrecht (1997) 241)

In letters, tracts, homilies, and even commentaries on the scriptures, Jerome relentlessly attacks and mocks the corrupted society and decadent *mores* of his age. Women and the institution of marriage, non-Christians and heretics, as well as his personal enemies, who *ipso facto* become the enemies of orthodoxy, are the preferred target of Jerome's violent satire. But Jerome's letters also offer illuminating insights into his concept of satire and outline the complex relationship that exists between Jerome's prose and Christian satire and the tradition of classical (i.e. verse and "pagan") satire as practiced by Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. These two topics will be the focus of my analysis in this final section of this chapter.

Jerome is well aware that literature in general and satire in particular can offer to the skilled practitioner powerful weapons for retaliation against his enemies and detractors. In a letter in which he complains about the dishonesty of Rufinus in obtaining a copy of a letter of Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem, "Jerome gives his readers a rare glimpse into his study" and into his habit of "piling up a stock of satiric arrows to be used in the battles against his enemies" (Wiesen (1964) 254–55 on *Ep.* 57.4):

uolo in chartulis meis quaslibet ineptias scribere, commentari de scripturis, remordere laedentes, digerere stomachum, in locis me exercere communibus et quasi limatas ad pugnandum sagittas reponere.

In my notebooks I want to write whatever silly thought crosses my mind, jot down comments on the scriptures, bite back those who offend me, digest my anger, practice the use of commonplaces, and stow away arrows, so to speak, sharpened and ready for battle.

There can be little doubt that, as Wiesen suggests, Jerome is here referring to the retaliatory power of classical satire (*remordere laedentes . . . et quasi limatas ad pugnandum sagittas reponere*) as well as to the cathartic effect that writing down one's naughty thoughts in a personal notebook seems to have (*digerere stomachum*). The same concept of satire recurs in another letter ostensibly

addressed to Domnio, but responding to an anonymous critic whom Jerome warns as follows (*Ep.* 50.5):

possum remordere, si uelim, possum genuinum laesus infigere; et nos didicimus litterulas, “et nos saepe manum ferulae subtraximus,” de nobis quoque dici potest: “faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge.”

I can bite back, if I'd like, I can “stick my tooth” when wounded; I too have learned literature a little, “I too have often snatched my hand from under the cane,” about me too one can say “he has hay on his horn, run far away!”

The passage contains an allusion to Persius' homage to Lucilius (1.114–15): *securit Lucilius urbem, | te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis* (“Lucilius ripped into Rome – you, Lupus, you, Mucius – and broke a molar on them”) and quotes almost verbatim Juvenal 1.15: *et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus* (“I too have snatched my hand from under the cane” (trans. Braund [2004b])) and Horace *Satire* 1.4.34: *faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge* (“he has hay on his horn, run far away!”). Jerome's message to his critic is clear: Jerome too can write satire and can do so as well as any of the classical satirists thanks to his knowledge of their writings.

This passage raises two interesting questions and sheds light on Jerome's concept of satire. First, by quoting Persius, Juvenal, and Horace respectively, Jerome not only displays his knowledge of classical satire, but also places himself squarely in the same tradition regardless of the fact that he is writing in prose. This proves that, as in the case of Ammianus, Jerome did not regard meter as an essential element of satire, a further illustration of the “plasticity” with which not only classical poets but also late antique prose writers “handled genre” (Farrell (2003) 396). Moreover, in quoting Horace (*Sat.* 1.4.34), Jerome seems to ignore the original context of the remark as part of a satire in which Horace offers a one-sided and exaggerated view of Lucilius' writings as marked by personal invective, which he criticizes (Williams (1968) 448), while vehemently denying that the purpose of his satire is to wound his adversaries. According to Wiesen's interpretation of this passage, Jerome's intention is to “make clear that, although he recognizes himself as heir of the classical satirists, he will not be copying the genial Horace, who studiously sought to avoid wounding, but will instead employ a more personal and vitriolic method of attack” (Wiesen (1964) 254). That may be so, and the rest of the letter to Domnio makes the “personal and vitriolic” character of Jerome's satiric attack abundantly clear. But the letter to Domnio also exposes an apparent contradiction in Jerome's attitude toward classical satire: at first the quotation of the classical satirists is meant to show that Jerome is educated enough to write satire, and he proves his claim by seemingly satirizing and ridiculing his

adversary. Later on in the letter, however, Jerome seems to reject classical satire *in toto* by stating that he prefers to be a “disciple of Him who says ‘I gave my back to the smiters’” (*Ep.* 50.5). This last remark can therefore be viewed as an indirect indictment of the personal and *ad hominem* character of aggression in classical satire *in general* – an aspect of satire which Jerome finds reprehensible from a Christian point of view.

There is certainly a great deal of ambiguity and perhaps even cowardice in Jerome’s satiric stance: on the one hand, he seems to relish his savage attacks against his personal enemies, as in the letter to Domnio; on the other, Jerome regularly (and vehemently) denies any malevolent backbiting and often warns the recipients of his letters against an “evil-speaking tongue” (*maledicam linguam*), which is considered a major impediment to a truly Christian life (see *Letter* 54.9 and cf. also *Letter* 46.10; 52.14). One can certainly take issue – as Wiesen does – with the ambiguity of Jerome’s satiric stance, since Jerome claims to be the heir of the tradition of classical satire while apparently condemning that tradition as contrary to Christian teaching. But, as we shall see, this ambiguity is the product of the tension between tradition and innovation inherent in Jerome’s satiric program: while using the language and technique inherited from classical satire, Jerome – ideally, at least – aspires to write a satire that is “universal” rather than aimed at individuals and whose purpose is curative rather than aggressive (see below).

Jerome’s intention to write “universal” satire is evident in another letter written to Marcella, but addressed to a certain Onasus, a pseudonym invented by Jerome to hide the identity of his target and to protect himself against possible retaliation. In that letter (40.2), Jerome states that Onasus is “foolishly trying to prove” (*stulte arguis*) that he (i.e. Jerome) is a “satirical writer in prose” (*satiricum scriptorem in prosa*). This remark has been taken to mean that Jerome is rejecting as absurd Onasus’ accusation that he is writing satire in prose. But, as we have seen, Jerome did not consider meter as an essential element of satire and could claim to be the heir of the classical tradition of satire even though he wrote in prose. As in the case discussed above (*Letter* 50), the issue here is the character of Jerome’s satire, and Wiesen ((1964) 253) has persuasively demonstrated that, according to Jerome, Onasus is a fool not because he tries to prove that Jerome is a writer of satire *in prose*, but because he is convinced that Jerome’s satire is aimed at him in particular (*Letter* 40.2):

in quodcumque uitium stili mei mucro contorquetur, te clamitas designari,
conserta manu me in ius uocas et satiricum scriptorem in prosa stulte arguis.

No matter what vice the sword-like tip of my pen is turned against, you cry out loud that you are the target, you join battle and call me into court and foolishly try to prove that I am a satirical writer in prose. (adapted from Wright (1933))

There seems to be here an indirect allusion to Horace's famous remark "What are you laughing at? Change the name and the joke's on you" (*Sat.* 1.1.69–70, *quid rides? mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*). But whereas Horace takes issue with the uncritical reader who is unable to recognize his own vices when ridiculed in satires, Jerome rebukes a paranoid reader who is obsessed by the thought of being the sole target of a satirical attack (*Letter* 40.2):

numquid solus Onasus Segestanus caua uerba et in uesicarum modum tumentia buccis trutinatur inflatis?

Is Onasus of Segesta the only person who puffs his cheeks and weighs out words with nothing in them like a bladder full of wind? (trans. Wright)

The image of the windbag weighing out (*trutinari*) empty and conceited words (*caua et tumentia*), which recurs (with variants) in a number of Jerome's letters (36.14, 53.7, 125.16) is clearly inspired by Persius (3.82, *atque exporrecto trutinantur uerba labello* "and [Arcesilas and the Solons] **weigh words on their stuck-out lips**"; 5.13, *nec scloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas* "nor do you strain to burst your **swollen cheeks** with a pop" (trans. Braund (2004b)); for Persius' influence on this image, see Godel (1964) 68). Jerome's rhetorical (and ironical) question couched in the colorful language of satire allows him to have his cake and eat it too. Jerome can pretend to be interested in chastising "windbaggy" in general and maintain plausibly that his description of windbags applies to more than one individual. But, just as in the case of a man with a wen or of a chattering crow (below), Onasus' paranoid reaction to Jerome's "universal" satire against windbags proves that Onasus himself is a windbag (*Letter* 40.2; cf. the image of the chattering crow with Persius' use of the verb *cornicari* in 5.12):

disposui nasum secare fetentem: timeat, qui strumosus est. uolo corniculae detrahare garrienti: rancidulam se intellegat cornix.

I am prepared to cut off a foul-smelling nose: those who suffer from a wen may well shake in their shoes. I intend to rebuke a chattering crow: the fellow-bird may well see that he too is offensive. (trans. Wright)

Jerome's satiric attacks are often accompanied by statements similar to the ones outlined above, which we might call programmatic insofar as they define the essence of satire as practiced by him. In a letter addressed to a certain Rusticus (*Letter* 125), a Gallic monk, Jerome offers a picture of the ideal life to be led by a monk and does so by employing the technique of satire in listing and describing in detail the faults that he has observed in contemporary monastic

life. Jerome prefaces his satiric attack of monastic faults with the following remark (*Letter* 125.5):

ego enim neminem nominabo nec ueteris comoediae licentia certas personas eligam atque perstringam.

I shall not mention names nor use the license of the Old Comedy to pick out definite [specific] persons for criticism. (trans. Wright)

The fact that the remark is “an attempt to disarm the opposition which [Jerome] knows must follow from his satiric critique” (Wiesen (1964) 86) should not blind us to the main point that Jerome is trying to convey. Jerome’s words are clearly reminiscent of Horace’s criticism of Lucilius for attacking individuals in his satires with the freedom and scurrility (*multa cum libertate*) of Old Comedy (Hagendahl (1958) 155). The implicit reference to Lucilius is especially intriguing when put in relation with another explicit reference to the founding father of satire. In the opening of a letter (*Letter* 117.1) that purports to have been written upon the request of an unnamed monk from Gaul, Jerome stages a (fictitious) dialogue between himself and the monk in which the latter tries to overcome Jerome’s initial reluctance to compose a caustic admonition against immorality and to address it to the mother and sister of the monk. The letter is almost certainly a rhetorical fiction, and Jerome seems to put his own words into the mouth of the unnamed monk, while he voices the objections of the critics of his previous satirical attacks. The monk explicitly compares Jerome to Lucilius by quoting Horace’s famous characterization of Lucilian satire to define Jerome’s satire, with one important difference (Wiesen (1964) 256): whereas Lucilius had “scoured the city of Rome (*urbs*) with abundant salt” (Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.3–4, *sale multo urbem defricuit*), Jerome had done the same but to the entire world (*orbis*) (*Letter* 117.1):

ubi illa quondam constantia, in qua multo sale orbem defricans Lucilianum quippiam rettulisti?

Where is now that former resolution of yours with which you brought back into fashion a Lucilian *je ne sais quoi* by scouring the whole world with abundant salt?

Jerome’s “arrogance” in quoting (or rather inventing) this self-flattering anecdote has been duly noted by modern scholarship (Wiesen (1964) 257). The story, however, not only proves that Jerome engaged in competition (*aemulatio*) with the tradition of classical satire, but also conveys an important point about the “universality” of his satire, insofar as the vices reprimanded by Jerome far exceed the limits of the *urbs*. The boundaries of Jerome’s satire are not confined to the city of Rome precisely because Jerome does not attack an individual or a city but aspires to the universal. On the one hand, Jerome views

himself as the heir of the tradition of classical satire; on the other hand, he underscores the shortcomings of that tradition and proclaims the superiority of his Christian satire.

These considerations about the “universality” of Jerome’s satire find further confirmation in a cryptic statement by Jerome who, in the famous letter on virginity addressed to Eustochium (discussed above), claims that he will refrain from mentioning names in order to avoid the impression that he is writing satire (*Letter 22.1, nomina taceo, ne satiram putes*). As Wiesen has correctly argued, a connoisseur of satire of the caliber of Jerome could not have thought that “the omission of personal names would destroy the satiric nature of the tale,” and Jerome was no doubt aware that classical satirists did not necessarily mention their targets by name (Wiesen (1964) 249). Jerome’s remark is not a disclaimer that he did not write satire at all, but that his satire did not engage in the kind of *personal* attack that the naming of names in classical satire would suggest. In that respect Jerome does not seem to distinguish between the various satirists, but his concern with the *ad hominem* attack seems to be a consequence of his Christianity.

Because his satire is meant to strip away people’s vices, Jerome fully expects that he will end up offending the majority of his readers:

unde non mirum est, si et nos uitii detrahentes offendimus plurimos.

So it is not surprising if we too offend very many when we try to strip away their vices. (*Letter 40.2*, trans. Wright)

scio me offensurum esse quam plurimos, qui generalem de uitii disputationem in suam referant contumeliam, et, dum irascuntur, suam indicant conscientiam multoque peius de se quam de me iudicant.

I know that I shall offend a very large number of people who think that any general discourse on vice is meant as an attack upon themselves. Their anger against me is evidence of a guilty conscience, and they pass a severer judgment on their own character than on mine. (*Letter 125.5*, trans. Wright)

Only wise men and women are able to understand the lesson implicit in Jerome’s satire and be angry at themselves rather than at any well-intentioned adviser, guilty only of pointing out the faults they need to correct:

prudentis uiri est ac prudentium feminarum dissimulare, immo emendare, quod in se intellegant, et indignari sibi magis quam mihi nec in monitorem maledicta congerere, qui, ut idem teneatur criminibus, certe in eo melior est, quod sua ei mala non placent.

A wise man and wise women will either hide or correct any faults they find in themselves, they will be more indignant with themselves than with me, and will

not heap curses upon their adviser. Granted that he is liable to the same charges as they are, in his case his faults give him no pleasure; and so far at least he is their superior. (*Letter* 125.5, trans. Wright)

This and other passages suggest that Jerome views satire – especially his “universal” satire – as socially beneficial, but appreciates the unpleasantness of the satirical process. In this respect too, Jerome is the true heir of classical satire, since, when attacked, the classical satirists had “always argued their sanative purpose” (Randolph (1941) 143). The satires of Persius in particular are rich in “strikingly physical” metaphors when they describe the effect of satire on its readers (Keane (2006) 49; see also her contribution in this volume, Chapter 4). But whereas Persius’ description “approaches a medical metaphor,” several of Jerome’s letters establish an explicit parallel between the activity of the satirist and that of doctors (see *Letter* 40.1 and 117.2).

It is precisely the elaboration of medical metaphors to describe satire that is perhaps Jerome’s most original and influential contribution to the development of satiric discourse. In English Renaissance satire, the satirist’s victim is often enjoined to submit patiently to all kinds of violent flailings, bleedings, probings, brandings, and purgings, and is constantly reminded that such painful procedures are all for his own ultimate good (Randolph (1941) 149). This widespread and persistent use of medical metaphors in the literature of the period seems to have been inspired by Jerome. The medical notion of satire appears prominently in the title of the first English translation of Horace’s satires (*A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of saint Hierome*). The “zealously puritanical” Thomas Drant (d. 1578?; see Jensen (2007)) translated (or, according to Randolph (1941) 143, “mutilated”) Horace’s satires in conformity with the well-known theory of translation that Jerome expounded in his letter to Pammachius (*Letter* 57). Drant’s familiarity with the letters of Jerome is not surprising given their popularity in the Middle Ages and the number of editions that were printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, culminating in Erasmus’ *editio princeps* (Basel 1516–1520); nor is it hard to see that his translation of Horace’s *Satires* was influenced by Jerome’s own idea of satire. It is because of Jerome that the increasingly popular genre of satire came to be regarded as a cleansing and bitter medicament to be administered to society’s body.

FURTHER READING

The best starting point for understanding satire and the satirical in later Latin literature remains Wiesen’s 1964 monograph on Jerome. Weston’s doctoral dissertation (1915) provides an ample selection of “satirical” passages in post-Juvenalian literature, but

little help in term of analysis. Though only in part devoted to satire, Danuta Shanzer's article (2006) offers great insights into the workings of Christian satire. Much attention has been devoted to the Juvenalian renaissance in the late fourth century CE (Cameron (1964); Tarrant (1983)), and recent studies on the workings of allusion to satire in late antique literature have opened a promising avenue of inquiry (Sosin (1999a); Kelly (2008)).

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Imperial Satire in the English Renaissance

Stuart Gillespie

17.1 Overview

Though Persius and Juvenal were both curricular authors in medieval schooling (Curtius (1953) 49), neither they nor the other Roman satirists had much impact on writing in English before the later sixteenth century. The concern of Roman satire with Rome itself in part explains this: not until they find themselves in what can be imagined as comparable urban centers do European poets start thinking concertedly about how their own circumstances resemble, and how their own voices can harmonize with, those of the ancient satirists. Early attempts at recuperation of Roman satire made in the 1520s and 1530s, though innovative, did not quite meet these conditions, and did not lead to further responses. They were directed towards court life, as seen by a small number of courtly writers: the Italians Ludovico Ariosto (1424–1533) and Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556), and in England Sir Thomas Wyatt (*c.* 1503–42). While often thinking of themselves as Horatian, all three have links to other Roman satirists. Juvenal influences Alamanni, whose tenth Satire draws closely on Juvenal's third, while Wyatt imitates Persius.

The early printed editions of the Latin satirists again tended to make Horace dominant. In compilations Persius was invariably placed at the back (for a bibliography of Persius editions see Morgan (1909)). As with other classics, of course, continental texts were until a late date what the English would normally have used, and of these there was no shortage – some fifty editions of Juvenal were issued in the years 1570–1600 alone, almost all of them

originating in France, Germany, or Italy. There was no English printing of Juvenal until the 1570s, and the first really satisfactory edition did not appear until 1612, its text that of Thomas Farnaby. The first Roman satirist to be printed complete in English translation is also Horace: Thomas Drant's (often extremely free) version appears in 1567; the corresponding dates for Persius and Juvenal are 1616 and 1647 respectively. When, however, in the final decade of the sixteenth century a new momentum drives English verse satire forward, and when, instead of isolated pioneers, a grouping of English satirists emerges to position the genre as an established feature of the literary scene, it is not to Horace that they look. In the 1590s the rapid geographical expansion of London and the perceived corruptions of an urban culture with which they could not identify led a number of young verse satirists, all born in the 1570s, to cultivate Juvenalian techniques. This is the era of John Donne (*c.* 1572–1631), John Marston (1575?–1634), Joseph Hall (1574–1656), and Everard Guilpin (*fl.* 1598), all of them often attracted to the abrasiveness of Juvenal rather than the suavity of Horace. Readers might have guessed as much before even perusing their satires, from titles such as *Virgidemiae* ("Rods"), *The Whipping of the Satyre*, *The Scourge of Folly*, and *Abuses Stript and Whipt*. Violent scourging was all the rage – sometimes very much for its own sake.

The seventeenth-century narrative is a varied one. The standard version runs that "in spite of Casaubon's attempt to raise the prestige of Persius in his scholarly edition (1605), interest lay . . . primarily with Horace and Juvenal" (Wheeler (1992) 14). True enough, yet Persius (usually associated for his manner with Juvenal rather than Horace) was sufficiently intriguing to attract attention, perhaps most extensively in the complete 1616 verse translation by Barten Holyday, reprinted until as late as the 1670s. As for Juvenal's translation history, although it begins late it is distinguished by "tremendous zeal in translations, paraphrases, adaptations, and parodies – zeal which more often than not was coupled with intensity, vigor, and talent" (Parássoglou (1971) 13). It had generated an extensive record even before the 1693 version by Dryden and others which drew on several predecessors to become standard for the eighteenth century (treated in this volume by Osgood and Braund (Chapter 18) and also by Hooley (Chapter 15)). For a miscellaneous range of poetic and dramatic responses to Juvenal additional to those noted here, see Winkler (2001) xxxii–xxxvi.

17.2 Reputations

Juvenal, Persius, and Horace were school authors in sixteenth-century England (for grammar schools and their curricula see Baldwin (1944)). They were taught in the higher forms, with appropriate care to avoid

corrupting the pupils' "manners" by "lasciviousnesse or otherwise," as a standard manual expressed it (Brinsley (1622) 64). In Charles Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* (1660) all three are prominent upper school authors, along with Lucan, Seneca, Martial, and Plautus. Both Juvenal's familiarity and his doubtful character are reflected in an allusion the more knowing members of the audience would likely have discerned in a hit play of the 1601 season, when Hamlet's report of his reading matter seems to glance at the tenth Satire (on Shakespeare and Juvenal see further Baldwin (1944) II 526–42; Kilpatrick (1982)). Hamlet tells Polonius he is reading "Slanders";

for the satirical rogue says here that old men have grey beards, that their faces are wrinkled, their eyes purging thick amber and plum-tree gum, and that they have a plentiful lack of wit, together with most weak hams; all which, sir, though I most powerfully and potently believe, yet I hold it not honest to have it thus set down. (II.2, 193–98)

Hamlet may possibly not be entirely serious, but Juvenal's moral questionability is a serious consideration for Renaissance readers. The sixteenth-century scholar J.C. Scaliger ((1561) 149) insisted that a good man should abstain from reading him.

While taking up this position, the declaration of which is plainly likely to heighten and not reduce men's determination to do so, Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* of 1561 also characterizes Juvenal and his fellow satirists' styles: *Iuuenalis ardet, instat apertè, iugulat. Persius insultat. Horatius irridet* ("Juvenal burns, makes open attack, and goes for the throat. Persius insults. Horace mocks"). Taking note of these differences, Scaliger goes on to construct the familiar binary between harsh and gentle satire: *ut alibi diximus, species duae. Altera sedatior, qualis Horatiana, ac sermoni proprior. Altera concitator, quae magis placuit Iuuenali et Persio* ("as we have said elsewhere, there are two kinds of satiric style. One is gentler, like the Horatian, and closer to *sermo*. The other, preferred by Juvenal and Persius, is more spirited"). The early English discussion by Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) may be based on Scaliger's classification in associating Persius and Juvenal while omitting Horace's name from the list of exponents of the "harsh" tradition:

There was yet another kind of Poet, who intended to taxe the common abuses and vice of the people in rough and bitter speeches, and their invectives were called *Satyres*, and them selves *Satiriques*: such were *Lucilius*, *Juvenall* and *Persius* among the Latines, and with us he that wrote the booke called *Piers plowman*. (Puttenham (1589) 20)

Yet while there was plenty of agreement about the Roman satirists' respective techniques and characters, there was little about their relative status: competing definitions of satire and its purposes prevented it (for fuller recent analyses see D. Griffin (1994) 12–14; Weinbrot (1982) xiii–xv). Scaliger, incorrectly deriving the word from the ancient “satyr” play, saw satire as a dilution (*diluendam*) of the vehemence of tragedy, and presented Juvenal as an improvement on Horace not only in *acrimonia reprehensis* (vituperative power) but in invention and wit too. But once Casaubon (in his *De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira* (1605b)) had disproved the association with tragedy, the way was clear for Heinsius and Vossius to adopt an unabashedly Horatian definition of satire as a combination of attack with playful jest in plain style. Vossius summarized:

Ut igitur finis satyrae est mores emendare: forma ejus est ludus . . . Ingenuus ille ludus sermone constat partim acri, et didactici; partim lepido, et urbano. Priori magis gaudet Juvenalis, posteriori Horatius. (Vossius (1647) 241)

The end of satire being to correct moral behaviour, it takes the form of jest . . . The open jest is in the style of speech partly vehement and satirical, partly delicate and urbane. The former gave greater pleasure to Juvenal, the latter to Horace.

The terms of the description, as can be seen, are still Scaliger's, but the implied stylistic allegiance is now to Horace, whereas Scaliger had favored Juvenal. And so it continued, the same basic distinctions providing for recurrent arguments about vice and folly, railing and raillery. The binary merely provided for a succession of admirers respectively of Horace and Juvenal to promote their author. So, for instance, Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* pronounces Horace “nothing so bitter, so not so good as *Juvenal*,” and goes on: “*Juvenal* of Satyrists is the best . . . though he be sententious tart, yet is his phrase cleare and open” (Peacham (1622) 89). By the end of the seventeenth century, in the magisterial comparison between Horace, Juvenal, and Persius at the center of what is still the classic English analysis of the genre, the *Discourse of Satire* (1693), Dryden recognizes that the theory of satire which has come down to him consists not of scholarly debate and consensus but of a “long dispute amongst the modern critics” (in Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 357). Dryden himself is at pains to find equal merit in Horace and Juvenal.

Both Peacham and Dryden had less time for Persius in their critical observations. “I know not why we should so much affect him,” Peacham wrote, “since with his obscuritie he laboureth not to affect us; yet in our learned age he is now discovered to every Schoole-boie: his stile is broken, forward, unpleasing, and harsh” (Peacham (1622) 89). But Persius had, then, at least retained his place on

the school syllabus, and Dryden, who translated him in schoolboy exercises at Westminster School a couple of decades later, went on to translate his complete collection single-handedly (whereas he distributed Juvenal among a team). Once again, no very simple picture can be painted.

This, however, is to anticipate, and we need to return to the sixteenth century. The later Elizabethans fully and explicitly recognize some of the stylistic qualities of both Juvenal and Persius – qualities their own training in rhetoric predisposed them to stress. We might today be no less clear about Juvenal's dazzling rhetoric and sensational subject matter, but familiarity has perhaps dulled for us the edge of his roughness, rebarbateness, and obscurity, also prominent in Elizabethan responses. These qualities, to be sure, are not always seen as distinctive of just one Roman satirist, and certainly not always seen as positive. Thomas Nashe writes in *Strange News*, 1592:

Horace, Persius, Juvenall, my poore judgment lendeth you plentiful allowance of applause: yet had you, with the *Phrigian* melodie that stirreth men up to battalle and furie, mixt the *Dorian* tune, that favoereth mirth and pleasure, your unsugred pilles (however excellently medicinable) would not have beene so harsh in the swallowing. (Nashe (1910) I 284–85)

Often, though, the late Elizabethans singled out Juvenal's key as the one to write in. He was tonally, emotionally, direct, his *saeva indignatio* apt for the times. The character of Ingenioso (a stereotypically violent Elizabethan satirist, probably intended to suggest Nashe), in the anonymous stage play *The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus*, invokes him thus (a "jerk" is a satirical thrust):

I, Juvenall: thy jerking hand is good,
Not gently laying on, but fetching blood;
So, surgeon-like, thou dost with cutting heale,
Where nought but lanching can the wound awayle.
(I.I.86–89)

The lacerating, the scabrous, the sensational, the lascivious – these features made Juvenal congenial (this parody also suggests the self-righteousness of his moral stance appealed all too strongly). Persius too was sufficiently dark and twisted. So Marston, in *The Scourge of Villanie*:

Know I hate to affect too much obscurity, and harshnes, because they profit no sence . . . *Persius* is crabby, because antient, and his jerks, (being perticularly given to private customes of his time) dusky. *Juvenall* (upon the like occasion) seemes to our judgement, gloomy. Yet both of them goe a good seemely pace, not stumbling, shuffling. (Marston (1599) B3^{r-v})

Style was one thing. But for English poets like Donne or Marston, the contrast between mocking Horace and biting Juvenal was also a matter of what was known of their respective places in Roman life. In the 1590s this tended to make Juvenal seem the more congenial of the two. Horace was unlike the Elizabethan satirists in being able to rely on a benign patron (none of their printed volumes carried dedications, making the genre unique in verse of the period), whereas Juvenal's position, they believed, had like theirs been legally and socially precarious. Further, by the 1590s the law of libel had acquired new dimensions which exerted new pressures on English writers. There was no bar to attacking *types* of vice, and anything defamatory was legally interpretable only in the mildest sense available; but statute provided for the severe punishment of attacks on either the monarch or the common law, making it dangerous to address social or political abuses. "As a result of these legal pressures [Elizabethan satirists] tend to mask attacks on general ills, such as the depopulation of the countryside through enclosure, as attacks on types, such as crooked lawyers" (Burrow (2005) 252). By 1599 the authorities, in the persons of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, had arrived at another solution: the printing of "satires or epigrams" was now prohibited altogether. That left open the possibility of charting new waters by presenting satire on the stage, but meanwhile, within two years of Hall's proclaiming himself the first English satirist in *Virgidemiae*, his book was recalled and works by Marston, Guilpin, and others burned. In the succeeding decade, for fear of legal repercussions, the word "satire" was very rarely used on the title pages of new collections of verse. The torrent of formal satire from the closing years of the seventeenth century was redirected into new channels as the biting satirist infiltrated the comic and tragic theatrical satire of Jonson, Marston, and Shakespeare.

With Persius, too, what was understood of the man and his beliefs inflected response in a fundamental way. Persius had all along been seen as a different kind of figure, in a light which goes back to Augustine's citation of Persius' call to self-knowledge (*Satire* 3) at *De civitate dei* 2.6: as a proto-Christian. "What he teaches," Dryden would write, "might be taught from pulpits" (in Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 401). His editors and critics allude to his *sanctitas scribendi*: Joachim Vadian sees him in 1518 as "unsurpassed in gravity and elegance amongst teachers of morals, and most in accord both with the truth and with our religion" (Vadian (1973) 1.263; *salubrium eum praeceptorum gravitate et concinnitate a nullo superari, et cum veritati tum religioni nostrae cum primis esse consonum*). Francis Meres, writing in 1598, knows that "he is reported among all writers to be of an honeste life and upright conversation" (Meres (1634) 622), on the side of virtue and not, like Juvenal, particularly controversial. Persius was especially concerned with the reformatory

purposes of satire. In the *Prolegomena* attached to his famous (1605a) edition Casaubon described Persius – contrasting him with Horace – as “unswerving in his devotion to virtue, a steadfast and constant enemy of vice, always consistent” (trans. Medine (1976) 290). In many ways, and naturally enough, Persius’ standing reflects the standing of Stoicism – and Stoicism was often regarded as a “way of Wisdom . . . which certainly is such, as (in conjunction with the holy Scriptures) will lead us to tranquillity, and peace,” in the words of a late sixteenth-century translation of Lipsius (Stradling (1939) 203). While in some ways subordinated to his fellow-satirists, then, Persius could represent an alternative model, on account of what were thought to be his allegiances – and also on account of what was understood to be his manner. Juvenalian protreptic zeal and Persianic diatribe were clearly remote from Horatian *sermo*, and Donne, in particular, seems to have found both to his taste.

Changing conditions naturally changed the way the ancients were viewed. The later Elizabethans identified with Juvenal’s social position and adopted some of his solutions to legal constraints. By the time we reach Robert Stapylton’s translation in the 1640s, Juvenal’s claims to attention seem to have shifted, for this is how Stapylton introduces his original:

If you view him in a *right line*, you will then behold a true *Philosopher*; not one of those that *dispute* of Virtue and Vice, but that with inimitable *sweetnesse of language*, and *Majesty of Sentences*, sets before our eyes the lovelinesse of the one, and the deformity and horour of the other; with all the skill and *perfection of Philosophy*. (Stapylton (1647) A5^r)

This anticipates Dryden’s argument that Horace is the better artist, Juvenal the more important moralist or (Dryden uses the word more than once) philosopher. But it also suggests how unstable were seventeenth-century views of Juvenal: “sweetness of language” seems to attribute to him a quality precisely opposite to most of the earlier verdicts quoted above.

17.3 Wyatt

Comparing the reputations of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal reveals differences in their respective cultural status in the Renaissance period. Yet the general verdict will obviously not receive assent from every individual reader, and nor is there any reason to expect relative cultural standings to be reflected in all the creative responses each ancient poet elicits. Perhaps the most respected will not be found assimilable or adaptable to English literary norms. Perhaps the most

urgent artistic needs may happen to be answered by an ancient with a lesser reputation.

Something of these conflicts is apparent in miniature in the responses of the courtier-poet Sir Thomas Wyatt, one of the most interesting English mediators of classical Latin poetry in the earlier sixteenth century, with a pronounced taste for satire. All the constituents of Wyatt's small corpus of satires are imitations, his most conspicuous models being Alamanni and Horace. One of Wyatt's formal satires, *Myne owne John Poyntz* (Poyntz was a personal friend), may seem to draw on Juvenal *Satires* 2 and 3 to contrast the dangers of court with the simplicity of the country and his own honesty. Wyatt rejects the imperative

To press the virtue that it may not rise:
As drunkenness good fellowship to call,
The friendly foe with false and double face
Say he is gentle and courteous therewithal.
(Wyatt (1986) 69)

Juvenal's *frontis nulla fides* (2.8) seems close to the surface here. Yet this poem is in fact a translation from Alamanni, so the mediation of Juvenal comes about indirectly.

Again in Wyatt's *My Mother's Maids* the sources require careful evaluation, and here can be illustrated the point that "the most conspicuous models" need not always mean "the most significant models." The poem as a whole is conspicuously based on Horace's *Satire* 2.6 (perhaps with input from later vernacular retellings of the fable of the town and country mouse), but Wyatt's original development of the theme is done, in a Christian humanist vein, through the Stoic lens of Seneca and Persius. He ends with the following direct translation from Persius 3.35–38, invoking remorse for the lustful sinner looking back on his lost virtue:

But to the great God and to his high doom
None other pain pray I for them to be
But when the rage doth lead them from the right
That, looking backward, Virtue they may see

Even as she is, so goodly fair and bright,
And, whilst they clasp their lust in arms across,
Grant them, good Lord, as thou mayest of thy might,
To fret inward for losing such a loss.
(Wyatt (1986) 76)

This passage is “significant” by virtue simply of admitting Persius into a poem, and a corpus, grounded in a highly creative response to foreign verse both ancient and modern. Beyond this, it is remarkable for its comprehensive and convincing reprocessing of the Latin lines. The last of these (for instance) is *uirtutem uideant intabescantque relictā* (Persius 3.38). There is nothing Latinate left in Wyatt’s language here: “fret inward” is his version of *intabescere*, “pine away”; “losing such a loss” of *uirtute relictā*, “virtue lost forever.”

With Wyatt, then, at the beginning of formal verse satire in the English Renaissance, there is a confluence of sources, as Horace and Persius meet neoclassical Italian writing. One part of Wyatt’s originality is the adoption of these models itself, for while there had been previous English satires (*Piers Plowman* was mentioned above), none had made such an extensive commitment to the ancients.

17.4 The Elizabethans and Jacobeans

Wyatt had no immediate successors as a satirist. The occasional satirical productions of the ensuing decades often revert to native English models, as for instance in George Gascoigne’s *The Steele Glas* (1576). It is the appearance of Donne’s satires in manuscript in the 1590s that marks a new phase in formal verse satire, and the immediate aftermath is the development of satire as a distinct genre in England – as indeed was recognized at the time. Francis Meres, writing in 1598, was one of those who discerned in the works of his contemporaries a continuation of the Roman tradition:

As Horace, Lucilius, Juvenall, Persius and Lucullus [*sic*] are the best for Satyre among the Latines: so with us in the same faculty these are chiefe, *Piers Plowman*, Lodge, Hall of Imanuall Colledge in Cambridge; the Authours of *Pigmaliones Image*, and certaine Satyrs; the Author of *Skialietheia*. (Meres (1634) 627)

The last two writers alluded to are Marston and Guilpin respectively.

As in later eras, responses to Persius and Juvenal took a variety of forms: educational use, allusion, imitation, adaptation, critical comment, scholarly explication, and more. The emphasis in what follows will be on creative responses, the overall pattern of which implies they are ultimately rooted in an interest in the satirical genre of the “character” or “portrait.” But first, it is as well to remind ourselves that the place of Juvenal and Persius in this period

was often secondary, if nevertheless distinctive. For example, we know the learned Ben Jonson to have been an assiduous reader of Juvenal. He owned a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Satires* as well as copies of the Ceruto 1599 and Lubin 1603 editions (McPherson (1974) 56). He included Juvenal quotations in his plays and made Juvenalian attacks on the times in his poems (*Underwoods* 15 and 84). There is also one more substantial point of contact: the partial translation from *Satire* 10 in his tragedy *Sejanus* (1603), where Jonson adapts the account of Sejanus' fall into speeches he puts in his characters' mouths. The emphases differ, but the moral is similar (compare Juv. 10.74–77):

But, had SEJANUS thriv'd
In his designe, and prosperously opprest
The old TIBERIUS, then, in that same minute,
These very raskals, that now rage like *furies*
Would have proclaim'd SEJANUS emperour.
(V, 800–804)

Jonson was also familiar enough with Persius to present his friend Sir John Roe with a copy of Casaubon's edition, and to compose a Latin epigram to welcome the edition compiled by another friend, Thomas Farnaby (mentioned above).

But these points of contact must not be taken to suggest that Juvenal (or Persius) occupied a primary position for Jonson, for instead, in constructing himself partly as a Roman satirist, the English poet grounds himself consistently on Horace, then, next in order of importance, on Martial. True, "Jonson's Horace shared many concerns with the Juvenalian satirists of the 1590s" (Burrow (2005) 255). But Jonson's material comes more often from Martial than Juvenal, and a Horatian mode, manner, and *persona* are part of his work from early to late in his career.

Another contemporary, Thomas Lodge, actually reinvents Juvenal in a Horatian mode. His *Satyre 4: To a Deere Friend lately given over to Covetousnesse* takes Juvenal's warnings on the horrors of old age (10.188–209) and turns them into an address to a friend in the Horatian manner:

I heare of late (but hould it verie strange
That such vaine newes is common in the change)
How being old, and drawing to the grave,
Thou waxest greedie, and desir'st to save:
As if thy life of sorrowes had no store,
But thou in policie shoudst purchase more?
(Lodge (1595) E2^v)

And Lodge's *Satyre* 5 superimposes on the famously astringent lines of Stoic consolation at the close of Juvenal *Satire* 10 the humble aspirations of Horace's *Satire* 2.6:

What then in right for good may we elect? . . .
 An humble cote entapiss'd with mosse,
 A lowlie life that feares no sodaine losse:
 A mind that dreads no fal, nor craves no crowne,
 But makes his true-content, his best renowne.
 (Lodge (1595) G2^r)

Thus, notwithstanding his use of some Juvenalian themes, Juvenal is subordinated to Horatian norms in Lodge's satirical writing. That writing anticipates English Horatian satire of the future, of plain style in balanced heroic couplets.

But the role of Juvenal and Persius was not always so limited. The case is different with Donne, Marston, Hall, and Guilpin, so much so as to have provoked Alvin Kernan to claim that "although to our eyes Jacobean London, despite certain similarities, was in a state of pristine vigor compared to first-century Rome, its inhabitants seem to have felt they were akin to the despairing Stoics of the post-Augustan Empire" (Kernan (1959) 67). These younger contemporaries of Shakespeare set out to imitate, even rival, Juvenal and Persius in their use of names, themes, ideas, metaphors, and passages *en bloc* from their predecessors. That there was no attempt at methodical imitation of a complete classical satire in this era partly reflects contemporary writing habits (such a thing would have been an oddity), and partly the intermittency of available parallels. Instead the English writer would more usually enlarge on a single aspect (the English poems in question are comparatively short), or work with lines or brief passages perhaps quarried from *florilegia* (see Wheeler (1992) 146–48). Or the general theme of a classical satire might be used, with the material brought to bear perhaps being very different.

We shall see examples of all these procedures in what follows, but Donne's satires, the most innovative of the group, are also the most thoroughly transformative. The wealthy Donne was no professional writer, and preferred to allow his compositions to circulate in manuscript copies rather than have them printed, so their dates are not usually explicit, but all the signs are that his satires belong to the five years from 1593. Hence they are also the first to arrive. They show awareness of ancient precursors, but assimilate what they use to something personal and contemporary. Donne's one semi-formal imitation of a Roman satire is his fourth, where he reworks Horace's encounter with the bore, taking over both the situation and some unmistakably Horatian phrases. Beyond this,

“direct borrowing is kept to a minimum [but] it is evident that Donne looks to the Roman satirists for method, matter and ideas”; his “sophisticated and subtle borrowing resulted in a type of satire which was quite unique in English” (Wheeler (1992) 120). Part of this uniqueness needs further attention here, for as well as taking up Horace and (like his contemporaries) Juvenal, it is Donne who brings Persius into play as a model for English satire. Donne was in fact addressed as a “Persius” by at least one contemporary (Freeman (1614) K2^r). What looks to have happened is that elements Donne introduced to satire in apparent emulation of Persius, such as metrical roughness, were then absorbed within a very few years into the more Juvenalian mode that became the fashion. Hence, as Raman Selden describes it, “Persius’ condensation, elliptical grammar, abrupt transitions, mixed diction and figurative density are all features which Donne shares with Marston and Hall, but which in the later satirists are combined with Juvenal’s aggressive declamation and subjective *animus*” (Selden (1978) 58).

The Persianic features can be illustrated from one of Donne’s best-known satires, the third. Conflicting manuscript variants for these poems make the texts uncertain, creating a parallel of sorts with the texts of Persius. But whatever Donne originally wrote (and the text quoted here is but one reconstruction), this passage, in which the satirist articulates the difficulty of attaining truth, must have been a knotty one:

On a huge hill,
Cragged, and steep, Truth stands, and he that will
Reach her, about must, and about must go;
And what the hill’s suddenness resists, win so;
Yet strive so, that before age, death’s twilight,
Thy soul rest, for none can worke in that night,
To will, implies delay, therefore now do.

(79–85; Donne (1982) 163)

It has been described as a passage in which “Donne speaks not with Persius’ ‘crabbedness’ but with his concentration, seriousness, and persuasive vigor” (Baumlin (1986) 99). The struggle is expressed by the circularity of the syntax itself, the spiralling ascent of the hill standing for the mental struggle of identifying and grasping truth. The hyperbaton and ellipsis evoke Persius’ brevity and concentration. The shift from third to second person replicates another of his techniques. It would be too much to say that Donne alludes to Persius’ symbolism, for there are a number of sources he could have drawn on for his Hill of Truth, but it is “arguable” that Donne’s trope “is a deliberate amplification of Persius’ moral emblem” (Baumlin (1986) 99).

Other elements in Donne's satires have been associated with Persius. His *Satire V*, which can be twinned with *Satire III* as his most Persius-oriented, recalls Persius *Satire 5* in the poet's address to his patron and stress on "charity and liberty" (Persius 5 being devoted to the Stoic subject of *vera libertas*, true freedom). But a more pervasive feature of Donne's satirical technique should be brought out here. Persius found in diatribe a complex rhetorical form combining entertaining elements of harangue with serious moral purpose. Its devices, as discovered and as used by him, included paradox, hyperbole, far-fetched metaphors, *prosopopoeia*, and abrupt transitions both in subject and between speakers. The same diatribe elements inform Donne's third *Satire*, in particular. They cannot all be illustrated here, but many are apparent in the rhetorical questions (or *percontationes*) following the brief exordium:

Is not our mistresse faire religion,
 As worthy of all our soul's devotion,
 As virtue was to the first blinded age?
 Are not heaven's joys as valiant to assuage
 Lusts, as earth's honour was to them? Alas,
 As we do them in means, shall they surpass
 Us in the end, and shall thy father's spirit
 Meet blind philosophers in heaven, whose merit
 Of strict life may be imputed faith, and hear
 Thee, whom he taught so easy ways and near
 To follow, damned? O if thou dar'st, fear this;
 This fear great courage, and high valour is.
 Dar'st thou aid mutinous Dutch, and dar'st thou lay
 Thee in ships' wooden sepulchres, a prey
 To leaders' rage, to storms, to shot, to dearth?
 Dar'st thou dive seas, and dungeons of the earth?
 (5–20; Donne (1982) 161)

This passage derives much of its power from the movement from first-person pronouns to third- and then second-person. Hence what has been written of Persius 3 could also be said of Donne III: the second-person address "endows the satirist with a public and indeed oratorical voice, a voice capable of stirring the passions and affecting the wills of his reading audience" (Baumlin (1986) 96). The drama and forcefulness of second-person address should be added to the list of the expressive possibilities Donne learned at least in part through Persius, though it remains an unanswerable question whether as a satirist Donne profited more from Persius, Juvenal, or Horace. At all events, what he learned he transformed.

Hall, because his verse received the attentions of a printer and not, like Donne's, of scribal hands only, felt able to style himself the first formal English satirist. He was an excellent classical scholar, and he presents a confident and entirely explicit Juvenalianism. In the postscript to his 1598 collection of satires, *Virgidemiarum Libri*, he notes that he has made at least one of his poems "resemble the soure and crabbed face of Juvenals." This affinity is non-exclusive, but Juvenal's presence is by no means confined to only one of Hall's satires: he is certainly the major classical model in the "biting" satires which make up the second half of his book (the first half being labeled "toothless" satires, the division perhaps expressly intended to correspond to Horatian/Juvenalian types). One of these, III.3, unmistakably rewrites Juvenal *Satire* 8:

What boots it *Pontice*, tho thou could'st discourse
Of a long golden line of Ancestors?
Or shew their painted faces gaylie drest,
From ever since before the last conquest.

(Hall (1598b) 22)

In this imitation all the details are cleverly transposed to an English world of church, cock-pit, and breeds of racehorse. After sixty lines Hall abandons his 275-line model and wraps up his poem in under one hundred. But it is a lively performance. Nor is this the only time Hall conscripts Juvenal to purposes of his own. In his *Satire* III.1 the opening of Juvenal *Satire* 6 loses its ironic play and in Hall's hands anticipates the expression of Horatian ideals of simplicity and contentment with little (as re-created in English poems like Jonson's "Inviting a Friend to Supper"):

Time was, that whiles the Autumne fall did last,
Our hungrie sires gapte for the falling mast . . .
Their royall Plate was clay, or wood, or stone:
The vulgar, save his hand, else had he none.
Their onely seller was the neighbour brooke.
None did for better care, for better looke.

(Hall (1598a) 45–46)

While Hall's ventriloquism of Juvenal is clear, his eclecticism allows him to balance the role of the Juvenalian satirist against Stoic "right reason," the corrector of vice against the calm philosopher, not least by dividing his satires into two kinds (not a completely stable division, to be sure).

Marston's satirist, in contrast, especially in *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), which followed hard on *Virgidemiae*, is "the apotheosis of the Elizabethan ideal type, the wild man of the woods" (Selden (1978) 69). In the depraved

and sometimes psychotic world of Marston's satires, the struggle against vice is ultimately abandoned in a rhetorical gesture of despair:

Now Satyre cease to rub our gauled skinnes,
And to unmaske the worlds detested sinnes.
Thou shalt as soone draw *Nilus* river dry,
As clense the world from foule impietie.

(Marston (1598) 49)

This from the end of a satire on the "corrupted age" incorporating a long Juvenalian tirade against fair-seeming rogues. The combination of Hebraic lamentation and pagan acrimony is characteristic of Elizabethan verse satire – Thomas Drant, introducing his English version of Horace, offers an extraordinary biblical metaphor to describe his procedures in terms of what "the people of god wer commanded to do with their captive women that were hansome and beautiful: I have shaved of his heare, and pared of his nayles (that is) I have wyped awaye all his vanitie and superfluitie of matter" (Drant (1566) a.iii^v; a marginal note directs his reader to Deuteronomy 21). But Marston's stance and style are distinctive. Though considered Hall's successor, his manner differs, not least in its more exclusive Juvenalianism – so much so that Marston's claim to be seen as *the* Elizabethan Juvenal has some justification. Often it partakes of the "gloominess" we have seen Marston attributing to his Roman predecessor. Like Donne, Marston deploys "harshness" in sound and meter; unlike Donne, he combines this with a "snarling" or "scourging" stance. Each of his satires opens with the satirist's voice either crying out to the world at large or conversing with an unidentified *aduersarius*. And there are further, more formal correspondences with Juvenal: Marston's book consists of a series of short satires each made up of an individual scene in the court, the street, and so on; again, Marston puts into practice his principle that "the nature of a Satyre" is "under fained private names, to note generall vices" (Marston (1599) I3^r). Marston even uses Juvenalian epigraphs for some of his satires. There is no doubting where his allegiances lie, though with Marston the many contradictions have always led to disagreement about the meaning and value of his achievement.

The Elizabethan satirists were not exactly a close-knit group of contemporaries with a common purpose. They responded to each other's work, but this could take the form of bitter rivalry and insult-trading. Marston declared Hall's style lacking in the elevation of true poetry; thus Hall's censure is merely malice ("Reactio," in *Certaine Satyres*, IV). Everard Guilpin, Marston's relative and successor in the role of *poeta indignatus*, also responds to Donne and Hall; he defends Marston's work too. And he imitates, usually in the form of individual

lines and phrases, all three of the formal Roman satirists. Like the rest he used Juvenal *Satire* 3 for an attack on the city; but like Hall and Marston before him, he also imitated the opening lines of Juvenal *Satire* 1 to attack contemporary poets (not, here, his fellow-satirists):

Hence with these fdlers, whose oyle-buttred lines,
Are Panders unto lusts, and food to sinnes,
Their whimpring Sonnets, puling Elegies
Slunder the Muses.

(Winkler (2001) 27)

These last observations suggest the further general question as to what parts of Juvenal and Persius were most often used by English poets. Perhaps enough has already been said to answer it with respect to Juvenal, and that part of the answer contains few surprises. For Persius a little more may be added. Persius *Satire* 1 is often the focus of interest, the subsequent satires tending to present the appearance of Stoic homilies rather than colorful descriptions of a wicked world. But there is also the fourteen-line “Prologue” (so called) to the collection, in itself well known and in some ways of considerable importance among English writers. A typical response might be, for example, the variation on its opening lines found in Sonnet 74 of Sir Philip Sidney’s famous sequence *Astrophil and Stella*: “I never drank of Aganippe’s well | I am no pick-purse of another’s wit.” With satirists specifically, the Prologue acted first as a generic model. The Elizabethans “did not adopt the practice of a formal programmatic satire, but chose rather to express their moral and artistic ideas in a piece of writing which was either prefixed or appended to the satires” (Wheeler (1992) 52). The classical precedent they lit upon was Persius’ Prologue. But the Prologue’s content was also found congenial. Persius here breaks away from the traditions of poetic inauguration to inform readers he is *ipse semipaganus*, a piece of self-deprecation variously taken as meaning “lacking in sophistication,” “half-poet,” or “semi-rustic” – as both Holyday and Dryden render it, “half a clown” (see Hooley (1997) 235 on the “open range of meanings” of this unique expression). This pose can in itself be seen as influential for Hall, who presents himself and his work as failed or inadequate, announcing the humble nature of his artistic undertaking in the first poem of *Virgidemiae*, “His Defence to Envie.” Marston, too, develops a pose of humbleness in *Certaine Satires*, only to cast it off violently in *The Scourge of Villanie*.

Of the Elizabethan poets discussed here as major followers of Persius and Juvenal, only Donne is today a “household name.” Hall and Marston have a place in literary history, Guilpin hardly even that. However, a chronological

account of the receptions of these English poets themselves would indicate interesting fluctuations. One revealing episode occurred when Donne, famously thought by his contemporary Jonson likely to “perish for want of being understood,” had two of his satires revised and reworked by Alexander Pope and published in the 1730s. Nor were Pope’s the only revisions of Donne’s satires to be undertaken in the eighteenth century: his predecessor Thomas Parnell, and the later William Mason, joined in as well. Hall’s satires, too, were recovered in this period. Pope is said by Samuel Johnson to have expressed the wish that he had read them sooner when shown them in his last years, while Thomas Warton’s pioneering *History of English Poetry*, 1774–81, finds in them “great facility and dexterity of invention” (Warton (1871) IV 367–68). More specifically, Warton sees them as “adaptations of ancient to modern manners” of the type practiced under the label of “imitation” by eighteenth-century poets.

17.5 The Translators

While it might not constitute the “golden age” of English translation for Persius and Juvenal – where the former is concerned, the term is applied quite specifically by William Frost (1968) to the succeeding era, the long eighteenth century from Dryden onwards – the early modern period is one full of energy, urgency, experimentation, and discovery. For a checklist of translations see Cummings and Gillespie (2009).

The concern of the Elizabethans was primarily with satire rather than with translation of classical satires. Even those works which went under the name of translations were far freer handlings than would be accorded that description today. John Weever’s generically uncertain poem *Faunus and Melliflora* (1600) contains what are sometimes referred to as the first English renderings of both Persius and Juvenal, but they are really very loose and partial responses which “bring before us a translator evidently hopelessly gravelled by [his original’s] notorious difficulty” (Pursglove (2010) 208). After some prevarication, Weever in fact explicitly excuses himself from translating. A volume of 1617 whose author’s initials may denote the work of William Barksted has a title page promising “a paraphrastical transcript of Juvenals tenth satyre,” but presents no more than a fantasia on themes provided by Juvenal, in awkward couplets. W.B.’s work “proves that more indeed can be less” (Kupersmith (1985) 20; Broderson (1953) 63–65 gives another full account). One point of interest lies in his Christianization of Juvenal, mostly a crude procedure here. The close of Juvenal *Satire* 10 has always been a favorite for Christian readers, but W.B.

seems to anticipate Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes* in turning the gods insistently into a singular "God":

Let God see first, what doth agree with us,
What shall be fit, and most commodious.
God doth not give according to our wit
For pleasant things, he giues us what most fit.
(W.B. (1617) D1^v)

We shall see this tendency again with Henry Vaughan a couple of decades later.

By this time Barten Holyday (1593–1661) had already embarked on the first complete English Persius and Juvenal, though only the former appeared from the press at this date, in 1616. Holyday's Persius was issued under the University of Oxford's imprint, with prefatory plaudits from Christ Church friends underlining his academic credentials. His translation of Juvenal, commenced at about the same time, was not published till 1673. In the Preface to the later work Holyday tells us that Juvenal and Persius present different challenges, "the trouble in Persius being to find a meaning; in Juvenal to choose it" (Holyday (1673) b1^r). These problems are not always solved, of course, but where Persius is concerned "the quasi-dramatic, dialogic elements ... seem to bring out the best in Holyday" (Pursglove (2010) 208) and half a dozen editions kept the translation in print into the 1670s. Holyday's technique is nevertheless imperfect – in this passage from Persius *Satire* 1 it can be seen how the rhymes are effected at the expense of padding and inconsistency in verb mood:

O but 'tis brave to heare men cry, *See, see*;
Say you 'had a poeme which so smoothly runs
That 'twere for lectures read to great mens sons,
Brave lads with curled locks, like gold so yellow:
Would you not thinke your selfe a pretty fellow?
(Holyday (1616) B4^r)

Holyday accompanied his 1616 Persius with a tribute in the form of a fervent "apostrophe to his author." He invokes Persius in fighting vice: Holyday will be the "priest" tending his flame, a flame which (with Holyday's assistance, as translator) will be powerful enough to drive out evil, shame the guilty, and identify those deserving punishment:

Mount then, thou purer fire, and let thy heat
Strongly exhale from their infectious seate

Th' envenomed fogges of vice; and then inflame
 Them, that they may be lights to their owne shame;
 Which, as a Comet, may affright the earth
 With horror, at its owne prodigious birth;
 And with its darting taile threatening dread
 Vengeance, point out to wrath each guilty head.
 Be thou the Vestall fire; thy priest I'le be,
 And consecrate my vigilance to Thee.

(Holyday (1616) E2^v)

Hyperbolic, yes. But Holyday's verse moves more purposefully here, when he girds up his loins for his crusade, than is sometimes the case when he is actually engaged in translating Juvenal.

A more consistent impression is presented by the verse translations of Sir John Beaumont contained in his sole verse collection *Bosworth-Field* (1629). Beaumont (1583–1627) was the elder brother of the playwright Francis Beaumont. His posthumously published selection of poems and translations (edited by his son) included attempts on Horace's *Satire* 2.6, Persius 2, and Juvenal 10, allowing ready comparisons. His Horace 2.6 is probably the most successful of the three, its delicate poise at a remove from the weighty moralism of the others, but in all cases Beaumont's couplets are effectively pointed. His Juvenal, occasionally and "probably on grounds of morality" subject to pruning (Broderon (1953) 65), is controlled rather than angry, but also weighty:

Behold *Sejanus* drawne upon a hooke,
 All men rejoyce, what lips had he, what looke?
 Trust me (saith one), I never could abide
 This fellow; yet none askes for what he dy'd:
 None knowes who was the man that him accus'd;
 What proofs were brought, what testimony us'd.

(Beaumont (1629) 186)

And his Persius is lucid, sonorous, even elegant:

O crooked soules, declining to the earth,
 Whose empty thoughts forget their heav'nly birth:
 What end, what profit have we, when wee strive
 Our manners to the Temples to derive?
 Can we suppose, that to the gods we bring
 Some pleasing good for this corrupted Spring?

(Beaumont (1629) 53)

There is a lack of context for these translations, Beaumont being known for little more than this single miscellaneous volume, but we have here the first concerted attempt to fit the verse of all three of these Roman satirists to an English line. Holyday's work is not quite as extensive here as first appears: a 1652 translation of Horace under his name is in substance that of Sir Thomas Hawkins, first issued in 1638. But we do not know how much more of each poet Beaumont may have translated before he died.

If Beaumont is little known, George Chapman (c. 1559–1634) is a familiar figure as an English translator (primarily for his Homer). But again, we have no external information regarding the origins or occasion of Chapman's isolated-looking Juvenal translation. His Juvenal 5 came close to the end of his life, at the back of an obscure volume by an unnamed author (Anon. 1629). Chapman's Juvenal version went under the title *A Just Reproofe of a Roman Smell-Feast*, and formed his last published work, standing chronologically well apart from his Homer, his stage plays, and his other translations. It went largely unread, but it is no neglected masterpiece: many passages make Juvenal seem repetitive and under-powered, while others are spoiled by clumsiness.

But translation of Juvenal, increasingly a standard author for school and university study, now starts to take on a regular aspect. Several unprinted versions survive in manuscript from the 1630s: Sir John Knyvett's undergraduate attempts included the compressed *Satire* 1 of 1639 extant in a British Library manuscript (transcribed in Gillespie (2012)); the expansive versions of *Satires* 1–4 undertaken by Sir Thomas Hewitt, of Herefordshire, and his reviser John Billing are now in the Beinecke Library (described by Parássoglou (1971)). We also see the beginnings of cross-fertilization between translations: Holyday's Juvenal will be used by Stapylton, then both by their successor Dryden; some of Beaumont's rhyme-words are paralleled in Vaughan. And along with Beaumont's, two other partial Juvenal translations made it into print around 1630. John Biddle (1615/16–1662) translated the first two satires in 1634, the year of his matriculation at Oxford, as an addendum to his *Virgil's Bucolicks Englished*. *Satire* 1 is an obvious choice for a sample, but *Satire* 2 required more nerve. These are expansive versions, and though Juvenalian indignation is not much in evidence, Biddle has been called "the first translator to make us feel that he had fun reading Juvenal and turning him into English" (Kupersmith (1985) 63). Biddle's later career as a notorious anti-trinitarian religious controversialist who spent ten years of his life imprisoned for his heresies should perhaps put us in mind of the Elizabethan Juvenalians (Donne, Hall, and Marston) who eventually became preachers of the clerical kind.

It also seems to point the way towards Juvenal's next translator, since it has been said that the young Henry Vaughan, in translating Juvenal *Satire* 10 in 1646, "came closer than any other seventeenth-century translator to making a Christian convert of Juvenal" (Kupersmith (1985) 78) and produced a

“chastened and Christianised Juvenal” (Selden (1978) 75). Vaughan’s later conversion and his mystico-religious verse would seem to lend color to such readings, and his *contemptus mundi* ending to support them more directly:

What boots the world’s wild, loose applause? what can
Frail, perilous honours adde unto a man?
What length of years, wealth, or a rich fair wife?
Virtue alone can make a happy life.
To a wise man nought comes amiss: but we
Fortune adore, and make our Deity.

(546–51; Vaughan (1976) 60)

But this can hardly be the *raison d’être* of Vaughan’s translation, since this Christian emphasis does not penetrate further into the work, and since Vaughan’s own expression of his aims is at most only distantly related to it. In his preface Vaughan stresses rather Juvenal *Satire* 10’s relevance to the times:

Honest (I am sure) it is, and offensive cannot be, except it meet with such *Spirits* that will quarrel with *Antiquitie*, or purposely *Arraigne* themselves; These indeed may thinke, that they have slept it out so meny Centuries in this *Satyre*, and are now awaked: which, had it been still *Latine*, perhaps their Nap had been Everlasting. (Vaughan (1964) 6)

It is sometimes suggested that quite specific contemporary allusion is being made in Vaughan’s translation, notably to connect Sejanus’ fall with the Earl of Strafford’s fall in 1641. At this point Vaughan adds the words “the least pretence will hit|When Princes feare, or hate a favourite” (117–18). The specificity of reference is in doubt (see Post (1982) 22–23; Kupersmith (1985) 70), but what may be safely accepted is that “Vaughan was unable to suppress his personal views on the turbulent times. The translation is to be seen in this light, and not as a piece of political propaganda” (Wheeler (1992) 205). At all events, we have in Vaughan a mid-seventeenth-century version of the Elizabethans’ discovery of their own world in Juvenal’s, and the Tenth will turn out to be the most frequently translated of Juvenal’s satires in print publications of the seventeenth century. As well as the complete Juvenals, and as well as W.B., Beaumont, and Vaughan, there are four printed English renderings by various hands in the years 1675 to 1693 (see Cummings and Gillespie (2009) 22). One of the last of these hands, Henry Higden, summed up its seventeenth-century reputation as the Juvenalian satire “by All approved for the Gravest, and most *Phylosophical*, both for Argument and Matter” (Higden (1687) A3^r).

Two complete Juvenals remain to be described. They share at least two things: elaborate paratextual material, and Dryden’s condemnation. “In few

words,” Dryden wrote (albeit in the context of introducing his own 1693 version), “’tis only for a poet to translate a poet. Holyday and Stapylton had not enough considered this when they attempted Juvenal” (in Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 422). As English verse Sir Robert Stapylton’s work (printed 1644–47) is entertaining, but in a style Dryden would have called low, as here in Juvenal *Satire* 3:

What should I doe at *Rome*? I cannot ly,
Nor when a Booke is vilely writ, comply
And beg a copy. How your planet runs
I know not; promise fathers deaths to sons,
Nor can, nor will I; did ne’re dissect
Toades entrailes.

(Stapylton (1647) D2^r)

Within these six lines, Stapylton offers two marginal notes with a running summary and one longer gloss for “Toades entrailes.” This is to say that Stapylton’s work is that of an editor as well as a translator: the translations are in fact subordinated to the apparatus of annotation, as well as handsome baroque “sculptures” (plates), indexes, an “Essay on the Life and Character of Juvenal,” and much more. With Stapylton as with Holyday, the digest of scholarly commentary and the insight afforded into contemporary understanding are perhaps more valuable as parts of the historical record than the translations themselves as a presentation of the Latin poems. Stapylton himself was less concerned with verse technique than accurate interpretation.

To end with Holyday’s complete line-by-line Juvenal, begun by 1618 but, as we have seen, not published until 1673 (twelve years after Holyday’s death), is actually to conclude with the first complete Juvenal translation into English, for Holyday’s task was probably over by 1646 (Broderson (1953) 69). Like Stapylton’s, Holyday’s version is notable for its off the ball action, with interesting illustrations of ancient artifacts by David Loggan, engraver for Oxford University, and huge mounds of information in the form of annotations. Dryden found Holyday’s commentary “as excellent” as his translation was “lame and pitiful” (in Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 421–22). Like Beaumont’s it draws a veil over some elements its author must have considered indecorous. Though fairly lucid as a guide to meaning, as verse it has elicited the condemnation of a remarkable number of succeeding Juvenal translators, from Dryden to William Gifford in the early nineteenth century, who wrote: “His poetry indeed, or rather his ill-measured prose, is intolerable: no human patience can toil through a single page of it” (Winkler (2001) 70).

FURTHER READING

Kupersmith (1985) aims “to discuss every published adaptation of classical Roman verse satire to appear in English during the seventeenth century,” an undertaking extending to informal adaptations such as Jonson’s. It is based on independent and always thoughtful first-hand analysis, and is at times idiosyncratic. Juvenal’s translators and imitators are generously excerpted, and may be sampled, in Winkler’s (2001) anthology. A briefer handling again of Juvenal translations only is Broderson (1953). Extensive, sometimes exhaustive factual information on the imitation of classical models in English verse satire from Donne to Dryden is available in the occasionally obtuse Wheeler (1992). A shorter and more provocative introduction is provided for the sixteenth century, focusing in practice on the Elizabethans of the 1590s, by Burrow (2005).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Imperial Satire Theorized: Dryden's *Discourse of Satire*

Josiah Osgood and Susanna Braund

18.1 Introduction

It is the central premise of this volume that viewing Persius and Juvenal as self-consciously the successors to the Republican satirists Lucilius and Horace sheds important new light on their poetry, written in such a different political climate. In proposing a category of “imperial satire,” designed to cut the cake of Roman satire in a different way from earlier scholarship, we are ourselves followers of and successors to the groundbreaking analysis of imperial epic poetry proposed by Philip Hardie in his landmark book, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (1993). This is explored in greater detail in the Introduction to this volume; moreover, a number of contributors bolster the value of viewing Persius and Juvenal as satiric successors of the imperial age. Here one point bears repeating, that the poetry of the Augustans Virgil and Horace loomed preternaturally large for all poets of the imperial era. Because Latin poetry had come of age at just the same moment as Augustus established the principate (see further Braund (2002) 265–74), all imperial poets were, like emperors themselves, obsessed with succession, and liable to the neurosis of being poetic latecomers. Most of the extant poets from the first century and a half of the imperial era overcame that neurosis to produce some strikingly innovative poetic strategies – even the wrongly maligned epic poet Silius Italicus whose

worship of Virgil extended to renovating his tomb (Plin. *Ep.* 3.7.8; Mart. 11.48, 50) – but none of them escapes the role of successor.

The Roman fascination with poetic succession would prove especially fruitful for writers of the so-called English “Augustan age,” from the Restoration to the mid-eighteenth century (on the term see Davis (2004)). For like Virgil’s successors, who were confronted not only by Greek tradition but also a Latin masterpiece in the *Aeneid*, poets of this later era had a double legacy, that of ancient literature and also now a long tradition of English literature (including Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton). In one sense a burden, as the classic study of Bate (1971) termed it, the new English “classics” could also be viewed as an inheritance. Allusion, as Christopher Ricks has argued, proved an especially fruitful “way of dealing with the predicaments and responsibilities of ‘the poet as heir’” ((1976) 209, borrowing a phrase from J.B. Broadbent). And for no one was this more true than John Dryden (1631–1700), a poet and critic steeped in earlier English poetry (see, e.g., Hammond (2000) on Dryden’s knowledge of earlier English literature).

Ricks cleverly calls Dryden “the father of literary allusion for the Augustans” ((1976) 209) – cleverly, because for the English Augustans (as for ancient poets too) the father–son relationship proved a convenient way to figure their indebtedness to the tradition. Dryden, Ricks shows, alludes extensively to his immediate predecessors, “creating his own meanings by bringing into play the meanings of other English poets” (231). Frequently in his allusions he refers to paternity or inheritance, in a way that openly acknowledges his situation as a latecomer: the poet thus becomes an “independent dependant” (231). Not irrelevant to Dryden’s interest in the idea of succession were the politics of his own day, including Charles II’s restoration in 1660, celebrated (as was also the king’s coronation) in verse by Dryden; the effort to exclude Charles’s Roman Catholic brother James from succession to the throne, which came to a head in 1681, when Dryden supported the king with his great satirical poem *Absalom and Achitophel*; and the abdication of James, who did accede in 1685, as part of the so-called “Glorious Revolution” three years later. (Further discussion of Dryden and the idea of poetic succession can be found in Miner and Brady (1993). Davis (2008) explores a number of other metaphors dominant in the translators of the English Augustan age: see 1–15, especially 11–12, and 315–16.)

Dryden, who was Poet Laureate under both Charles II and James II, has a major role to play in any study of the satiric tradition because he published the most important critical account ever given of Roman satire in English, his *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*. For the *Companion* you are reading, though, he is almost a patron saint – or dare we say “father”? – because alongside the *Discourse* was included complete English versions of all of Persius and Juvenal, the third such available for Juvenal (the predecessors

were those of Barten Holyday and Robert Stapylton), and only the second for Persius (the first was, again, Holyday's); a number of these new translations were done by Dryden himself. While there was a practical reason for not including Horace – translations of his *Satires* and increasingly his other works too were more plentiful, with Thomas Creech's *Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace* published as recently as 1684 (Gillespie (1992) 57–59) – his absence alongside Persius and Juvenal does throw into relief not the satiric tradition as a whole but rather the Roman satirists who can more easily be studied as successors. Dryden's *Discourse* has been widely discussed in the scholarly literature (see "Further Reading" below). The purpose of this chapter is to give readers of Roman satire some acquaintance with its content and the circumstances of its publication, its relation to previous critical work on satire and Dryden's own satiric masterpieces, *Absalom and Achitophel* and *Mac Flecknoe*; to explore in more detail how the *Discourse* can be read, in part, as a response to Persius and Juvenal in particular, and the problem of poetic succession more generally; and finally to look at Dryden's ideals for satire in the *Discourse* and the extent to which they are instantiated in his translations. The *Discourse* can be read in isolation, but, we argue, it also is profitably reunited with the translations that followed it. In insisting that verse satire is finely wrought art and in demonstrating that art anew, both have much to offer any reader of Persius and Juvenal.

18.2 Dryden and Satire: From Practice to Theory (and Back)

In 1692 (though dated the following year) there appeared a handsome folio, *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis Translated into English Verse by Mr. Dryden and Several other Eminent Hands together with the Satires of Aulus Persius Flaccus Made English by Mr. Dryden*. Published, as the title page announced, by "Jacob Tonson at the Judge's Head in Chancery-Lane, near Fleetstreet . . . Where you may have Compleat Sets of Mr. Dryden's Works," the volume had been some time in the making. Tonson, in addition to publishing Dryden's own works, had been cooperating with Dryden since 1680 in bringing out collaborative translations of classical texts (on Dryden and Tonson see further Gillespie (1988) and Hammond (1992)). In 1680 appeared Ovid's *Epistles* (to which Dryden contributed translations of two of the *Heroides* as well as an important preface on translation), followed by Plutarch's *Lives* in 1683 (for which Dryden wrote the life of Plutarch) and then two collections of verses by several hands in 1684 and 1685 (each with a number of contributions by Dryden). After that, attention shifted to Persius and Juvenal. Dryden took on the not insignificant job of translating all of

Persius himself – at several points in the *Discourse* he refers to the difficulty (e. g., 399) – though in the notes to Persius’ second Satire he admits, “What I had forgotten before in its due place, I must here tell the reader: that the first half of this satire was translated by one of my sons, now in Italy” (159; all quotations of Dryden’s *Discourse* as well as his translations and notes are taken from Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) and (2000b)). Of Juvenal he translated himself *Satires* 1, 3, 6, 10, and 16, while the others he assigned to collaborators, including *Satire* 11 to a young William Congreve, *Satire* 7 to his son Charles, and *Satire* 14 to another son John Jr., likely also the son credited with the first half of Persius 2. Some of the principles behind the new translation, we shall see later, were explicitly discussed in the *Discourse*. (Davis (2008) 154 does well to note that this was Dryden’s only venture in translating Roman poets of the imperial (as opposed to Republican or Augustan) age.)

The *Discourse*, indeed, functioned as a preface for the entire elaborate production. The name by which it is now known (*Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*) is in fact given only on the volume’s title page, and within the volume itself the *Discourse* is presented as a (massive) dedication to Dryden’s patron, Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset (1643–1706), who was himself an amateur poet (the running head throughout says simply “Dedication”) (Barnard (2004) 209). In form it is a letter written in a rather conversational style to Dorset, signed by “Your Lordship’s most obliged, most humble, and most obedient servant, John Dryden” (450). To be sure, Dryden does more than once within this letter refer to it as a “discourse” (354, 426), but he also directly implies that it is a “preface” (“I will commit the crime of prefaces” (338)), and in a number of ways the work recalls the prefaces that he included in his own, and others’, publications. The reader of Tonson’s volume was to find in it a discussion not only of the translations but also an accessible introduction to the origins and development of Roman satire.

Such an introduction would have had potentially wide appeal in the tumultuous era of the Restoration, which had seen a flourishing of verse satire engaged with contemporary politics and morals (some of these so-called *Poems on Affairs of State*, a phenomenon that burgeoned from the 1680s onwards, are collected in Lord (1963–75)). At the same time, there was a need for it, Dryden must have felt, not only to provide some guidelines for what satire should be, but also because of the unusually heated debate among scholars since the middle of the sixteenth century about the origins of satire, as well as the relative value of the different approaches taken by the three extant Roman satirists (see further in this volume Gillespie, Chapter 17). Dryden himself cites many of the major players (357): Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), who had proposed a link – also mooted in ancient times (see Diomedes 1.485 Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*) – between Roman satire and the satyr dramas of

classical Athens; the French classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), who seriously challenged Scaliger’s view in his 1605 work *The Satyr Poetry of the Greeks and the Satire of the Romans* (*De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira*) and who also brought out a major edition of Persius in that year; the French Jesuit Nicolas Rigault (1577–1654), who brought out an edition of Juvenal with an essay on the satirist; the Dutch scholar Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), an editor of Horace who also wrote a treatise entitled *Two Books on Horatian Satire*; and what Dryden calls “the Dauphin’s Juvenal,” an edition of both Juvenal and Persius by Prateus (Louis Desprez) published in 1684, part of a series ostensibly intended for the education of the Dauphin (see in this volume Richlin, Chapter 20). Dryden also mentions the Frenchman André Dacier (1651–1722), who in the 1680s produced a ten-volume edition of Horace, the sixth volume of which, appearing in 1687, contained a *Preface on the Satires of Horace, in Which Is Explained the Origin and the Progress of Satire among the Romans*. Dryden owes not only his title to Dacier, but (as he often acknowledges) a number of his arguments, including a defense of Casaubon’s views on the etymology of Roman *satira*. All of these essays and treatises were important models for Dryden, as was also the recent systematic treatise on epic poetry of René le Bossu, published in 1675 and referred to by Dryden (356). (For more details on these authors, their works, and their relation to Dryden’s *Discourse* see Chambers and Frost (1974) 514–22 and 543–45; Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 304–6; and D. Griffin (1994) 6–24; and on the curious neglect of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholarship by some twentieth-century scholars, see De Smet (2001) esp. 255–56).

In one fundamental respect, however, Dryden was different from all of these commentators and treatise-writers: Dryden was a successful poet, and author by 1692 of several major satires in verse. In recognition of his early support for Charles as well as his publication, in 1667, of *Annus Mirabilis*, a poetic celebration of the recent English victories over the Dutch as well as London’s survival of the Great Fire of 1666, Dryden was named Poet Laureate in 1668 and devoted himself for the next decade or so to writing plays (the London theaters, shut in 1642 and reopened by Charles, were gradually coming back to life). In 1681, though, during the height of the Exclusion Crisis – in which anti-Catholics, led by the Earl of Shaftesbury, tried to block James from succession and replace him with Charles’s illegitimate Protestant son, the Duke of Monmouth – Dryden took up his pen again in support of his king. In *Absalom and Achitophel* he used the Old Testament story of King David’s favorite son Absalom, who was persuaded by his friend Achitophel to revolt against David, to provide a heroic narration of Charles’s side of the story (with David standing in for Charles, Absalom for Monmouth, and so forth). The poem was published anonymously – though the true author was easily

surmised – and characterized as a “satire” in a prefatory note. When Shaftesbury, who was subsequently exonerated by a packed jury at an Old Bailey trial, was presented with a celebratory medal, Dryden responded with a verse invective in 1682, *The Medall: a Satyre against Sedition*. That year too saw the first, unauthorized, publication of an earlier satire of Dryden, *Mac Flecknoe*, which had circulated only informally, in manuscript form, since its composition in 1676. A withering attack on fellow playwright Thomas Shadwell, in which Shadwell is treated to a mock-coronation by the hack-poet Richard Flecknoe, the poem was topical again, as Shadwell had taken up *his* pen on behalf of the Whigs who opposed Charles.

In the *Discourse* Dryden gives brief mention to both *Absalom* and *Achitophel* and *Mac Flecknoe*, in fact acknowledging authorship of the former for the first time here (389). Rather intriguingly, he does not put either of these works in the mainstream tradition of verse satire but categorizes them instead as “Varronian satires,” that is satires like those (almost entirely lost) of the Roman Marcus Terentius Varro, “composed of several sorts of verse . . . but . . . also mixed with prose” (384). Dryden goes on to identify as the more salient feature of such satires the inclusion of “tales or stories” of the author’s own invention (387), and cites among other examples Petronius’ *Satyrica* and Apuleius’ *Golden Ass*. “In the English,” he concludes his discussion, “I remember none, which are mixed with prose, as Varro’s were; but of the same kind is *Mother Hubbard’s tale* in Spenser; and (if it be not too vain to mention any thing of my own) the poems of *Absalom* and *Mac Flecknoe*” (389). Dryden delicately recognizes the strong narrative quality of *Absalom* and also *Mac Flecknoe* and even hints at his own powers of inventiveness (paraded earlier in the *Discourse* in an elaborate digression on the English epic Dryden had once contemplated writing).

Thus the poems do not form a part of any extended discussion by Dryden, but it is clear all the same that just as Horace and to a lesser degree his successors had offered a sort of critical theory of satire in their poems to defend their own practice, Dryden too is retroactively, in prose, justifying his own work, or at least inviting the reader to meditate on it, as he meditates on it himself. Above all, he seeks to distinguish his satirical practice from what he characterizes as a mainstream of satiric writing, “a multitude of scribblers, who daily pester the world with their insufferable stuff” (321). “Dull makers of lampoons,” Dryden also calls them, and “common libellers”; they can lay no claim to wit, “but . . . are yet of dangerous example to the public: some witty men may perhaps succeed to their designs, and mixing sense with malice, blast the reputation of the most innocent amongst men, and the most virtuous amongst women” (323). Dryden complains that he has been a victim of such crude attacks for many years, but prides himself on refusing to answer them.

A contrast is thus to be drawn, implicitly, with the satires that he did write, a contrast which at one point, towards the end of the *Discourse*, he finally makes explicit. Advocating for satire “a fineness of raillery” of a sort he claims Horace above all excelled at, Dryden remarks on the “vast difference betwixt the slovenly butchering of a man, and the fineness of a stroke that separates the head from the body, and leaves it standing in its place,” and then cites an example from his own verse as an example of the latter: “The Character of ‘Zimri’ in my *Absalom* is, in my opinion, worth the whole poem: ’tis not bloody, but ’tis ridiculous enough” (423–24). Zimri, who represents George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, is treated to a lengthy portrait, including this passage (545–51):

A man so virtuous that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind’s epitome,
Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
Was everything by starts, and nothing long;
But in the course of one revolving moon
Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon:
Then for all women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.

A careful reader might question whether the lines are so straightforwardly the “fine raillery” Dryden suggests they are, an example of how “I have preferred the manner of Horace . . . to that of Juvenal” (424), for in fact the chief allusion in them is to the portrait of a versatile Greek client in Rome given in the third Satire of Juvenal (3.75–78). Dryden himself, one can see, does know that in fact distinguishing the satirist’s “slovenly butchering” from a neat chop is rather subjective; he hopes that the “reader would be kind enough” to think he delivers the latter, but the possibility of the former is not entirely ruled out.

So, too, a reader might wonder if *Mac Flecknoe* is rather more injurious than Dryden would seem to let on. The poem, at any rate, certainly hovers in the background of the *Discourse*, for despite all its hilarity, it too raises important issues about the poetics of succession (see further Ricks (1976) *passim* and Brady (1993) *passim*). Literally, of course, *Mac Flecknoe* is about succession, as Flecknoe contemplates “which of all his sons was fit|to reign, and wage immortal war with wit” (11–12), chooses Shadwell, arranges Shadwell’s coronation, delivers a prophecy of his heir’s future greatness, and then expires. But when it comes to poetic succession, Shadwell fails, precisely because he is *too* close to his feeble predecessor Flecknoe, making him truly the prince of dullness. As Flecknoe cries out, “’Tis resolved; for Nature pleads that he|Should only rule who most resembles me” (13–14). The conceit generates paradox after paradox; “Shadwell alone my perfect image bears,|Mature in

dullness from his tender years,” Flecknoe goes on to remark (15–16), and he can later exhort Shadwell to produce poems truly his own – which means they will have to be copied from the works of others (157–64). Shadwell’s performance in every genre fails – even, despite the “venom” of his “felonious heart,” his “inoffensive satires never bite” (200–201) – in contrast with that of *Mac Flecknoe*’s author Dryden, whose clever redeployment of epic conventions and whose self-referencing allusions highlight his originality. There is also, inevitably, something of a send-up of monarchic succession and the “Augustan” ideal too: already in the poem’s second couplet Flecknoe is compared to the emperor Augustus (3). As Paul Davis shrewdly remarks, in *Mac Flecknoe* we see how “the pressure which had built up in Dryden over the decade he had spent since his appointment as poet laureate struggling to keep an Augustan lid on his increasingly volatile culture explodes in a burst of mock-heroic steam” (Davis (2004) 79). Here in satire Dryden invents a new “topsy-turvy Augustanism,” with the “fair Augusta” of London becoming “a shanty town of brothels, madhouses, and theatre-schools for aspiring ham actors” (Davis (2004) 79). The puffing up of Shadwell (known by contemporaries for his corpulence) cannot but deflate, at least somewhat, any regal pretensions.

If already in 1676 the Poet Laureate needed satire as an outlet for certain Augustan misgivings, in the early 1690s he might have had graver doubts still. Converting to Catholicism upon James’s accession in 1685 and supporting the new king, Dryden fell from favor after the Glorious Revolution three years later, losing his post of Poet Laureate (to his old enemy Shadwell, no less), along with the pension it brought. “Since this revolution,” Dryden laments in the *Discourse*, “I have patiently suffered the ruin of my small fortune and the loss of that poor subsistence which I had from two kings whom I had served more faithfully than profitably to myself” (350). Dryden goes to some pains in the *Discourse* to paint a quite scathing account of Augustus’ rise to power and the disastrous consequences of it for freedom of speech, and he more than once implicates in this development Horace, portraying him as a servile court poet, willing to comply with Augustus’ wishes in producing more restrained satires. (Ben Jonson had ninety years earlier defended Horace against just such charges in his 1602 play *The Poetaster*; for discussion see Braund (2010) 382–89, Moul (2010) 135–47; evidently Dryden was not convinced.) Augustus’ successors Nero and Domitian, to be sure, under whom Persius and Juvenal lived, were worse still, and yet Juvenal, in particular, thanks in part to his greater distance from the imperial court, found a way to lash out heroically at vice more vigorously than Horace. Persius, for his part, can be praised for not just practicing but actually leading a noble Stoic lifestyle (399–402). Augustus and the political system that he created, the *Discourse* suggests, while part of a Golden Age in some respects, also posed problems for satiric poets.

Dryden's *Discourse*, then, not only revisits his earlier satiric productions, it also is closely bound up with his own, as it were post-Augustan, situation in the early 1690s (a point frequently made, from a variety of perspectives, e.g., Weinbrot (1988) 1–10 and in this volume Hooley, Chapter 15; for a more extended treatment, see Cotterill (2004) 245–77, who among many useful observations notes at 257 n. 39 how Persius can be co-opted for Dryden's "rhetoric of retirement"). While, as mentioned, there was a practical reason not to include Horace's *Satires*, it is striking all the same that, on the eve of Horace's eighteenth-century heyday, for the out-of-sorts Dryden himself the smooth and successful Horace, no less than Augustus himself, was now a somewhat compromised figure. With new energy could Dryden respond to Persius and Juvenal and the challenges they faced in writing satire. The challenges for them, though, stemmed not just from the circumstances under which they worked; they also lay in the poets' inheritance of such brilliant Augustan masterpieces as Horace's *Satires* themselves and Virgil's *Aeneid*, and for Dryden too this would prove to be of great interest.

Persius and Juvenal's belatedness maps onto a further recent shift in Dryden's career, a shift away from writing poetry of original content – the English epic that he imagined Charles should have supported – to translation of the classics. To be sure, in producing his own versions of Persius and Juvenal, Dryden was in no doubt that he was still writing poetry: "Tis only for a poet to translate a poet," as he crisply remarks (422). Nor would he, after all, be putting down his satiric pen; rather, through the type of translation he favored, he and his collaborators would create a new English satire. And in doing so, they would be successor-poets, exactly like Persius and Juvenal themselves. Dryden could hardly be more explicit about this: comparing his team's work to that of "our predecessors Holyday and Stapylton," he writes, "We have followed our authors at greater distance, though not step by step, as they have done. For oftentimes they have gone so close, that they have trod on the heels of Juvenal and Persius, and hurt them by their too near approach" (447). From his "Varronian satires" *Absalom* and *Mac Flecknoe*, Dryden had at last turned to Roman satire proper. Whatever his own setbacks and the political scene notwithstanding, satire's English future might still be great.

18.3 Satirists as Successors

Before examining in more detail Dryden's conception of the poet-translator as successor, we may first consider, in turn, Dryden's discussion in the *Discourse* of satirists as successors and of Persius and Juvenal in particular as exemplars of succession. There had, as noted above, already been extensive theoretical discussion of satire among contemporary scholars, especially, as Dryden

observes, concerning its origins, “whether the Romans derived their satire from the Grecians, or first invented it themselves” (357). Dryden himself, as the title of the *Discourse* announces, will devote no small amount of space to this issue too. After his introductory address to Dorset and the long digression on the problems involved with creating a modern English epic, he takes up the matter, firmly siding with Casaubon, and Casaubon’s supporter Dacier, in denying Scaliger’s derivation of Roman *satira* from Greek satyr plays and linking it instead to the *lanx satura*, the “‘charger’ or ‘large platter’ . . . yearly filled with all sorts of fruits which were offered to the gods at their festivals” (371). Thus Dryden detaches Rome’s satiric poetry from the crude and abusive Greek satyr, “that mixed kind of animal (or, as the ancients thought him, rural god), made up betwixt a man and a goat” (359). The association had had wide currency, even inspiring the Elizabethan satirists to adopt a rude and harsh tone in emulation of the woodland creatures (see in this volume Hooley and Gillespie, Chapters 15 and 17, and also briefly D. Griffin (1994) 10–12 and Burrow (2005) along with the classic study of Kernan (1959)). It was no small achievement for Dryden to help popularize Casaubon’s (correct) denial of it.

Yet while satiric poetry was for Dryden a Roman creation, that does not make its ultimate origins less crude. The impulse to satire, in the sense simply of “invective,” was as old (he maintains) as human beings themselves: “After God had cursed Adam and Eve in paradise, the husband and wife excused themselves by laying the blame on one another” (358). From there, it could only really advance, from being something purely natural and so “depraved,” to an “art” that could bear “better fruit” (358). Taking his cue from a passage in Horace’s epistle to Augustus (and, as he acknowledges, Dacier), Dryden places the origins of Roman poetry in simple agricultural festivals, at which participants exchanged taunts in rough *ex tempore* verses. “Gross raillery” it was, to be sure, but also “the first rudiments of poetry” (362). These Fescennine poems, “rude and barbarous and unpolished, as all other operations of the soul are in their beginnings, before they are cultivated with art and study” were the Romans’ early theater, and traces of them, Dryden notes, survived into later, more civilized periods, for example the lewd verses chanted at the triumphs of Roman generals such as Julius Caesar (372).

But as the Romans became “somewhat better bred,” these “hedge-notes,” Dryden goes on, were largely left behind, “for another sort of poem, somewhat polished, which was also full of pleasant raillery, but without any mixture of obscenity.” This was the theatrical medley, described by the historian Livy, comprising music, dancing, and “a kind of civil, cleanly farce” (375). The playwright Livius Andronicus replaced these farces, in turn, with the “nobler entertainment of tragedies and comedies,” and Dryden – celebrated playwright himself, it will not be forgotten – cannot resist adding his own conjecture here that Livius imitated both the content and the style of the Old Comic

playwrights, “Aristophanes, Eupolis, and the rest,” producing “railleries” to match those of the Greeks (377). While, as Dryden himself admits, there is no evidence for this view, it endows the Roman verse satire to follow (of Ennius, Lucilius, *et al.*) with a theatrical background different from, and far more sophisticated than, Scaliger’s satyr plays.

Already, then, in his sketch of satire’s origins Dryden makes clear repeatedly his view that the history of satire is one – as the title of the *Discourse* also announced – of progress, at least at its better moments (Weinbrot (1988) 5–6 rightly identifies progress as a key to understanding the whole *Discourse*). Indeed, his program for the essay culminates with “the completement of satire among the Romans” (354). Later poets *can* build on earlier successes, and to be most successful *must* study their predecessors as models. This fundamental idea, indeed, is already set forth, in different ways, in the opening address to Dorset and the digression on epic. While modern readers may be made uncomfortable by the flattery Dryden lavishes on his patron and his patron’s poetry, it serves an important rhetorical function, making clear the possibility of poetic progress. In his satires, Dorset (Dryden claims), “like Horace . . . only expose[s] the follies of men, without arraigning their vices,” but he excels Horace in adding “pointedness of thought” (317). Indeed, in the “salt of all [his] verses,” he excels all satiric writers, modern or ancient. Of English authors, only Donne could approach him, but Donne fell short in “dignity of expression,” the supreme virtue, for Dryden, to be learned from study of Virgil. Anticipating the phrasing of his later discussion of the relative merits of the Roman satirists, Dryden writes of Dorset and Donne: “I read you both, with the same admiration, but not with the same delight” (318). (For a different reading of Dorset’s function in the *Discourse* see Cotterill (2004) 245–77.)

Dryden not only establishes here the idea that a poet’s study of his predecessors is essential; he also introduces a key image for much of the *Discourse* and his conception of successor-poets, that of the contest (315–16):

There is not an English writer this day living who is not perfectly convinced that your Lordship excels all others in all the several parts of poetry which you have undertaken to adorn. The most vain and the most ambitious of our age have not dared to assume so much as the competitors of Themistocles. They have yielded the first place without dispute, and have been arrogantly content to be esteemed as second to your Lordship; and even that also, with a *longo, sed proximi intervallo*.

Unlike the “competitors of Themistocles,” who, according to Herodotus (8.123), each voted themselves first and Themistocles only second in a contest of bravery, Dorset’s peers all yield to him; but the key point remains that poets

here are conceived of as competitors and, despite Dorset's pre-eminence, still remain competitive. The line Dryden quotes from the *Aeneid* (5.320, slightly adapted, meaning "far removed, but next") is aptly chosen, for it comes from Virgil's account of the foot race held at Anchises' funeral games: like a runner, any poet tries to catch up with whoever is in the lead. (Dryden, in fact, already used the foot race from *Aeneid* 5 in his 1684 elegy "To the Memory of Mr Oldham" as an image of poetic rivalry.) That poets write in metrical feet – and so can "hobble" or "gallop along" as it may be – adds a playful touch to the conceit, sounded out here by the ponderous thud of long syllables in the Latin verse quoted (especially audible in Virgil's spondaic ending *intervallo*).

That moderns are in a contest not only with each other but also with the ancients is firmly brought out in the digression on epic poetry. Here Dryden argues from the start that "no man hitherto has reached, or so much as approached to, the excellencies of Homer or of Virgil" (330). This was true of ancient successors such as Statius (who "knew not how to design after [Virgil], though he had the model in his eye," 330) as well as moderns, including Milton, whose use of language and lack of rhyme are faulted. Special problems for the latter group, discussed by Dryden at great length, are the reconciliation of ancient pagan and Christian values, and the creation of a divine machinery for the epic that is Christian. While Dryden may seem to indulge himself in offering a (lengthy) proposal – a "model" for "a nobler, a more beautiful, and more perfect poem, than any yet extant since the ancients" (347) – the discussion, while reminding the reader of Dryden's own powers of poetic inventiveness, also usefully serves as a foil to the claims Dryden makes in the *Discourse* for the progress of satire in modern times. Unlike those who have attempted epic, Dorset has surpassed the ancients (as has, Dryden adds, his French contemporary Boileau, who is crowned as a "living Horace and a Juvenal," 329). In tragedy, he also points out, Shakespeare excels any of the ancients. It is possible, Dryden maintains, when "great contemporaries whet and cultivate each other," for a golden age to emerge, and still "some great genius may arise to equal any of the ancients" (328–29). The epic digression gives a full sense of Dryden's understanding of the simultaneous burdens of the past and its useful legacy, and of the need for society and patrons to support art for it to flourish.

After Livius Andronicus and the creation of the first proper Roman poetry, the ancient satirists (as Dryden sees it) were in rivalry with one another too, living in an age of expanding civility and culture and thus carrying forward the art. Ennius "thought it would be worth his pains to refine upon the project, and to write satires not to be acted on the theatre, but read" (379). He "preserved the groundwork" laid by Livius (Dryden is referring here to his own idiosyncratic view of Livius' comedies), though added to them a variety of subjects, something Horace thought "worthy to be copied" (379). Of

Pacuvius' satires so little trace remains that Dryden can say nothing of his "advances," though he does speculate, interestingly, that Pacuvius was "instructed by his uncle" Ennius (381), reminding us of the poetic contributions of Dryden's own sons to the Persius and Juvenal volume and showing the persistence of the notion of succession. Lucilius, writing soon afterwards, gave Ennius' satires "a more graceful turn," trying to emulate more closely Greek Old Comedy (381), benefitting from the "polishing of the Latin tongue, in the succession of times" then under way (382). Contradicting Casaubon, Dryden insists that Lucilius brought no major innovation to the genre, but simply added more: "more politeness . . . more salt . . . more of beauty and polishing." ("Politeness," here, has a sense not only of courtesy but also, significantly, refinement.) In short, Lucilius "performed beyond his predecessors" (383).

For pages, then, Dryden develops a rather neat trajectory for Roman satire, and the reader might expect the triumphal narrative to continue. Dryden himself says as much: "I should here discover some of those graces which Horace added to it" (384). But instead, he says that discussion will be deferred, until after the "comparison betwixt him [Horace] and Juvenal" (384). Progress would, it turns out, cease to be so straightforward, so steady; and ideas of competition, invoked early in the *Discourse*, will now become much more prominent in the discussion. With Horace, satiric succession becomes for Dryden less tidy, more acrimonious, and more interesting.

18.4 Persius and Juvenal: Exemplars of Succession

After his outline of satire's early progress, Dryden briefly turns to "Varronian satire" (including his own poems) and then gives the elaborate comparison between Horace, Juvenal, and also Persius, "the most difficult part of my undertaking" (390). As he goes on to explain, the relative merits of the three had been much discussed, especially by their individual commentators, who almost inevitably favored the poet they worked on. Having translated Persius and Juvenal, Dryden was quite aware of that tendency, but he expresses hope that he can be a truly impartial judge, and perhaps as if to show his fair-mindedness, announces at the start that Persius, Casaubon's favorite, largely falls below Horace and Juvenal in his achievement, "and yet in some things [is] to be preferred to both of them" (393). A lengthy discussion follows of Persius' weaknesses, including his obscurity, his immaturity, his versification, his Latinity, his tendency to "insult over vice and folly" ("insult" here means, as Hammond and Hopkins note, "exult contemptuously and proudly") rather than "expose" them (394); Casaubon's arguments, including that Persius was forced to be obscure because of the time at which he wrote, are then refuted. Next comes "the comparison betwixt Horace and Juvenal," more difficult

“because their forces were more equal” (404). Here Dryden goes through the often complementary virtues of these poets (Horace is more profitable to read, Juvenal more delightful; Horace exposes men’s follies, Juvenal lashes vices; and so forth). Still, famously, Dryden can finally reach a definitive assessment, using the (what he does admit is subjective) criterion of pleasure. The delight Horace gives Dryden, he says first, “is but languishing,” because his wit is “faint” (411). On the other hand (412):

Juvenal is of a more vigorous and masculine wit; he gives me as much pleasure as I can bear. He fully satisfies my expectation; he treats his subject home: his Spleen is raised, and he raises mine: I have the pleasure of concernment in all he says; he drives his reader along with him, and when he is at the end of his way, I willingly stop with him. If he went another stage, it would be too far; it would make a journey of a progress, and turn delight into fatigue.

As the sexual metaphor grows stronger, it powerfully enacts the reading experience Dryden seeks to describe; and the imagery of the carriage ride (“drives his reader”; “another stage”; etc.) is important too, looking back to the chariot of Juvenal’s own programmatic language (1.19–20) and its evocation of a favorite epic subject, the contest (see further in this volume the Introduction; the important idea of “concernment” we will discuss shortly).

Imagery of the contest was introduced at the start of the *Discourse*, and Dryden reverts to it throughout the comparison, citing with approval, for example, Scaliger’s view that Persius is “unworthy to come into competition with Juvenal and Horace” (395); a number of metaphors from horse-riding also evoke competition, such as Dryden’s observation, “Horace is always on the amble, Juvenal on the gallop” (413). Such language is invoked most spectacularly “to conclude the contention,” when Dryden again (this time explicitly) quotes from Virgil’s account of the foot race in *Aeneid* 5 (429). Distributing the awards Aeneas announced for the three top contenders (*Aen.* 5.308–14), Dryden awards first prize, a horse with trappings, to Juvenal; second to Horace, an Amazonian quiver with a gold-studded belt; and third to Persius, “a Grecian shield” (Dryden substitutes *Clypeo* for Virgil’s *galea*). “Let Juvenal ride first in triumph,” Dryden proclaims, placing the satirist on the heroic steed of his own first Satire. What is more, readers of Virgil may recall that at the conclusion of the foot race, several of the participants contest the awarding of the prizes, and so, too, throughout the *Discourse* Dryden hints that not just later critics but Rome’s satirists themselves felt that they were participating in a contest. Already this was true for Horace. Seeking to account for that satirist’s “low style,” he suggests that Horace was “a rival to Lucilius, his predecessor, and was resolved to surpass him in his own manner” (413).

A few lines later, Dryden is more explicit still: Horace only sought to “match his competitor in the race.” He limited himself to “conquest of Lucilius” (413). In this metaphor is a powerful statement of Dryden’s understanding of one way a successor-poet may outdo a predecessor: to beat him at his own game.

In looking at Persius and Juvenal, Dryden can provide a more complex account of poetic succession. Both satirists, Dryden feels sure, were setting out to try to do something different than Horace, even though, or perhaps precisely because, “they had both studied Horace” (421). To be sure, Dryden at one point states that Persius “borrows most of his greatest beauties” from Horace, and as evidence for this he simply cites Casaubon’s treatise on *imitatio Horatiana* that accompanied his 1605 edition of Persius (395). Modern critics would phrase it differently, but, as mentioned in the Introduction to this volume, Persius’ extensive use of Horace is a staple of recent scholarship on the poet. The picture is complicated, though, because Persius had another possible model in Lucilius; seeking not to be a “mild admonisher,” as Horace was, Persius, Dryden claims, found the Lucilian manner more suited to his purpose, which was to chastise vice (420–21). No evidence is cited beyond Persius’ own picture of Lucilius from the end of his first Satire, but Dryden is not wrong to recognize in those lines an important statement of Persius’ divergence from his own most immediate predecessor, Horace. For all that he faults Persius, for his “scabrous and hobbling” verse, his obscurity, and so forth, the radical changes Persius made to Horatian satire, Dryden appreciates, are an integral part of his satiric performance. Persius swallows up his predecessor and spits him out in a new guise.

Dryden (like Juvenal himself) has nothing to say of Juvenal’s relationship to his own immediate predecessor, Persius, and, perhaps not surprisingly, focuses more on the challenge Juvenal saw in surpassing the pre-eminent Horace. (That said, there is no doubt that Juvenal himself was extremely familiar with Persius’ poetry; see for example Braund (1988) 182–83 on Juvenal’s relation to Persius especially in his third book.) Implicitly, though, Dryden recognizes that Juvenal did take after Persius in that he knew Horace intimately, but chose to reject many aspects of Horatianism so as again “to reform great vices” with something more than a “perpetual grin” (421). Juvenal, therefore, like Persius abandoned the lower subjects of Horace, but even more importantly for Dryden, he abandoned Horace’s lower style too. Seeking to give pleasure to his reader, as Persius – unforgivably – did not, this first-place satirist appropriated (as Dryden himself did, in his own way, in *Mac Flecknoe*) something of the grandeur of epic and tragedy – to puff up his subjects for the most spectacular deflation possible. By not ascending to the heights of which he was capable, Horace (Dryden writes), “made way for a new conquest over himself, by Juvenal his successor” (413). Dryden continues: “He could

not give an equal pleasure to his reader, because he used not equal instruments" (413–14). Juvenal, then, saw a defect, "the manifest defect" in Horace's performance, remedied it, and finally brought the art to final perfection (414). It was no "dishonour" for Horace to be "surpassed"; one could even simply conclude (Dryden later avers) that "Juvenal excels in the tragical satire, as Horace does in the comical" (427). Again, one might put it in rather different terms now, but Dryden's sense that Juvenal's style, as distinguished from that of his predecessors, is fundamental to his poetry is a valuable critical insight (cf., e.g., Scott (1927) and the chapters on Juvenal in Anderson (1982) and see also in this volume Kenney, Chapter 6).

Now for Dryden, with style goes spirit, and a further aspect of Juvenal's triumph is that, despite writing later than Horace, he manages a more Republican tone (414–15):

His spirit has more of the commonwealth genius; he treats tyranny and all the vices attending it as they deserve, with the utmost rigour; and consequently a noble soul is better pleased with a zealous vindicator of Roman liberty than with a temporizing poet, a well-mannered court slave, and a man who is often afraid of laughing in the right place.

It is hard not to read into these remarks something of Dryden's own situation in the early 1690s as outlined above (Dryden the ex-Laureate, in other words, is identifying with Juvenal), but they also get to a theme of great importance throughout the *Discourse* and its tracing of the "Progress" of Satire, namely the significance of situatedness. Satirists, as Dryden sees it, do not simply succeed to one another in a vacuum; they sometimes benefit from, or are harmed by, the circumstances under which they have to write. Picking up on a theme dear to the ancient satirists themselves, he acknowledges in general the difficulty of writing under emperors. Horace, Dryden supposes, as a "court satirist" simply scaled back satire's severity to comply with Augustus' strictures on free speech (419); Persius, he imagines, though opposed to "lewdness, which was the predominant vice in Nero's court" (420), for this reason did sometimes write obscurely (but this is no excuse for constant obscurity); Juvenal, whom Dryden believes wrote at least in part under Domitian, attacked this emperor under the code name of "Nero," scourging "by proxy" (421). Dryden also suggests that when Persius wrote, as opposed to Horace before and Juvenal later, the "purity of Latin" was "more corrupted" (393). Picking up, though, on the paradox of Juvenal first's Satire, that the worse the times, the better the satire that can be written (lines 147–49), Dryden does concede that the "enormous vices" of Domitian's reign gave Juvenal a "larger field" than Horace (415). This is offered not to belittle Juvenal (rather it "exalts" him), but as a partial excuse for Horace.

To sum up: while in the earlier part of the *Discourse* treating Roman satire's origins and early development under the Republic Dryden can trace a simple upward trajectory that parallels the progressive civilization of Rome, from Augustus onwards satiric successors, as he sees it, faced greater challenges. Horace, Persius, and Juvenal all saw themselves in competition with their predecessors, studying them in order to learn but also with the hope, ultimately, of surpassing them in their art. While in some ways Persius improved on Horace, he ultimately must be judged inferior; yet Juvenal, who could learn from Persius' example and who benefitted from the time at which he wrote, brought satire to its height by surpassing Horace stylistically, giving a more entertaining and engaging performance that affords what Dryden calls the "pleasure of concernment" (412), meaning an emotional involvement that, elsewhere in his writing, Dryden associates with high tragedy (Jensen (1969) 32–33). For Persius and Juvenal alike, Dryden suggests, succeeding Horace is a key part of the dynamic of their satire (while Virgil also looms large for them). If Juvenal represented ancient perfection, though, modern writers might improve on him still and, according to Dryden, they have. In the final part of his *Discourse* Dryden will lay down some principles for modern English satire, and relate them to the translations that follow.

18.5 Dryden's Ideals for Satire and the Ideals in Practice

Dryden is clear that the English satire of his own times must learn from Roman satire but can also improve upon it. He faults John Donne, for example, because "he followed Horace so very close," and failed to improve on his predecessor's style in particular (433). Dorset, Dryden's dedicatee, as seen, already surpassed Donne, but Dryden will still share with "your Lordship . . . my own trivial thoughts how a modern satire should be made" (434). His purpose in doing so is to help future practitioners of the art and to justify some of the choices made by him and his fellow-translators. Straightaway he lays down two very explicit principles. The first was a "secret" discovered by Persius, that the "perfect satire . . . ought only to treat of one subject, to be confined to one particular theme, or at least to one principally" (434). The *lanx satura* notwithstanding, a good satire must for Dryden be unified: Juvenal, he claims, recognized this too, and despite calling his poems a *farrago* chose "to follow the same method of Persius, and not of Horace" (435); and the French contemporary Boileau also committed himself to the "unity of design" (435).

The other explicit principle is as follows: "The poet is bound, and that *ex officio*, to give his reader some one precept of moral virtue, and to caution him

against some one particular vice or folly" (436). Again, despite all the faults mentioned earlier, Persius fares rather well here in Dryden's view, whereas Dryden acknowledges that he has trouble in finding "the principal instructive Point" of Juvenal's sixth Satire, "which seems only an arraignment of the whole sex of womankind" (80). This looks back to Dryden's earlier comment that Persius' moralism can pass muster even among Christians ("What he teaches, might be taught from the pulpits"), whereas Juvenal has a tendency to "declaim . . . against vices, more like an orator, than a philosopher" (402). As the digression on epic also pointed out, the modern poet must confront his ancient models with Christian ethics.

Of the proper objects of satire, Dryden says nothing more here, citing his earlier discussion in which he identifies "vicious men [who] . . . ought to be upbraided with their crimes and follies" as the right targets (407); and so too for its proper manner, remarking that "I have said enough in the comparison betwixt Juvenal and Horace," where, as we saw, what most distinguished Juvenal was the pleasure that he gave, through his sonorous expressions, sublime and lofty words (412). The "comparison," one sees more clearly still in retrospect, should serve to inspire modern writers. To versification Dryden does now pay some attention, recommending heroic couplets over the octosyllabic verses of Samuel Butler's mock-romance *Hudibras* (1662–80), a form that had already become standard for burlesque poetry. Boileau's verses are cited again approvingly, and also those of the Italian Alessandro Tassoni (1565–1635) in his mock-heroic *The Rape of the Bucket* (*La Secchia Rapita*) of 1662, poetry which used, respectively, the French alexandrine (twelve syllables) and the Italian *ottava rima* (iambic pentameters in eight-line stanzas). The "most noble kind of satire," it is not surprising to find the author of *Mac Flecknoe* concluding, mixes in with its "venom" "the majesty of the heroic" (441).

From English versification Dryden finally turns, logically enough, to the translation at hand. Arguing against too literal a translation, and also against the line-by-line approach (such as Holyday's, which, Dryden claims, led to total obscurity), he, along with his colleagues, embraces "a kind of paraphrase; or somewhat which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and imitation" (446). It is here that he remarks on the danger of following Persius and Juvenal too closely, "step by step," rather than "at greater distance" (447). A translation, Dryden proclaims confidently, must as much as the original be a poem itself, fulfilling the chief end of poetry for Dryden, which was to give pleasure. "We write," he insists, "only for the pleasure and entertainment of those gentlemen and ladies who, though they are not scholars, are not ignorant" (447). The language must be the language of poetry; the English, the English of contemporary England. Cultural references may be updated as needed. Translators are successors too, and to succeed fully in satire they should provide the pleasurable

“concernment” (emotional engagement) that Juvenal, in particular, at his best does too.

Here is not the place for a full study of all the translations, and their relationship with the Latin original as well as earlier English versions, but a few comments can be made on those of Dryden himself, and the creative approaches he took to Persius and Juvenal who were, for him, such different poets (see also in this volume Hooley, Chapter 15, and, for earlier English translations, Gillespie, Chapter 17). The difference is immediately evident in the degree of expansion in Dryden’s translations. While his translations of Juvenal’s poems are approximately half as long again as the Latin, most of his translations of Persius’ poems are more than double the length of the Latin. This presumably reflects the compressed, “obscure” nature of Persius’ Latin and manifests the “difficulty” that Dryden experienced with Persius (see above). The two poems we have chosen for closer focus exhibit those proportions very nicely: Persius *Satire* 6 has 80 lines of Latin but 187 in Dryden, and the incomplete *Satire* 16 of Juvenal has 60 lines of Latin and 95 in Dryden. (The rest follow the same proportions: Persius’ Prologue is 14 lines to Dryden’s 19; *Satire* 1 is 134 to 275, *Satire* 2 is 75 to 135; *Satire* 3 is 118 to 240, *Satire* 4 is 52 to 129 and *Satire* 5 is 190 to 281; in the case of Juvenal, *Satire* 1 has 171 lines in Latin to Dryden’s 258, *Satire* 3 has 322 to Dryden’s 503; *Satire* 6 has 661 to Dryden’s 863 and *Satire* 10 has 365 to Dryden’s 561.) Persius *Satire* 6 and Juvenal *Satire* 16 are certainly not regarded as central to the poets’ oeuvre and for that reason may have elicited less care than some of the other translations: all the better to see Dryden at work, then.

Dryden’s Persius does not evoke at all the Latin Persius but flows more easily in a more even tone and with mostly tempered vocabulary. Ironically, given Dryden’s harsh criticisms of Holyday, several of his many expansions in *Satire* 6 come from Holyday, almost or exactly verbatim (as noted by Hammond and Hopkins in their notes on lines 54–55, 141–42, 143–44 and 159 of Dryden’s translation). Dryden’s expansions serve the end of comprehensibility and some of them work well. For example, when Persius says of the epic poet Quintus Ennius, *postquam destertuit esse|Maeonides Quintus pauone ex Pythagoreo* (10–11: “after he snored off his identity as Quintus Homer, ex-Pythagorean peacock,” trans. Braund), Dryden captures very elegantly the notion of the transmigration of souls, as narrated by Ennius in his *Annales* (22–26), even if “in a drunken dream” he fails to capture the sheer physicality of Persius’ invented verb *destertuit*, “snored off”:

Who in a drunken dream beheld his soul
 The fifth within the transmigrating roll;
 Which first a peacock, then Euphorbus was, }
 Then Homer next, and next Pythagoras;
 And last of all the line did into Ennius pass. }

Persius *Satire* 6 starts with a more mellow tone than we are accustomed to in Persius as he imagines his addressee, the poet Caesius Bassus, at his Sabine retreat for the winter while he himself is enjoying a relaxing winter vacation on the Riviera, a vacation which gives him a couldn't-care-less, I'll-suit-myself, enjoy-life-to-the-full perspective (1–26). But halfway through the poem, as he imagines his heir reproving him for spending money to help a friend in need (27–41), he becomes increasingly angry with his heir and threatens to spend recklessly and to disinherit the heir (42–74). His indignation is conveyed in some characteristically vivid physical language towards the end (69–74) before his final jibe that the heir will never be satisfied (75–80).

Dryden responds readily to the mellow tone of the opening, expanding it into the panegyric language with which he was very comfortable (as witness his fulsome address to Lord Dorset in the *Discourse* itself). But in the rest of his version, he generally avoids the stark brevity, harsh verbal collages and brutal collisions of metaphor that are Persius' hallmarks, as he says explicitly in the *Discourse*: "I will venture to be so vain as to affirm that none of his hard metaphors or forced expressions are in my translation" (399). For example, when with typical physicality Persius says *haec cinere ulterior metuas?* (41: "Would this criticism make you afraid when you're beyond ashes?"), Dryden has the padded and bland "But to thy Fortune be not thou a slave, | For what hast thou to fear beyond the grave?" He comes closer to Persius' vividly physical language with words such as "rots" (30), "brat" (33), "dregs" (37), "nasty" (38), "guts" (39) and, describing a *bon viveur*, "Quaffs, crams, and guttles in his own defence" (51). Ironically, given his criticisms of his predecessor Holyday for overuse of monosyllables (*Discourse*, 449), it is Dryden's monosyllables that infuse his translation with so much *echt* vigor. His most direct language occurs at lines 173–74 when he asks if he should scrimp so that "when his throbbing lust extends the vein," [his heir's descendant might] "Have wherewithal his whores to entertain." Yet this is tame compared with the disgust conveyed by the Latin, *cum morosa uago singultiet inguine uena, | patriciae inmeiat uoluae?* (72–73: "can some day piss into a patrician cunt when his pernicky vein sobs in his roving groin"). This is not the only place in Dryden's translations of Latin satire where he hesitates to go the whole way in terms of sexual explicitness and effect of obscenity, although in another context, his translation of Lucretius' description of copulation in Book 4 of *De Rerum Natura*, he shows no such hesitation; it seems that his perception of the moral purpose of the Latin text has a strong influence on him (as argued by Braund (2004c)).

Dryden includes a number of nicely turned lines in his translation of Persius 6, such as "If thou car'st little, less shall be my care" (125), "Now fairly take it, or as fairly leave" (148), "Little indeed, but yet that little's all" (156) and

“Truck wares for wares, and trudge from pole to pole” (178), but none is motivated by a similar feature in the Latin: Persius is very rarely apothegmatic. (A rare exception is the close of *Satire* 4 (51–52: “Spit out what isn’t you, and let the labourer take back what he gave you. Live on your own, and you’ll find out how incomplete your furniture is”): *respue quod non es; tollat sua munera cerdo. | tecum habita, noris quam sit tibi curta supellex*, which Dryden renders with four wordy, and hardly pithy, lines.)

Dryden is probably strongest where he handles passages closest to narrative, such as the description of the shipwrecked friend at lines 62–71:

His riches in th’ Ionian main are lost,
And he himself stands shivering on the coast;
Where, destitute of hope, forlorn, and bare,
He wearies the deaf gods with fruitless prayer.
Their images, the relics of the wrack,
Torn from the naked poop, are tided back
By the wild waves, and rudely thrown ashore
Lie impotent, nor can themselves restore.
The vessel sticks, and shows her opened side,
And on her shattered mast the mews in triumph ride.

Here Dryden has had to work to unpack Persius’ condensed picture of the friend sprawled on the shore along with the statues from the stern of the ship (*iacet ipse in litore et una | ingentes de puppe dei*, 29–30) and he has not replicated Persius’ clever zeugma (*remque omnem surdaque uota | condidit Ionio*, 28–29: “his entire wealth and his unheard prayers sunk in the Ionian Sea”); however, in a fine satirical flourish, he rounds off the passage with a bathetic image of the gulls (“mews”) in possession of the dismembered boat (*iamque obuia mergis | costa ratis lacerae*, 30–31: “already the ribs of his shattered boat are exposed to the gulls”) with the flourish of an alexandrine, in place of the usual pentameter.

Dryden’s translation of Persius is marked by its flow, its clarity, its expansiveness, its clever turns and, from time to time, its elegance. None, not one, of these are features of Persius’ Latinity, as Dryden knows full well and as he tells us in the *Discourse* (393–94). But as he also tells us in the *Discourse*, he finds Juvenal much more congenial (we use that word in a strong sense: he feels that he and Juvenal are both of the same kind, *genus*) and attractive. The “pleasure of concernment” that Dryden derives from Juvenal suits his own approach both to original poetry and to his translations. Let us see how he handles this neglected fragment of Juvenalian satire.

Juvenal’s *Satire* 16 resembles several of the earlier poems, including *Satires* 3, 6 and 10, other poems translated by Dryden, in having a program clearly stated at the outset: the topic is the advantages of military life (1–2).

Most of the text as transmitted deals with the immunity and the privileges enjoyed by soldiers in matters of litigation (7–50). The final lines of the fragment appear to move into the topic of the financial advantages of soldiery, at which point the text breaks off.

One immediately notices that in his translation Dryden updates the topical and learned references, presumably for the benefit of his intended audience, who, as he clearly states in the *Discourse* (447), are not professional scholars but “not ignorant” either. Thus he omits the name of the declaimer Vagellius (line 23 of the Latin, also mentioned by Juvenal at 13.119 but not otherwise known to us) and instead provides a gloss which is animated by a fine zeugma, perhaps in compensation for the diminution in vividness caused by the removal of the proper name, and accompanied by a note in which he does name Vagellius (32–33): “him who in the hall | Would for his fee and for his client bawl.” Hammond and Hopkins (*ad loc.*) inform us that in the 1693 edition “hall” was printed “Hall,” probably denoting Westminster Hall, where lawsuits were heard. If we prefer “Hall,” the obviously topical reference too increases the engagement for Dryden’s readers. There is another loss of Roman specificity when Dryden chooses not to tax his readers with remembering the identity of Pylades, the archetypal faithful friend of ancient mythology, or the location of the Embankment in Rome (the praetorian camp was located less than half a mile beyond the Embankment), by rendering Juvenal’s *quis tam Pylades molem aggeris ultra | ut ueniat?* (26–27: “Who’d be such a Pylades as to venture beyond the massive Embankment?”) like this (40–41):

Besides, whom canst thou think so much thy friend,
Who dares appear thy business to defend?

Before we get to Dryden’s compensation for this erosion of specific details, we might also notice that Dryden envisages the topic of the poem in a slightly different light from the original. While Juvenal is writing about the advantages of the military life to the ordinary soldier contrasted with the civilian, especially the civilian from the countryside, Dryden clearly reads the poem as “an invective against a standing army” (*Argument of the Sixteenth Satire*). Hence his replacement of Juvenal’s word *praemia* (“rewards”) in line 1 with “prerogatives,” a word that inevitably evokes the royal prerogative to act without the approval of Parliament. As Hammond and Hopkins suggest in their notes (*ad loc.*), the recent political context seems to inform Dryden’s reading: in October 1691 William III proposed establishing a standing army because of the threat from France. Dryden had grave misgivings about this, and in that he may well have been influenced by the dangers of political turbulence he had seen in his lifetime.

Even though this is a mere fragment, it contains several vivid scenarios typical of Juvenal. Dryden responds to these in particular with gusto and it is here, in the descriptive and narrative sections, that we see the Dryden familiar to us from his own original satires, discussed above. His version of the injuries wrought upon a hapless civilian by a soldier who in effect enjoys immunity is as graphic and vigorous as the Latin (10–17):

See what our common privileges are:
 As first, no saucy citizen shall dare
 To strike a soldier, nor, when struck, resent
 The wrong, for fear of farther punishment:
 Not though his teeth are beaten out, his eyes
 Hang by a string, in bumps his forehead rise,
 Shall he presume to mention his disgrace,
 Or beg amends for his demolished face.

Here is the Latin (7–12):

commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
 haut minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
 audeat, immo, etsi pulsetur, dissimulet nec
 excussos studeat praetori ostendere dentes
 et nigram in facie tumidis liuoribus offam
 atque oculum medico nil promittente relictum.

(First, let's deal with the advantages shared by all soldiers. Not the least of these is that no civilian will have the nerve to beat you up. Instead, if he gets beaten up himself, he'll pretend he wasn't, and he won't be eager to show the praetor his teeth that have been knocked out, or the black lump on his face with the swollen bruises, or the eye he still has, though the doctor isn't making any promises.)

Dryden omits Juvenal's doctor, to be sure, but caps this lively section with the felicitous phrase "demolished face" (which accordingly generated "disgrace" for the sake of the rhyme, an idea not in the original but a nice extra touch, offering a glimpse of the perspective of the civilian punchbag). We might note that Dryden does not forget about the doctor's role in saving the civilian's body; a few lines later, he takes the words *dum duo crura habeas* (24: "since you have only two legs") and adds "(Which, heaven be praised, thou yet mayst call thy own)," which seems a nod back to the notion, omitted earlier, that the civilian is lucky still to have one eye.

It is with the catalogue of possible aggravations and injuries suffered by the civilian and the catalogue of the delays he faces in seeking litigation, delays to

which the soldier is not at all subject, that Dryden truly gets into his stride (57–72, translating in the Latin 36–47):

If any rogue vexatious suits advance
 Against me for my known inheritance,
 Enter by violence my fruitful grounds,
 Or take the sacred landmark from my bounds,
 Those bounds, which with procession and with prayer
 And offered cakes, have been my annual care;
 Or if my debtors do not keep their day,
 Deny their hands, and then refuse to pay,
 I must with patience all the terms attend
 Among the common causes that depend,
 Till mine is called; and that long-looked-for day,
 Is still encumbered with some new delay:
 Perhaps the cloth of state is only spread,
 Some of the quorum may be sick abed;
 That judge is hot, and doffs his gown, while this
 O'er night was boozy, and goes out to piss.

This is marvelous stuff and it captures the spirit of Juvenal to a tee. We might especially relish “long-looked-for day” and the rhyme of “this” and “piss” (and here we do not find the restraint that Dryden exercised at times in his translation of Persius, discussed above). We can easily forgive Dryden for not replicating the excellent paradox of Juvenal’s Latin at the end of this passage: Juvenal writes *lentaque fori pugnamus harena* (47: “That’s how we battle it out in the slow/sticky arena of the forum”). Juvenal’s line contains satiric puns – that the civilians are “fighting” (when that’s the job of soldiers) and that the forum, location of the Roman law courts, is a gladiatorial arena (*harena* denoted the sand of the arena) – that would be impossible to reproduce in English. Dryden provides lavish compensation for the effects he is unable to replicate exactly, not necessarily at the same spot, but sooner or later.

Dryden is perfectly explicit that he sets out (1) to make Juvenal as intelligible as possible (and thus omits a few portions and explains others in notes); (2) to make him “more sounding and more elegant than he was before in English”; and (3) “to make him speak that kind of English which he would have spoken had he lived in England and had written to this age,” closely following Horace’s explicit updating of Lucilius (*Discourse*, 449). When he asserts that the project of translation involves “a kind of paraphrase; or somewhat which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and imitation” (87), that is proper guidance for us as readers and we do well to pay attention. Even if transient effects in the Latin are neglected, Dryden is such a consummate poet

that in every way possible, it can be argued, he captures something *echt* about Juvenal, and that is because he finds him so congenial.

18.6 Conclusion

We contend that Dryden's *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* remains one of the most important pieces of scholarship on Roman satire and that it illuminates the practice of his translations of Persius and Juvenal. In the *Discourse*, Dryden shows himself acutely aware of the process of poetic succession, a process which is not necessarily linear (in that a later poet can skip a generation among his poetic predecessors to claim an earlier poet as his progenitor) but always affected by situatedness. He conceives of the relationship between successive poets in the genre as one of contestation, as the "son" rivals his poetic father figure in the quest to bring the genre to perfection. Dryden stages a contest between the leading Roman poets, Horace and Juvenal, and declares Juvenal the winner. He then envisages the possibility that English satire can continue this process, indeed progress, towards "complement," offering critiques of earlier satirists such as Donne and praise of his contemporary, Lord Dorset, his dedicatee (even if that praise is ironic, as argued by Cotterill (2004)). What is especially important is that Dryden, as poet, indeed as former Poet Laureate, insists that English verse satire is an art, a vital anticipation of twentieth-century theoretical work on satire, e.g. Kernan (1959) (of which see D. Griffin (1994) 28–34 for a brief overview).

This attitude, and the efforts he makes in the *Discourse* to establish the proper parameters of satire, increase and intensify the value of Dryden's own satirical poems and his translations of Roman satire. As he says, "'Tis only for a poet to translate a poet" (422). In the elaborate contest he stages in the *Discourse* between Persius (rapidly dismissed) and then the two finalists, Horace and Juvenal, Dryden takes great pains to indicate that he values "fine raillery" over "gross raillery." This is an important programmatic statement which reflects back on his earlier original satires and ahead on his translations published in the 1692/93 volume (see Davis (2008) 7 on the intersection between theory and practice: he argues that translating brought the Augustan poet-translators to remodel their lives as poets; cf. too Zwicker (2008) on Dryden's self-fashioning in terms of the ancients). We suggest that Dryden understood his own strengths and weaknesses very well: when he so clearly prefers Juvenal to Horace and to Persius in the *Discourse*, it may be to some important degree because he already knows full well that he is a Juvenalian, and not a Horatian or a Persianic satirist. Thus, by associating himself with the "fine raillery" of Horace and yet delivering the vim and verve of Juvenalian satire, he

attempts to defuse any possible criticisms that he cuts too close to the bone with “gross raillery.” It is clear that he identifies with Juvenal in his ability to provide “concernment,” a quality he champions in Juvenal; Dryden is aware that he too is capable of arousing great “concernment” through his translations. While Horace’s strength is “comical” satire, that of Juvenal is “tragical satire” (*Discourse*, 427), to which Dryden clearly responds in his original satires such as *Absalom and Achitophel*, and perhaps the mock-tragical *Mac Flecknoe*. This value-laden contrast is epitomized in a minor but important way in Dryden’s conception of satire and satirical translation: he asserts that satire in the Juvenalian mode offers the opportunity for the ennoblement of the reader. He says of Juvenal (*Discourse*, 412), “His expressions are sonorous and more noble, his verse more numerous [meaning metrically attractive], and his words are suitable to his thoughts: sublime and lofty. All these contribute to the pleasure of the reader; and the greater the soul of him who reads, his transports are the greater.” With clever indirection, Dryden thus simultaneously praises Juvenal as the acme of Roman satire, prepares the reader for Dryden’s versions – and flatters the reader into considering himself greater of soul the more he prefers the Juvenalian mode, and, by extension, Dryden himself.

FURTHER READING

The text of the *Discourse* and of Dryden’s translations of Persius and Juvenal 1, 3, 6, 10, and 16 (along with the Latin text respectively of Casaubon and the Delphin edition) can be found in Chambers and Frost (1974), volume 4 of the California edition, *The Works of John Dryden* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956–2002) with helpful introductions and notes; the text is unmodernized. In the more recent Longman edition of Dryden’s poems, with modernized text (which we use here) the *Discourse* appears in volume 3 (Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 302–450) and the translations (without the Latin text) in volume 4 (Hammond and Hopkins (2000b) 3–202); this edition includes extensive introductions and very helpful annotations. *Mac Flecknoe* and *Absalom and Achitophel* appear in Swedenberg (1972), volume 2 of the California edition, and in volume 1 of the Longman edition (Hammond (1995) 306–36 and 444–532).

Our essay is best read alongside Hooley’s excellent overview of the wider context that informs Dryden’s satirical poetry and theorizing about satire (Hooley (2005)). On Dryden as satirical theorist and practitioner, Paulson (2004) at 37 notes the paradox that though Dryden’s “reputation is primarily as a satirist” there are only three major satires in his massive oeuvre; he rightly describes the *Discourse* as “still the best essay in English on the nature of satire.” Frost (1988) reprints two useful articles also dealing with the relationship between Dryden’s theory and practice of satire. Weinbrot (1988) 1–10 views “the achievement of Dryden’s ‘Discourse’” as the provision of “a self-conscious, synthetic, and both authoritative and comprehensible history and assessment of the modern satirist’s art” (1–2) which bolsters

Dryden's own self-positioning in the "Progress" of satire (for Weinbrot an important word). Cotterill (2004) 245–77 ("The Obscure Progress of Satire in Dryden's Late Preface") is a detailed reading of the *Discourse*, arguing that its digressive structure deliberately conceals a critique of Dryden's patron Dorset and the court of William and Mary. For Davis (2008) 127–233, Dryden's prime concern in his translations and discussions of translation is with slavery and liberty. Taking a larger view, D. Griffin (1994) 6–34 usefully situates the *Discourse* within a longer tradition of "theories of satire" and argues that it is "distinctly partial and polemical" (15). Many insights into Dryden and satire (and translation) can also be found in the more general studies of Hopkins (1986) and Hammond (1991).

Critical discussion of Dryden as a translator focuses overwhelmingly on his Juvenal, with his Persius much less written about. Hopkins's discussion "Satire and Beyond" (Hopkins (2004) 38–56) touches on the complexities of Dryden's transhistorical engagement with the authors he translates. Love (2004), in a discussion of "the English-Roman city" (123–27), illuminates the blend of Rome and London in Dryden's translations of the Roman satirists; Winn (1988), Combe (1989), and Miller (1989) explore the topicality of the translations, the first with reference to the *Discourse*. In Frost 1988 (71–97) can also be found his earlier study of English translators of Persius, Frost (1968), including a discussion of Dryden; for an up-to-date account of the translation of Roman satire for Dryden's era, see Hopkins (2005). Hammond's discussion of the Juvenal translations (Hammond (1999) 179–92) demonstrates well how Dryden has created "a mobile text which offers readers unusual scope to develop their own inferences" (186). Hopkins (1995) discusses Dryden's version of Juvenal *Satire* 10, as does the now classic essay "Is Juvenal a Classic?" by Mason (1963); Braund (2004c) discusses the somewhat sanitized translation of *Satire* 6 and the reasons for Dryden's sanitization.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

Imperial Satire and the Scholars

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Concerning the exposition and explication of authors, which resteth in annotations and commentaries: wherein it is over usual to blanch the obscure places, and discourse upon the plain.

(Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) 2.19.1)

In Persius the difficulty is to find a Meaning; in Juvenal, to chuse a Meaning.

(Dryden, *A Discourse concerning Satire* (1693) quoting Barten Holyday)

These two epigraphs crystallize much that is true about scholarship on ancient texts in general and about the reception of Persius and Juvenal in particular. Who among us has not turned to a commentary on a difficult passage in an ancient text seeking illumination, only to find that the scholar has neglected the issue entirely, while holding forth upon other matters that seem in no need of explanation? In the case of obviously difficult authors such as the imperial satirists, Persius and Juvenal, the situation becomes acute. The words of Barten Holyday quoted by Dryden point to the real, and different, difficulties for the reader of Persius and Juvenal; as one of the earliest translators of Persius and Juvenal, Holyday had personally struggled with the interpretation of the text and he therefore knew what he was talking about. This essay will range over the topic of the scholarship on imperial satire from the earliest commentaries on Persius and Juvenal in the late antique period down to Housman's landmark edition of Juvenal published in 1905, not in a systematic way, but flitting like a bee or a butterfly then settling and sipping where the nectar is particularly sweet. It should be read in close conjunction with Parker's discussion of the manuscripts of Juvenal and Persius (Chapter 7) and with Richlin's chapter on school texts (Chapter 20). The questions we ask are: Who were these scholars who devoted their energies to the elucidation of such difficult texts? What did

they think they were doing? What were their agendas? What differences have they made to the understanding and reception of Persius and Juvenal? Looking at the history of these aids to reading raises even more fundamental questions: What is a commentary for? What does (or should) a commentary do? (See Most (1999), Gibson and Kraus (2002) for extensive discussion.)

19.1 The Earliest Commentaries

The earliest scholarship on Persius and Juvenal illustrates immediately the different ways in which scholars could attempt to help the floundering reader. Marginalia, that is, comments written in the margins, could be added directly to the text studied; these could take the forms of glosses (comments explaining individual words) and other kinds of notes offering information about relevant ancient practices or quoting other passages in Roman literature where a similar idea is expressed, and it is clear that pieces of the surviving commentaries go back to this sort of individual annotation. Alternatively, a scholar could compose a separate volume consisting of illuminating comments on the original text, what we call a commentary. In such cases, it is intriguing to investigate the identity of the scholar, something that is rarely available to us when dealing with marginalia. In both cases, it is common to refer to these comments and notes as “scholia” (singular “scholium”).

The text of Juvenal acquired a commentary very early, as soon as it reappeared from obscurity in the late 300s (see Parker, Chapter 7), known as the *commentum uetustum* (Wessner (1931) xxxvi–xlv). We can see here the work of an individual (he uses first person singular verbs) working at Rome, who drew on Cicero, Horace, Lucan, Sallust, Terence, and above all, Virgil (Mommsen (1909) 509, 511; Wessner (1931) xl; Cameron (2011) 453). Scholars used to think that the core of the commentary was done under Hadrian or the Antonines (Matthias (1875) 4–5; Leo (1909) 617; Knoche (1926) 61, (1940) 66–67), but as Townend ((1972) 376), agreeing with Wessner ((1931) xxxviii), notes: “In general, the errors are so immense and the gaps so frequent that . . . the collection cannot date from the period of Juvenal’s own life nor shortly after his death.” The commentary must date from after 352/53, the latest identifiable historical reference (10.24; Mommsen (1909) 509–11; Highet (1954) 299; Syme (1968) 87; Cameron (1964) 367–72), with Mommsen (1909) placing it right around 400 and Cameron ((2010), (2011) 453) placing it fifty years later. This commentary was originally an independent volume (Wessner (1931) xxxvi–xlii; Zetzel (1975) 339, (1981) 179), but was then copied into the margins of manuscripts in three different traditions, each with divergent texts (Wessner (1931) xii–xiii, xliii): (a) in the margins of the Bobbio fragment (*Bob.*; Wessner’s Φ); (b) the main stream

(Wessner's II) in the *Pithoeanus* (P), *Sang.* (Σ S), and *Arou.* (Q); and (c) a lesser stream, which is a common source for parts of the commentaries attributed to "Probus" and "Cornutus" (see the next sections) and the other manuscripts used by the Carolingian scholars (see Chapter 7 for the manuscripts and abbreviations). Wessner's subfamilies for these ((1931) xxiii–xxxii, xliii, xlvi) were radically reordered by Sanford ((1960) 177, 182–85). In other words, what started as a separate project found dissemination as marginalia added to various texts of Juvenal.

In the case of Persius, an author so obscure that he needed a commentary right from the start, we cannot see a specific individual at work. By the time of Jerome in the fourth to fifth centuries (*Adv. Rufin.* 1.16) and John Lydus in the sixth century (*De magistratibus* 1.32), a commentary evidently existed, containing material found in the surviving commentaries (Zetzel (2005) 8, 128). The main sources were probably scattered marginal comments, some of which seem to have settled into the form of a "variorum commentary," a commentary recording divergent readings and interpretations without choosing between them; this is a very different phenomenon from the individual overview of the Juvenal commentator (Robathan and Cranz (1976) 204–5; Zetzel (2005) 75–78; Scholz and Wiener (2009) xxvi). This separate multi-author commentary was then copied, altered, and excerpted into different forms of marginalia, while other notes, glosses, and commentary continued to circulate. Thus, while ancient material is incorporated in various medieval traditions, none of what survives can be traced directly back to a single ancient source (Robathan and Cranz (1976) 204–5; Zetzel (2005) 127–29; Scholz and Wiener (2009) x–xiv).

19.2 Will the Real Probus Please Stand Up?

We can gain a sense of the detective work involved in this topic when we ask who Probus was, for we are dealing with three Probuses. The real Probus (whom we can call Probus I), M. Valerius Probus, came from Beirut and worked in Rome in the second half of the first century CE (Suet. *Gram.* 24; Gell. *NA* 13.21). He helped create a taste for the older republican authors, Terence and Lucretius, but also for Horace and Virgil. He published little and there is no evidence that he worked on his rough contemporary Persius (Kaster (1995) 247–48; Zetzel (2005) 137). However, his fame was such that in the following centuries and into the Middle Ages his name became attached to all sorts of anonymous grammatical works. This is "Probus" II, a name attached to a *Vita* ("Life") that accompanies several manuscripts with the title "The Life of Aules [or Aulis] Persius Flaccus excerpted from the commentary of Probus Valerius," which cannot be by Probus I but instead has a "Suetonian core" (Kaster (1995) 247; Robathan and Cranz (1976) 204, 213; Schmidt (2007)).

“Probus” II gave birth to “Probus” III. An anonymous poet, now identified as Hildemar of Corbie, a monk from France who was instrumental in bringing Carolingian learning to Italy, wrote a poem about his studies in Terence and Juvenal and how they were hindered by the lack of a commentary (*egestas commentorum*) on the last two books. The poem can be dated to just around 844 CE (Highet (1954) 195, 307 n. 25, 381 n. 3; Billanovitch (1974) 52–58; Olsen (1995) 41). It is likely that Hildemar was using the same manuscript rediscovered by Giorgio Valla of Piacenza (around 1430–1499; Sandys (1903–8) II 133), which breaks off at *Satire* 8.198. Valla used it for his 1486 Venice edition of Juvenal. This edition contained a collection of scholia under the name of Probus (and hence is referred to by modern scholars as *Probus Vallae*, “Valla’s Probus”: Wessner (1931) xx–xxiii, xliii; Townend (1972) 376–77 and n. 1; Bartalucci (1973); Zetzel (1981) 179–80, 184–86; Olsen (1995) 41). The name “Probus” probably came from the *Vita* of Persius transmitted with the manuscripts that contained both satirists and so also became attached to a set of scholia on Juvenal, who lived a generation or two after the real Probus (Jahn (1843); Wessner (1931) xxiii; Bartalucci (1973) 248; Tarrant (1983) 202 n. 15).

What was the quality of this ancient material? Valla described his Probus’ commentary as “of an exceptional brevity” and bemoans having been hampered at several places by the age and rotten condition of the manuscript itself (Wessner (1931) xx–xxi; Anderson (1965) 405–6). The manuscript was also seen by Ermolao Barbaro who described it as a “book eaten away and burned up by age” (Billanovitch (1974) 58). If that were not bad enough, Valla claimed he had changed nothing, but in fact he was sloppy about what he took from “Probus” III, mixing in his own words and observations (Wessner (1931) xxi–xxii; Sanford (1948) 107, 112). That said, it contained many unique comments and quotations, including the two surviving lines of Sulpicia II and the four surviving lines of Statius’ *De Bello Germanico* (*ad* Juv. 4.94; see Parker (1992) and Courtney (2003) 360–61, 525–26). The importance of these quotations cannot be overestimated and they will be discussed below as Examples A and B.

19.3 Who Was Cornutus?

As if to match the three “Probus,” we have three “Cornutuses” being cited. As with Probus, only the first is real. Persius’ *Vita* tells us that as a teenager Persius became an intimate friend of Annaeus Cornutus for the rest of his short life and that he bequeathed to Cornutus his considerable library on his death. *Satire* 5 is a tribute addressed to Cornutus, e.g. at line 23 and especially lines 36–51.

That name was taken from the poems and the *Life* and attached to the oldest layer of commentary, which was titled *Commentum Cornuti*, “the commentary of Cornutus” (Tradition A in Robathan and Cranz (1976)). Recent work on the *Commentum Cornuti* offers a reconstruction along the following, simplified, lines (Clausen and Zetzel (2004) vi; Zetzel (2005) 8, 35–37, 43, 66, 69, 78, 83–84, 143; Scholz and Wiener (2009) ix–xxx, xxxvi–liv). In the 800s, someone combined two sets of marginalia on manuscripts of Persius (shown by overlapping “doublets”) and supplemented these sources with material from Isidore, Servius and other encyclopedic works. He also added a new set of (nearly) complete major lemmata (the technical word we use to denote the brief quotations from the text; singular “lemma”) as headers to each section, so that the reader could have the entire text of Persius, with commentary, in front of him. The text also collected glosses and interlinear notes, and underwent the usual processes of compression, expansion, and remarginalization (Zetzel (2005) 155). In short, marginal glosses from various hands were mined to make a continuous commentary, which was then copied out in various forms into the margins of various manuscripts. As we saw above, scholarly material on the text enjoyed a certain freedom of movement between the format of the stand-alone commentary and combination with the original text. A twenty-first-century analogy for the latter, the combo-option where the text and comments appear together, is the phenomenon of e-readers that have built-in dictionaries, so that when the reader of a text wants to look up the meaning of a word he or she has to do nothing more than tap the screen.

This theory of origin is not without its problems (Schlegelmilch (2006)). In particular, the process of adding the lemmata seems more complex than a once-and-for-all insertion. Such a set of lemmata recapitulating the entire text is unique for classical works, although Zetzel ((2005) 65) points to the Bible commentaries of Jerome or Rabanus Maurus as possible parallels. More importantly, the lemmata themselves are in a quite different form, not just a matter of “simplification and shortening” a pre-existing full text, but a different system, consisting of short words, initial abbreviations, often only one or two letters, a system more like that seen in Donatus’ or Servius’ fourth- or fifth-century commentaries on Virgil. Further, the text of the lemmata is not always the same as in the body of the manuscript and there are inconsistencies and doublings that suggest a process of accretion with no single mind or master plan (Zetzel (2005) 37–45); one manuscript, *L* (Leiden BPL 82), for example, sometimes winds up with phrases and entire lines repeated three times: (1) the full text of Persius in its outside column, (2) the running major lemmata in the inside column, and (3) under the two columns the more common minor/reference lemmata (sometimes abbreviated to initial letters) at the head of each scholion.

The search for an individual responsible for this large work of combination and editing is fruitless. Elder (1947) suggested that Heiric (born 841), a French Benedictine monk at the monastery at Auxerre in north-central France, stood behind “Cornutus,” a possibility maintained by Clausen and Zetzel ((2004) v; Zetzel (2005) 137–40, 143) and Schlegelmilch (2006). Jahn ((1843) cxxvii–cxxviii) argued for a Carolingian scholar actually named Cornutus, whom he took to be a pupil of Heiric. There was certainly a hive of Persius activity around Auxerre, and a section of the commentary on Persius by Heiric’s student Remigius survives (c. 841–c. 908; ed. Zetzel ((2005) 180–92) and spread to Germany (Schlegelmilch (2006)).

The brilliant Heiric also lectured on Juvenal, and Remigius made the first commentary since late antiquity, drawing on his master’s lectures and the scholia they shared (Wessner (1931) xxviii–xxx; Sanford (1948) 94, (1960) 176; Highet (1954) 194–95). No complete manuscript of Remigius’ commentary on Juvenal survives, though it is listed in the library of Glastonbury Abbey (Trinity College Cambridge R.5.16, 102^r–104^r, *The Chronicle of John of Glastonbury*, 1247 CE, revised 1248) and in a German library, possibly Bamberg in Bavaria (on Glastonbury see Hearne (1726) 423–44; Gottlieb (1890) 165, no. 471; Williams (1897) 55–78; description at Carley and Townsend (1985) xi–xiv, xlvii–xlviii; on Bamberg see Manitius (1907) 681–82; Sanford (1948) 94, (1960) 176). However, works derived from it show their origins. They retain a quotation from Heiric’s poem, *The Life of St. Germanus* (in the note on 1.78) and evoke a moment of aporia in the classroom with the comment on Juvenal 9.37: “One foot is missing from the Greek verse which Master Heiric could not make out.”

And here we have our third “Cornutus,” for when Remigius’ commentary began to circulate, it did so under the name of the commentator on Persius. The name probably jumped ship in manuscripts that combined the two satirists, and the two texts were frequently taught together. The attribution had important consequences, for it led many scholars, well into the early modern period, to put Juvenal beside Persius in the age of Nero. In this guise, Heiric and Remigius formed the basis of all the scholarly work on Juvenal until the Renaissance (Sanford (1960) 176–77, 182–88).

One of the medieval commentaries in the tradition initiated by Remigius in the Carolingian renaissance of learning worth singling out is from Florence, Laurentianus Pl. 34.36, written during the 1300s: it adds contemporary scholarship to the older inherited material. For example, it mentions Giovanni da Ravenna (Giovanni Conversini, 1343–1408), a pupil of Petrarch and teacher of Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona, discussed below, who doubted the authenticity of the truncated *Satire* 16. It also cites Riccobaldo of Ferrara’s *Compilatio Chronologica* (c. 1313), which correctly dated Juvenal to the age of Domitian and Trajan. To make up for that, it also

has Juvenal die in exile in Scotland (Sanford (1960) 177, 184; Hankey (2000) 49, 51).

A second stream derived from Remigius' commentary on Juvenal is labeled "Ex abrupto" by Sanford ((1960) 175, 185, 188–92) from its characteristic *incipit* (opening sentence): "Like all satirists, he begins abruptly" (*More omnium satiricorum ex abrupto incipit*). It cites material as coming from "Cornutus," that is, it treats the Remigius tradition as an independent, external source. This strand of scholarship first appears around 1300 (Wolfenbüttel Gudianus 155, 96^r–129^v; Sanford (1960) 188–92; Löfstedt (1995) vii; Kindermann (1978) 117) and flourishes in the 1400s, forming the basis of much of the early Renaissance commentaries (Sanford (1960) 188–92).

One can get a good idea of these commentaries from Löfstedt (1995), who edited four closely related Juvenal commentaries from the 1100s, French in origin, including two (his *P* and *W*) commonly but incorrectly attributed to William of Conches (died around 1154), whom they cite along with Bernard of Chartres. Löfstedt keeps the possibility that their source was lecture notes or the like from William of Conches ((1995) vii; see Sanford (1960) 192–95, 198 for the older literature). Pérez Rodríguez (2007) has added two more (*C*=Cologne, Dombibliothek 199, 39^r–58^r; *M*=Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 22309, 251^r–76^r; see Sanford (1960) 196–97), which she redates to the 1100s, for a picture of "Reading Juvenal in the Twelfth Century."

19.4 Persius and Juvenal at School

It is clear that Persius and Juvenal were and remained standard school authors. For example, Balderich, bishop of Speyer (died in 986), who had been educated at St. Gall, taught Juvenal and Persius to the young Walther von Speyer (*c.* 963–1027), who seems to have known the scholia to Persius (Vossen (1962) 39, 88, *Libellus Scolasticus*, lines 97–98; Reissinger (1910) 353; Highet (1954) 307 n. 24; Grotans (2006) 77–78). The list of school authors for Christ Church Canterbury (*c.* 1170, Cambridge University Library Ii.3.12) includes four Juvenals (one imperfect) and a book of commentary (*glossae*) beside nine copies of Persius (James (1903) 10, no. 136–49). Bischoff (1971) gives a fascinating glimpse of how Persius was read in the town of Liège around 1080, where the annotator, while often misunderstanding his text, applies Persius to contemporary events and scenes of clerical life: see Example C below. In the mid-twelfth century, we find both satirists in the German Benedictine monk Conrad of Hirsau's recommended reading list, *Dialogus super auctores*, complete with glosses in Old High German (Huygens (1970); Tunberg (1987); Siewert (1989) 115–29, (1997) 144). We also get a look at university

life around 1230 in *La Bataille des Sept Ars* by Henri d'Andeli (author also of "A Battle of Wines"), where Grammar and her poetic allies lay siege to Logic and the scholastic authors of Paris. The unhorsed Aristotle is attacked by Grammar (Priscian) and the poets, led by the three satirists – Sir Persius, Don Juvenal, Don Horace – then the three epic poets – Virgil, Lucan, Statius –, three Christian poets – Sedulius, Prosper, Prudentius –, and a grab-bag of Arator, "Homer," and Terence (205–11, ed. Corbellari (2003); Eng. trans. Pactow (1914)). In an anticipation of today's practice in universities, we get an example of a thirteenth-century "course pack" in London, British Library, Add. 16380: it contains commentaries on Virgil, Juvenal, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius, plus various grammatical works by Donatus, Priscian, and Ralph of Beauvais (Irvine and Thomson (2005) 39–40). And the aftermath of an arrest tells us something of the taste of an upper-class English reader. Books seized from Henry de Tatton, a clerk to Edward III, by the sheriffs of London in 1363 included a bible, three "romances," and Juvenal (Devon (1837) 187; Stratford and Webber (2006) 204).

Although Persius and Juvenal may seem to our thinking somewhat unlikely school authors during the Christian era, it was their usefulness in supplying maxims and their status as castigators of pagan morals that won them approval (see further Richlin, Chapter 20; Reynolds (1996) 15). Hugo von Trimberg's *Registrum multorum auctorum* (*Outline of Many Authors*, 1280) recommends to students (133–37):

Proponatur reliquis mordax Iuuenalis,
 Constans et ueridicus, non adulans malis . . .
 Sequitur hunc Persius, cultor honestatis,
 Reprehensor uitii, lima prauitatis.

Biting Juvenal is to be ranked ahead of the rest,
 constant and truthful, not a lover of evil . . .
 Next comes Persius, the friend of honesty,
 chastiser of vice, the file of depravity.

The satirists' blunt language was excused as necessary to the task and scholars sought refuge (as they do now) in the concepts of *persona* and irony (Casaubon, trans. Medine (1976) 257; Hanna *et al.* (2005) 400–401, 405, 418). According to Bernard of Utrecht, writing in the mid-twelfth century: "The words are to be interpreted as their opposites (*per contrarium*). For the satirists ironically (*ironice*) praise what should be vituperated, vituperate what should be praised" (Huygens (1970) 62; cf. 51, in his introduction (*accessus*) to Horace *Satires* and Conrad of Hirsau's *Dialogus super auctores*, 118–19 for Juvenal and Persius; for medieval theories of satire, see most conveniently V. Gillespie (2005) 223–28).

19.5 The Imperial Satirists in the Renaissance Canon and Classroom

There was a falling off of interest in both Juvenal and Persius during the 1200s–1300s, then a resurgence in the 1400s, as humanist interest quickened (Black (2001) 197, 209–10, 225, 233–34, 247, 252–54, 273, 316, 367). The visionary humanist Petrarch (1304–74) helped lead the way. He listed Juvenal among his favorite books (Ullman (1923), (1955) 35–36) and quotes him frequently as “one who profoundly understood human nature” (*Fam.* 3.15.1). Persius continued as part of the humanistic curriculum (see Scarcia Piacentini (1973–75) for a list of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts).

Few things show the changed canon of Latin authors as well as Sicco Polenton’s *Scriptores illustres Latinae linguae* (*Famous Writers in Latin*, 1437), a vast survey of Latin writers old and new, which jumped over the years between Juvenal and Dante (Ullman (1928) 125, 128–29):

Well, after him all the care, delight, and love for making verse in the style of the ancient authors, which in its own day had been so great, or at least had been something, ceased and fell asleep, so that it seemed as if after many, many years the talent for making verse and every kind of eloquence, its genius exhausted and worn out from its long and mighty efforts, had fallen asleep . . .

This was the age that saw Dante Alighieri, citizen of Florence and outstanding poet. Then at last, little by little, as though from a long sleep, the Muses began to awake. They had slept for a thousand years after the death of Juvenal (as I said above). Then, as sleepers do, they began to move their limbs, rub their eyes, and stretch forth their hands.

That Juvenal marks the outer limit of readable (or read) Latin poetry is an attitude still common in university classrooms.

Vittorino da Feltre (c. 1378–1446) taught Juvenal’s *Satires* in the Casa Giocosa, his school in Mantua, though he reserved them for the senior boys and not for public explication (Woodward (1897) 47, 214 n. 1; Sandys (1903–8) II 53; Platina (1948) 24; Sanford (1948) 97; Highet (1954) 208–9). His pupil and successor, Ognibene, wrote a commentary on Juvenal (1457–61) and lectured on Persius; Cristoforo Landino lectured on both at the University of Florence (1462, we have a student’s lecture notes; Sanford (1960) 208–10; Grendler (1989) 134, 236; Robathan and Cranz (1976) 257–58, 262).

Piccolomini (Pius II) in his *De Liberorum Educatione* (*The Education of Boys*, 1450, ch. 70) delivered his judgment on the satirists:

There are certain things in him [Horace] which I would not have read or explained to you while you are still a boy. Juvenal, a poet of high genius, has said

many things with excessive license, yet in some satires he shows himself so religious that he might seem second to none of the teachers of our faith. Persius is too obscure but is useful. (Kallendorf trans. (2002) 221)

Battista Guarino (1434–1513), son of Guarino da Verona, in his *De Ordine Docendi et Studendi* (*A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 1459) was not far behind:

Nor am I afraid to pair him [Terence] with Juvenal, the prince of satirists. With these two authors at one's disposal, one may be confident, not only of being able to hold forth elegantly on any subject that arises in day-to-day speech but also of having some maxim suitable for every subject. And no one should be deterred from reading that satirist because in some places he attacks certain horrible vices too explicitly. First of all, he only does this occasionally, and second, we ought to abhor vicious people more than those who attack the vices. Once those blemishes have been removed (and they are few, as we have said), we shall find nothing which is not praiseworthy and perfectly suitable for a Christian. (Kallendorf trans. (2002) 289)

But Paul II (pope 1464–71), who succeeded the learned Pius II, turned Guarino's defense on its head. Blanchus, the ambassador from Milan (1468), reported the pope's opinion (Pastor (1906) 491; trans. D'Elia (2009) 82–83):

Before boys have reached the age of ten and gone to school, they know a thousand immodesties; think of the thousand other vices they will learn when they read Juvenal, Terence, Plautus, and Ovid. Juvenal is a teacher of vice, just like preachers whom we have reprimanded for teaching lascivious behavior that a man never knew before, when they say "these are the ways in which you sin."

Meanwhile in Spain, when Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526) was invited to lecture at Salamanca in 1488, he planted a stooge in the audience to suggest Juvenal 2 (on hypocritical sodomites) as the topic. The news was such a draw that the beadle had to clear a path with clubs and the lecturer had to be passed overhead to the platform. His carefully prepared extemporaneous lecture earned him a triumphant return (Anghiera (1670) 26–27, *Ep.* 1.57; Highet (1954) 209–10).

The passion for Juvenal was such that Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479–1552), the writer of the first great literary history of the Latin Renaissance (Giraldi (1894), (2011)), wrote in *De Historia Poetarum*, *Dialogus* 4 ((1580) 2: 179; (1696) 2: col. 243):

In our fathers' time, Juvenal was held in such high regard for censuring morals, that the more of his verses a man could recite by memory, the more learned he

was judged. However, if you put any trust in my opinion, I do not think that Juvenal should be read until we have been thoroughly imbued with a pure and Roman diction, and I give the advice more willingly, the more I see it ignored by other teachers.

One can already see something of Juvenal's downgrade to a "Silver Latin" author, to use a more recent term (Mayer (1999)).

19.6 Renaissance Scholarship on Juvenal and Persius

Of the Renaissance commentaries on Persius written before the invention of printing, only that of Guarino da Verona (1458) seems to have a wider circulation (Robathan and Cranz (1976) 206). The first humanistic commentary on Juvenal, that of Gaspare Veronese (1449), led to direct economic benefit for its author, who dedicated elucidations on Juvenal 6 (an inspired choice) to Pope Nicholas V in the hope of a benefice – and was successful (Sanford (1953) 190–92, 199, (1960) 202–5). He mounted an interesting variant on the usual defense of reading Juvenal (as a scourge of vice, whose rough language is determined by his subject matter; Parker (2010) xiv, 115, 159) by comparing his satires to the sermons of St. Bernardino of Siena, that scourge of sodomy (Sanford (1953) 194, 202). This earliest age of commentaries on Juvenal was summed up by Giovanni Battista Cantalicio in the preface to his commentary (1488, Vaticanus Urbinas lat. 662):

Many men have written before our times on the satires of this our sweetest poet . . . I say nothing of Lorenzo Valla, Tortelli, my own Gaspare Veronese [Cantalicio's own teacher], Porcelio, Filelfo, and the other famous men of that generation, who, although they rescued Roman literature from darkness and barbarism, did not understand the cleverest expressions of this most outstanding satirist. Which I think perhaps happened for no other reason than that a little bit of glory might be reserved for our own age . . . The men of our age, whom I know to have written on this poet, include Domizio Calderini of Verona, Alexander Merula, Giorgio Valla, and Angelo Sabino. (Sanford (1953) 190; (1960) 226, Latin text)

The *editio princeps*, the first printed edition, of Juvenal and Persius, came from the press of Ulrich Han in Rome in 1468–69 (Hain (1826–38) no. 9661; Bühler no. 1955). It does not deserve a fanfare, however, being a plain text riddled with errors, and our authors had to wait more than a hundred years to receive proper editorial attention and an edition worthy of the name. But the commentaries on Persius by Bartholomaeus Fontius (1477, revised 1488)

and Johannes Britannicus (Giovani Bertoni, 1481) were printed again and again, often together, and became almost the “standard” commentary. As Robathan and Cranz remark ((1976) 206): “By and large the earlier work disappeared from sight after the invention of printing, though a ‘Cornutus’ was issued in 1499 and reprinted several times in the early sixteenth century.”

Commenting on Juvenal, by contrast, was turned into that favorite humanist pastime, the philological feud (Sanford (1948) 102–4; Giraldis (1894) 20, (2011) 47, 238; Campanelli (2001) 21–34). In the second half of the fifteenth century, Angelo Sabino, self-appointed poet laureate and forger of Ovidian *Heroides*, mocked unthinking reliance on the “Cornutus” commentaries and showed the absurdity of many comments (though he also cribbed from them), claiming that the heirs of Cornutus “made their hearers first insane and then stupid” (Sanford (1948) 103). After seven years of work, his *Paradoxa in Iuvenalem* (1474) was printed, which he dedicated to Niccolò Perotti (1429–80), who – just to show how serious these quarrels could be – had tried to assassinate Poggio Bracciolini in 1453. Sabino attacked not only “Cornutus” but also Domizio Calderini (1446–78), who in his commentary, published in Venice in 1475, in turn attacked Sabino and Perotti as plagiarists who used notes made by students from Calderini’s lectures. Then Giorgio Merula in 1478, and Politian in 1489, took up arms against Calderini on behalf of their friends (Sanford (1960) 178, 221–23, 224–26). An example of Calderini’s contentiousness is given at Example D. After this unedifying spectacle, it is nice to see Guarino Veronese asking the eighteen-year-old humanist Costanza da Verano (1426–1447) to help him borrow a copy of Cornutus’ commentary on Juvenal from Venanzio da Camerino (Sabbadini (1915–19) II 448, III 387, letter 789, Apr.–Dec. 1444).

Calderini’s 1475 commentary “held the field for two centuries against all competitors” (Sanford (1948) 105), though there was a brisk trade in compilations of full commentaries or selections taken from many scholars (Highet (1954) 206; Sanford (1960) 178–82 for lists). Valla’s edition (1486), mentioned above, was more important for transmitting the ancient glosses than for good sense (see Example D). There was a falling off in scholarship on Juvenal after the printing of Calderini’s commentary in 1475. Juvenal’s very popularity as a school text, now that there were several good books to gloss the difficulties that schoolboys would encounter, meant that mature consideration went elsewhere. Scholars ventured solutions to various cruces in the poor texts they had received (the history of individual emendations down to 1959 can be followed in Courtney (1989)), but commentaries were sparse (Sanford (1960) 178). Most, for example that of Caelius Secundus Curio (1528, 1551), were intended for school use (Sanford (1948) 109–11, (1960) 178, 222, 231–34). An exception was Britannicus, who had also published on Persius (see above). His “thorough, straightforward and sensible commentary” was the first to

recognize spurious lines (*Sat.* 12.50–51), a matter that was to be the focus of nineteenth-century scholarship (Courtney (1989) 826).

This situation changed in 1585, when Pierre Pithou (1539–96) published the superior text of the manuscript of Persius and Juvenal that bears his name, *Pithoeanus* (*P*), along with the copious scholia of the older tradition (see Parker, Chapter 7). “[Pithou’s] text, founded on this MS, served in 1613 as a model to Rigaltius [Nicolas Rigault, 1577–1654], and Rigaltius served as a model to editors of Juvenal for near two hundred years” (Housman (1931) x; see Cranz and Kristeller (1976) 442–43). However, to make up for the relative lack of scholia on Persius, he and J.J. Scaliger added “Glossae veteres.” These were long thought to be taken from a lost ancient manuscript (something like Valla’s “Probus” perhaps), but Zetzel has shown that they were taken from Vinet’s printed edition (1563), which in turn drew on the MS known as *R* or its descendents (Robathan and Cranz (1976) 233, 236, 295; Zetzel (2005) 122, 162–179; for *R* see Parker, Chapter 7).

Pithou provided a better (if rougher) text to be worked on and a new set of ancient comments to help explain the references. What was lacking was a clearer understanding of the genre – until Casaubon’s contribution in his *Prolegomena* (1605a) to Persius, which “changed the derivation of satire and thereafter its conception and practice” (Weinbrot (1988) 4). Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), his name cruelly and perpetually linked to pedantry, had a profound effect on European literature. For example, his edition of Theophrastus’ *Characters* (1592; 2nd edn. 1599) not only allowed his contemporaries to read Theophrastus correctly for the first time, but set off the craze for the revived genre of the character sketch. But it was the “epoch-making” (Gudeman (1907) 168) prolegomenon to his Persius edition ((1605a); ed. and trans. Medine (1976)), of which the younger Scaliger said ((1669) 64), “The sauce is worth more than the fish,” and the monograph *De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira* (1605b, intended as a preface to Persius; esp. Book 2, ch. 4, 304–27) that reset the debate on what satire was and led directly to Dryden’s important *Discourse of Satire* (1693) (on which see Osgood and Braund in this volume, Chapter 18). Casaubon was the first to disentangle Roman satire from satyrs and Greek satyr plays (contrast the vagaries of Scaliger, *Poetices* I 12 (1581): 43, 47–48), and to think systematically about the nature of satire, its relation to comedy, to narrative, and to drama. “We are all still living on the capital accumulated by the industry of Casaubon . . . He produced the first critical survey [of literary history] in his *De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira*, which has gone through many editions and can fairly be called a model of its kind” (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1921/1982) 54–55; for Casaubon’s place in the history of satire, see also Highet (1954) 207, 214; D. Griffin (1994) 12–14; Weinbrot (1988) 4, 145–47, 154; De Smet (1996) 36–38, 45–49).

19.7 Pithou's Legacy

The seventeenth century saw what Highet rather dishearteningly labeled “a succession of clear, efficient editions” of Juvenal ((1954) 214, list at 326 n. 36), from which Courtney ((1989) 827–30) singles out that of Grangaeus ((1614); Isaac de La Grange, professor at Vendôme; frequently included or excerpted in later editions and an important source for Mayor (1853)). There was a proliferation of variorum editions, some looking rather Talmudic, with the various scholars’ notes surrounding the text and no attempt to synthesize or even reconcile them. A new running theme in the history of reception appears in what seems to be the first expurgated edition of Juvenal and Persius (and other Latin poets) by the Jesuit Alexandre Fichet ((1616); Mabley (1895) 7 no. 240). Titles such as *Iuuenalis Satirae ab omni obscenitate expurgatae* (1683) began to appear (see Richlin, Chapter 20; also Nisbet, Chapter 21).

“The eighteenth century produced no noteworthy edition of Juvenal”; however, the emendations and notes of Jeremiah Markland (1693–1776), published by Mayor in his edition (1869), “constitute the most substantial contribution made to the criticism of Juvenal before the nineteenth century – indeed one of the most substantial contributions ever made” (Courtney (1989) 830). Yet, this scholarly vacuum was the age of Johnson (see Hooley, Chapter 15). The scholars had given the poets a text, however messy, good enough to inspire imitation and emulation.

In the case of Persius, Morgan’s bibliography (1909) lists a staggering 219 editions or re-publications between Casaubon (1605a) and Jahn (1843), yet none of any great distinction. The production was largely of school texts, such as those by Thomas Farnaby (1612), for the English market. While Jahn’s edition of the Pithoeanus MS (1843) was often described with superlatives (“ein philologisches Meisterwerk,” Gudeman (1907) 212), Wilamowitz-Moellendorf was more tempered ((1921/1982) 150): “He had an overmastering urge to expound, and he did so in his edition of Persius, of which it may be said, as Scaliger said of Casaubon’s, that the sauce was better than the fish.” Clausen ((1956) i) gave Jahn his due: “Otto Jahn was the first to recognize that a recension of Persius must be founded largely on three MSS: PAB,” while also being direct about the shortcomings ((1956) xvi):

When Jahn edited Persius in 1843, he employed a large number of MSS, but his apparatus criticus was vitiated by two faults: his collations, in part made by others, were frequently and grossly inaccurate, and Jahn himself did nothing to sort out insignificant MSS or trivial variants, so that a reader’s attention is all but overwhelmed in detail.

For the text, Jahn used the important MSS *P* and *AB* (twin manuscripts labeled as α) almost exclusively, but for the scholia he relied on the 1613 edition of Vinet, supplemented with a few secondary manuscripts (Jahn (1843) ccviii). “Jahn’s edition of the vulgate in 1843, based largely on the edition of 1613, is still essentially the same work as is found in a good early manuscript of the vulgate, Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78 [*L*], of the tenth or eleventh century” (Robathan and Cranz (1976) 205, 217, 223, 225, 233, 234, 236; for the undistinguished vulgate text of Persius, see Parker, Chapter 7). Jahn was made aware of the inadequacies of the transcription, and for his edition of 1868 had new (but still imperfect) copies of *P* and *A* (Clausen (1956) xvii). The revisions by Buecheler (1886, 1893) and Leo (1910) show the same overvaluation of *P* for Persius as for Juvenal. The subsequent history of the text of Persius has been a see-saw between *P* and *AB*, with all other manuscripts ignored, and little progress being made (Jahn gave the nod to *AB*, as did Buecheler; Leo leaned towards *P*; Scivoletto went back to *AB*).

For Juvenal, we turn to the scathing words of Housman, casting a cold eye over the previous few centuries ((1931) xxviii):

But the fact is that Juvenal has never been taken in hand by a critic of the first order. If, instead of Pithoeus and Rigaltius and Ruperti and Jahn, it were Scaliger and Gronovius and Bentley and Lachmann that had been here before us, not much would now remain unexplained or uncorrected except the inexplicable and the incorrigible. But though Juvenal has had editors of much learning and of some judgment and acuteness, not one of them has possessed a really penetrating and comprehensive mind. Probably no recension or commentary has done so much for the amendment and interpretation of the text as Markland’s desultory notes and the two disputations of the youthful Madvig. Still, the world moves; the nineteenth century has slowly accumulated corrections; Ruperti, Heinrich, Jahn, Hermann, Ribbeck, Buecheler, have each contributed something, and Mr Friedlaender’s commentary is a serviceable work and much superior to its predecessors: though after all, if candour and clear perception are what is wanted, the best place to find them is the unpretending school-edition of Mr J.D. Duff.

He was right about Duff (1898) – a sensible and useful school edition, reissued every decade or so, and with Coffey’s introduction (Duff (1970)) still an excellent starting place. Highet rightly called Ruperti’s work “a detailed commentary in Latin which is still useful” ((1954) 222) and Courtney called it “the first edition of Juvenal which can in any sense be called modern” ((1989) 833). Friedlaender (1895) brought to Juvenal his incomparable knowledge of Roman and Pompeian daily life – he was the author of *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* – with which he illuminated Juvenal from contemporary sources (high and low) without falling into the trap of

thinking the poet was merely transcribing reality while standing at a street corner with his notebooks (*Sat.* 1.63–64).

Jahn was the one most unfairly treated by Housman, though Housman did acknowledge his merits ((1931) vii). Pithoeus' manuscript disappeared from general knowledge, and wandered somehow from Lyon to Montpellier. It had to be rediscovered by Count Libri-Carrucci (mathematician and bibliokleptomaniac (1942) 32, 39). It was Jahn (1843, 1851, 1868) who brought Pithoeus' manuscript and its scholia back to scholarly notice. Hermann then revised Jahn's Teubner in 1854, earning praise from Sandys ((1903–8) III 162): "He led the way in forming a true estimate of the value of the MSS and the scholia of Persius and Juvenal."

19.8 Interpolation Hunting

Nineteenth-century scholarship on Juvenal was marked by two phenomena. First, there was a lack of critical engagement with the text which resulted in the vacuum being filled with displays of often useless knowledge and ever-diverging "parallels," many of which went back to the Renaissance editions (Courtney (1989) 833). Mayor ((1853), (1869), and many subsequent editions) is a good example of someone who tells you more than you wanted to know about everything (for an eccentric account of this eccentric character, see Henderson (1998a)).

Second, and most memorably, the Great Game of the nineteenth century was *Interpolationsforschung*, the hunt for interpolations (Fuchs (1947) 188–98; Courtney (1975)). Highet ((1954) 223) noted the intellectual atmosphere: "It was the fashion in those days to dissect books of the Bible, to rewrite Homer, and rearrange the classics . . . so that Juvenal could scarcely escape." Britannicus (see above) and Gruyet (published posthumously in Marolles (1658) and (1671)) had seen that certain lines in Juvenal were inorganic (Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1921/1982) 59; Courtney (1989) 828) and spurious lines were pursued with forks and hope. Tarrant ((1987) 281) writes of "the policy of freewheeling excision which passed for enlightened criticism in the two generations after Lachmann." Pinzger (1827) cast the hounds for the quarry, but Ribbeck claimed the tail (1859). His edition was rightly called "eccentric and wild" (Courtney (1989) 838) and "the curiosity of the century" (Highet (1954) 222). He declared about a third of the text spurious and had to supply his own numbering system; for example, *Satire* 4 loses its thirty-six opening lines, *Satire* 8 drops fifty lines; *Satire* 11, seventy-two. Chunks of text whizz overhead clearing 200-line-long hurdles. *Satires* 10 and 12–16 are branded *Declamationes quae Iuvenalis nomine feruntur* ("Declamations going around under Juvenal's name"), and so do not rate

an apparatus or tinkering. At the same time Ribbeck defended obvious doublets and variants between manuscripts as traces of Juvenal's second thoughts or a second edition compiled while in exile ((1859) xii–xiii, the biographical fallacy kicking in). He published his justifications for what he thought unworthy of Juvenal in *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal* ["Genuine Juvenal and Spurious Juvenal"] (1865). Jahn (1868) deleted some seventy verses, as dull, or moralizing, or senseless (the process Bacon noted in the epigraph to Chapter 7); but good poets, satirists especially, drop a clinker now and then (Housman (1931) xxxii), and a verse that makes no sense is corrupt first, and authentic or inauthentic only second.

"Forty years ago," wrote Housman ((1931) xxxi), "it was the fashion to be suspicious; and scholars ejected from the text of Juvenal every verse that could be spared, and judged themselves acute for doing so. Now it is the fashion to be insensible; and scholars lay claim to the merit of caution when they accept as genuine every verse which the text of Juvenal contains." So, at the other end of the spectrum, Vahlen attempted to defend everything in the *textus receptus* of Juvenal including such obvious hack jobs such as 3.281 ((1907–8) II 236–37; Housman (1931) xxxv, xxxviii–xxxix; see Example E). Buecheler in his revisions of Jahn (1886) excised one line (9.119); Friedlaender (1895), none. Apparent duplicates or redundancies were due to Juvenal's own second thoughts; there were no lacunae, and no misplaced verses ((1895) 56). Leo ((1909), (1910), his revision of Jahn–Buecheler) was equally unwilling to abandon any transmitted lines. He held to the "second edition" (*Doppelfassungen*) theory with Teuffel ((1889) 349–60), according to which Juvenal while in exile had revised what he had written and all of Book 5 (*Satires* 13–16) was a posthumous addition (Leo (1910) xix). Leo, for his second edition, drew on Housman ((1931) xxxvii–xxxviii), but used an inferior group of manuscripts. Jachmann (1943) developed a different version of the double recension theory, laying the blame on the usual suspect, the clumsy redactor, and placing the event in the late 300s. There are spurious lines in Juvenal but the best guide is: Do the lines spell out something that the poem has just told you (only with more wit)?

One thing must bring us up short in this game largely devoid of rules (Tarrant (1987) 281): no one, out of all the scholars looking for anomalies in Juvenal, ever spotted the lacuna in sense and argument the Oxford lines left, or saw anything odd about what we now know to be the confection of 6.346–48 (the remains of those lost lines; see Chapter 7).

The shape of Juvenal studies, indeed of our ideas of the limits of textual transmission, changed in 1899, when an Oxford undergraduate, E.O. Winstedt discovered the thirty-four lines of the Oxford fragment (see Chapter 7; "fragment" is a misnomer, but the name is now traditional). This discovery has been very controversial and is still divisive. For many, it was far more likely, or at

least easier to believe, that a single manuscript had had something inserted into it than that a single late manuscript had somehow miraculously preserved twenty-nine lines found nowhere else in the hundreds of manuscripts thus far examined. Despite the skepticism, the placement of the lines and the remaking of the last (syntactically incomplete) five lines into three make it certain that the lines were part of the original manuscript of Juvenal's satires.

A bush war immediately flared up (and has not completely died down), with the English supporting the home side (Postgate (1899); Housman (1899), (1901), (1904), ed. (1905) xxiv n. 1, (1931) xxxix–xl; Ellis (1901); Wilson (1901); Leo (1909); Courtney, (1962), (1980); Laudizi (1982); Nadeau (2011)), while others (initially German) were suspicious (Buecheler (1899); Knoche (1938), (1940); Axelson (1939); Anderson (1956); Reeve (1973), (1983); Freeman (1975); Willis (1989), (1997)). The Oxford lines are now generally accepted. The most recent voice against them is Cameron ((2004) 351) who points out that later authors, notably Claudian, were capable of writing in Juvenal's style (though Cameron is unwilling to finger Claudian himself). The lines fit in their place and the oddities of expression are due to their solo appearance and the errors of transmission rather than any departure from Juvenalian style. A good exercise is to take a sample passage from an individual twelfth-century Φ manuscript and see if it with all its errors would pass the same stylistic tests.

19.9 “Editors, For The Use Of . . .”

Housman's edition (1905, rev. 1931) was the first to employ the Oxford lines. His text is calm even though the introduction is splenetic. He subtitled it *editorum in usum* (“editors, for the use of”), which Highet called “typical arrogance” ((1954) 223). Housman, however, meant what he said. His edition attempted, using the manuscripts he knew, to “present to the readers and especially to the editors of Juvenal the first apparatus criticus which they have ever seen” ((1905) v). Previous efforts (Ruperti (1801), Jahn (1851), Hosius (1888), Buecheler (1886)) had been patchy or inadequate or inaccurate. Only with Housman do readers have for the first time the evidence before them to make up their minds (see, however, Nisbet (1989) and (2009), important contributions to the textual criticism of Juvenal, for Housman's shortcomings).

Of editions of Juvenal's text that have appeared since Housman's magisterial edition, it is worth mentioning that of Knoche (1950), which has earned great praise (e.g. Anderson (1961)) and great criticism. Courtney ((1967) 38) was fair: “Knoche's judgment in textual criticism (I say this with regret, but it must be said) is not seldom perverse.” He vigorously continued the hunt for interpolations and found ninety or so. He wastes time and space by reporting

minutiae from derivative and contaminated manuscripts (see Chapter 7). However, one can find the fullest report on the readings of many manuscripts and he is a useful source, not for establishing the text of Juvenal, but for seeing just what kinds of mistakes can occur in the transmission of texts. Knoche never separated the wheat from the chaff.

For the ancient scholia to Juvenal, see Wessner (1931), an invaluable service to scholarship. Grazzini (2011) provides an edition of the more recent scholia.

The standard edition for both Juvenal and Persius is Clausen's Oxford Classical Text ((1959), (1992)). To Housman's manuscripts Clausen added some new discoveries and new fragments. He saw clearly their relationships and kept a light hand on the tiller. More recently, Clausen and Zetzel took on the even more daunting task of producing an edition of the oldest layer of the Persius commentaries, the *Commentum Cornuti* for Teubner (2004). Zetzel's exploration of that tradition (2005) set a new standard in how to think about and deal with an open, fluid, transmission.

To conclude, it is salutary to take the long view backwards and to consider, with just one example, how scholars through the centuries have handled the phrase *mercator Iason* ("merchant Jason") at Juvenal *Satire* 6.153, in a passage that could easily be nominated for Most Obscure Lines in Latin Poetry. This case (Example F), shows us that although we might believe in the relentless progress of scholarship, there are instances where the older scholars knew better than more recent ones.

19.10 Examples

19.10.1 Example A: *Sulpicia* II (p. 439)

Valla, in his edition of Juvenal with the scholia of "Probus," at Juv. 6.537 on the word *cadurco*, comments as follows (1486: g [i r] = actual page 93):

membrum mulieris (inquit Probus) intelligitur, cum sit membri muliebris uelamen. uel, ut alii, est instita, qua lectus incenditur, unde ait Sulpicius: ne cadurcis restitutis fasciis nudum Caloeno concubentem proferat.

[*cadurcum*] – Probus says – is to be understood as a woman's member since it is the covering of the female member. Or according to others, it is the strip by which a bed is set on fire. So Sulpicius says: "Lest to [or with?] the female members [? or whatever *cadurcum* means] when the straps have been restored, [something] might reveal me [masculine] sleeping with Caloenus."

This has the disadvantage of making no sense. We can clear up one problem easily: *incenditur* is probably just a typo for *intenditur* "stretched" (but with

Valla we can never be quite sure). The word *cadurcum* is glossed in three different senses, as (1) a woman's genitalia, (2) a covering thereof (i.e. labia or less likely the prepuce of the clitoris), or (3) as the strips of cloth stretched across the frame of the bed which supported the mattress and cushions, which is what *fascia* means, not *cadurcum*. The curious word *cadurcum* means a mattress, made from the linen produced by the Cadurci, a tribe of Gallia Narbonensis (Pliny *HN* 19.13; cf. Juv. 7.211 and the scholia) and hence by Juvenal's blunt metonymy the marriage bed (rightly Courtney (1980) 331).

And yet it is from this mess that a series of editors have salvaged the only two lines of one of the only two women Latin poets of the classical period from whom any words have survived, both named Sulpicia. Here is the text of the later Sulpicia with Blänsdorf's list of emendations and conjectures ((2011) 303, slightly modified) showing the amount of damage Valla transmitted and the labors of subsequent editors necessary for an accurate text:

si me cadurci restitutis fasciis
nudam Caleno concubantem proferat

If, when the straps for the mattress have been restored, (it) might reveal me naked sleeping with Calenus.

Sulpicia: si me *Buecheler*: Sulpicius ne *Valla*: Sulpitia ne me *Pithoeus* || 1 cadurci *Muncker*: cadurcis *Valla*: cadurcum *Waterhouse* | restitutis] dissolutis *Buecheler*: destitutam *Pithoeus* || 2 nudam Caleno concubantem *Pithoeus*: nudum C. concubentem *Valla*: consubantem *Cazzaniga* | proferat] proferas *Muncker* [references are to Valla (1486) g; Buecheler (1886) 241; Pithou (1585) 101; Muncker (1681) 2: 36 = Liber 1, p. 4 of Fulgentius; Waterhouse (1993); Cazzaniga (1967)].

The first emendation was the most important. Pierre Pithou in his edition of the manuscript that bears his name realized that Calenus (-*oe-* and -*ae-* are common medieval and early modern spellings for -*ē-*) was the husband of the poet Sulpicia, praised in Martial 10.35 and 10.38 for her chaste but erotic verse celebrating her married life (Pithou (1585) 101). The same thing happened in the texts of Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis* (ed. Green 139.5–6) that praise her, which credit a Sulpicius; and with a forgery, from around 400 CE, which purports to be a satire by Sulpicia on Domitian. Despite the fact that it, too, goes out of its way to mention her husband Calenus (62), it initially circulated under the name Sulpicius (Butrica (2006) 71).

The latest emendation, Waterhouse's change (1993) of *cadurcis* to the nominative *cadurcum*, is very attractive "Let the mattress reveal me sleeping . . .," though the subject might well be the lamp, or dawn, etc. These lines give a remarkably vivid picture of the bed and its underpinnings rucked up by the

intensity of her and her husband's lovemaking. We have something remarkable here: a Roman woman giving direct expression of sexual desire, a woman taking the man's right to celebrate her love and lover in poetry, while earning praise from a fellow poet (and subsequent generations: Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris *Carm.* 9.261–62; Fulgentius *Myth.* 1.4, 1.23) for her sexy verse and her loving marriage. For the fragment, see Parker (1992); Hallett (1992); Hemelrijk (1999) 160–64; Hallett (2002); Plant (2004) 124–26; Stevenson (2005) 44–48.

And yet, we must pause for a minute and shudder at how thin is the rope over the chasm of oblivion. Had this one citation, in one lost manuscript, not included that one proper name, we would have a fragment assigned to an unknown "Sulpicius," just a number in Pauly-Wissowa, and another woman would be erased from history. Some seek to erase her and her sisters still (Hubbard (2004/5)).

19.10.2 *Example B: Scholium to Juvenal Satire 4.94* *Acilius (p. 439)*

We are fortunate indeed that an early reader of or commentator on Juvenal's fourth Satire chose to supply four lines from a poem by Statius, evidently an epic poem *de bello Germanico*, praising Domitian for his conduct of the war in Germany (and probably the poem performed at the emperor's palace at Alba in 90 CE, mentioned by Statius at *Silvae* 4.2.65–67). The four lines from Valla's "Probus" are these (to 4.94; Courtney (1980) 195–96; (2003) 360):

lumina; Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi
et Fabius Veiento (potentem signat utrumque
purpura, ter memores impleverunt nomine fastos)
et prope Caesareae confinis Acilius aulae.

lights/eyes; the gentle wisdom of Nestor-like Crispus, and Veiento, another Fabius Maximus – the purple marks each as eminent, three times have they filled the recording annals with their names – and Acilius, near neighbour of Caesar's palace. (Braund's translation adapted (1996a) 251)

These lines appear to list some of Domitian's chief advisers in an assimilation of the epic trope of the catalogue to Statius' contemporary situation. The fragment names three of the same advisers that Juvenal lists in his satiric parody of Domitian's *consilium principis*, where eleven important men are summoned to advise the emperor not about the conduct of the war but about how to handle an enormous fish which has been presented to him. In Juvenal *Satire* 4,

Acilius is named at line 94 and Veiento at 113; it is the presentation of Crispus that is the most telling. Juvenal's epic-style periphrasis *Crispi iucunda senectus* (81: literally "the amiable old age of Crispus," meaning "amiable old Crispus") seems modeled upon Statius' periphrasis *mitis prudentia Crispi*, "the gentle wisdom of Crispus." This epic feature is a sign not just of epic parody generally but specifically of intertextuality between Juvenal and Statius: Juvenal expects his audience to know the epic poem which he is reworking. Without this single scholium, then, we would have little notion that a specific textual target lies behind Juvenal's sometimes elevated language in this poem.

19.10.3 Example C: *Persius Scholium applied to contemporary events* (p. 442)

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 868, pp. 194–201b (from Liège, after 1076: Robathan and Cranz (1976) 239–43). Surviving commentary only on l. 62–4.10. As Bischoff wrote ((1971) 84):

A medieval Latin scholar looked upon the Roman writers and especially upon the authors of school texts, the *auctores*, as teachers from whom he could acquire a standard of writing, who presented him with the rules of literary technique and awoke his creative imagination. But they were also close to his heart, and he lived with them as with friends. The separation caused by the centuries that had passed was forgotten, and the barrier between the Christian and the pagan became negligible.

This disarming attitude is shown in the sometimes long and rambling notes on Persius made by a cleric in the town of Liège just around 1076. We know the place and date because the scholar illustrates Persius with "Scenes from Clerical Life" (though more in the style of Alan Bennett's "Take a Pew" from *Beyond the Fringe*). When he reaches line 95 of Persius' first Satire –

Sic: "costam longo subduximus Appennino"

(Like this: "We stole a rib from the long Apennines")

– which Persius intended to be a sample of the new "smooth" poetry, the commentator writes (Bischoff (1971) 85):

In this passage Persius rebukes those who with enormous exertions begin a great undertaking from which they will derive no benefit once it is finished. It is just as if the king would command the people from Liège to help him in the war against the Saxons. Then they would all assemble and choose a peasant whom they would send to the king. But the peasant would say, "I shall certainly not go, because

I have no horses nor any of the other necessary things.” And then they would give him all that he needed. Now he would start out but would cover only one mile a day. At long last he would reach the king, but no one would pay any attention to him because he was only an ordinary person. If they, the people, would say after his return, “What did you do?” and he would answer, “I saw the king,” then this would be just as useless as when someone went to the Apennines with a great cart and many people in order to make the mountains longer by one rib, etc.

Exactly what the line *is* supposed to mean is anyone’s guess (shortening one’s way?), but the cleric uses it as an occasion for a miniature fabliau. Other references to local personages (“Hugo is as talkative as the worst lecher [*leclator*] in Liège) make it clear where the author was from. An equally bizarre reading allows us to identify the king and the date. Persius *Satire* 2 is about hypocrisy in prayer, a perfect topic one would have thought, but the commentator insists that “Here he rebukes a certain lecher who is urging a monk to lechery.” When he comes to lines 6–8:

Few find it easy to banish (*tollere*) their murmurings and low whispers from the temples | and live with prayers one need not be ashamed to have overheard: |
“Sound mind, good reputation, trust . . .”

he explains (Bischoff (1971) 86):

Tollere means to let someone attain to a high office, particularly that person who can reconcile two kings with each other, such as Rudolf and Henry when they want to engage in battle which is a bad thing.

The kings are Henry IV (1050–1106), king of the Germans and later emperor, and Rudolf of Rheinfelden, who after being elected anti-king in 1077 led the Great Saxon Revolt and died fighting Henry in the Battle on the Elster (1080). The commentary must date between 1077 and 1080.

Persius was mined for reproofs against sins in the lives of students and teachers. *Satire* 1.79 becomes a medieval complaint about home-schooling:

Here he rebukes nobles who, when they have sons, are unwilling to hand them over to teachers but educate them at home and eventually it comes to this, that when they have to read the daily passage in the choir, they don’t even know how to pronounce “dominus.”

At 1.102:

Here he rebukes those who, when they could become mighty clerics, go every day to the taverns and drink.

And the opposite virtues are praised. *Satire* 3 is used to encourage the students: “You will certainly become bishop, maybe even patriarch.” At 3.19: “You need to stay awake because you could become a bishop’s chaplain and preach to others.”

19.10.4 *Example D: Variant readings at Juvenal Satire* 10.81 *panem et circenses* (p. 447)

“Bread and circuses”: *duas tantum res anxius optat | panem et circenses* “The people desperately want only two things: bread and chariot races” – it is probably Juvenal’s most famous quotation (10.81), yet the text was misread and misunderstood for centuries (Sanford (1951) for the story). Most manuscripts read *panem* correctly, but a number, including some venerable ones, had mangled or lost the final syllable, and have only *pan* (Knoche (1950), Martyn (1987), Clausen (1992) for details). This was consistently read as the Greek god. But what on earth can “Pan and circuses” mean, especially when they now seem totally unrelated to the syntax of the surrounding sentence? The late antique scholia have nothing, since its meaning was plain: the only two things the crowd wants of its leaders are not freedom and respect, but free handouts and holidays with entertainments laid on.

But later scholars came up with ingenious defenses of a corrupt text (a similar tale can be told about *Sat.* 2.150; see Parker Chapter 7). So one gloss in Paris Latinus 8070 (*D* in Knoche; Olsen (1982–89) I 583, c. 990–1015, prob. from Mont St. Michel) turns it into a Greek accusative and explains that *per Pana et circenses ludos* (“By Pan and the circus games”) is a kind of oath, like *edepol* (“By Pollux”). But beside it another gloss reads *alii panem* (“Others say ‘bread’”). The oath theory was quite popular. Commentary B (Oxford Bodl. Auct. F 6.9; France, prob. St. Victor, 1150–1200; Löfstedt (1995) 152), which apparently has the right lemma, *panem et circenses*, still writes:

An oath. Supply “by” [*per* as in ms. not *precor* Löfstedt] or it may be vocative [i.e. the gloss is on *Pan*]. “Circuses” means games. Or Circes who invented the games and statues of Pollux and Castor (one of whom was best in horses, the other in the art of boxing) and therefore statues of them were placed in the circuses.

The male “Circes” seems to be dim recollection of Tertullian (*De spect.* 8) who ascribes the first circus games to the witch Circe, and mentions Castor and Pollux, almost certainly via Isidore of Seville (18.27–28). The “two things” that the people pray for are “either to be freed quickly or condemned; or to die or be killed; or to die and be buried” (the idea comes from misunderstanding the next verse: “I hear many are going to be killed”). Changes are rung on these themes. In a twelfth-century Italian manuscript, Laur. 34.29, fol. 38^v

(c. 1100–1150; Olsen (1982–89) I 566), the two things are “to live well and die honorably,” which is itself glossed as “that is, to die honorably and be buried honorably or to be freed” (combining two explanations) and Pan is “a god of Arcadia,” though there is no mention of what he is doing here. Another Italian manuscript, Laur. Plut. 34.40, fol. 27^r (misprinted as 31.40 in Sanford (1951) 188; c. 1200; Olsen (1982–89) I 566), interprets the two wishes first as “to die honorably and be buried” but adds another explanation: “or they want two things, namely Pan and circuses, that is, gods and games.” One set of scholia tries to have it all: “*pana et circenses*: that is, to be allowed to see the sun, for Pan is the god of nature, and the games. He says two things, namely, to be freed or to die, or to be killed and buried, etc.” (Sanford (1951) 19). Others made other guesses at what the two things might be: *uictum et uestitum* “food and clothing” says Vat. lat. 5204 (prob. Italy, c. 1150–1200; Olsen (1982–89) I 593) – so close. Some are so befuddled that they mix up Pan with Sejanus, creating a Pan-Sejanus.

This variorum approach passed into the humanistic commentaries. Sozomeno da Pistoia wrote a *Commentum in Iuuenalis Satiras* around 1430. The manuscript (now identified as autograph) is preserved at Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana A.35 (Sanford (1951) 18–19; (1960) 187; Cesarini Martinelli (1991)). Here Pan is taken as vocative, and glossed as *per omne mundum* “by the whole world” repeating Isidore’s etymology of Pan as “all” (8.81; cf., e.g., *Homeric Hymn to Pan* 47). Gaspare Veronese (see above) gave his students four explanations: (1) Pan-Sejanus, (2) Sejanus out of power can only watch the shows, (3) god of nature and circuses, (4) you should live like Pan, the whole, the body joined to the soul, that is, avoid political office and just watch the show. “Choose whichever seems best to you,” he said in bad Latin (*Elige quae tibi potior uidebit*). His townsman, Guarino Veronese, ingeniously connected Pan, the shepherd god, to the Lupercalia (the wolf festival) and so another type of Roman game. Cristoforo Landino (c. 1462) cited *Sat.* 2.142 in support (Sanford (1951) 19; (1953); (1960) 202–3). The commentator of Laur. 34.36 fol. 45^v (1300s; Sanford (1951) 20; (1960) 184–85; Cesarini Martinelli (1991) 62–63) comes remarkably close to the truth in a roundabout way (and in rough and ready Latin):

Pan is mentioned because he is the god of shepherds especially and the protector of sheep and other animals and everything sweet [*bla<n>di*] and food and wine. And by this he means that the people used to pay attention to only two things, the pleasure of food and drink and to see the shows on holidays.

Calderini, author of the important 1475 commentary on Juvenal and vigorous participant in the scholarly feuds that raged through quattrocento Italy, claimed

to possess an old French manuscript that read (*inter alia*) *pannum* “rag” at 10.81 for *panem et circenses*. Calderini cleverly defended this variant reading by citing Juvenal himself, *Sat.* 11.197–98: “Today the Circus Maximus holds the entire city of Rome, the noise shatters your eardrums and from that I gather that the victory went to the green rag” (*uiridis . . . panni*). *Pannus*, usually “rag,” probably started off as slang but became the chosen term for the uniform that the charioteers wore for the four teams competing in the circus: the Reds, the Whites, and the main grudge match, the Blues vs. the Greens (cf., e.g., Plin. *HN* 33.90; Suet. *Dom.* 7.1; *TLL* 233.32–46, I.1.b.β; Cameron (1976) 12; for an illustration Turner (1973)). Calderini also cited Pliny *Letters* 9.6 for the Romans’ passion for the “rags.” This was all quite brilliant, but unfortunately quite wrong (Sanford (1951) 20). Even Valla, who had seen the correct text in “certain old manuscripts” (not his “Probus,” which broke off in *Satire* 8) and knew the right interpretation, mounted elaborate defenses of the traditional *pan* in various senses ((1486) 131). Pomponio Leto, his pupil, and founder of the Roman Academy, argued that *Pan* meant the theater: “For the ancients put on plays, circus games, and gladiators, and *Pan* is a satyr and a type of satyr drama” (Vat. Urb. 662; Sanford (1951) 20).

In the midst of all this fancy, only the unpleasant Sabino (1474) had the right reading: “He says the people hope for two things: *panem*, that is handouts of bread, and the circus games, by which he means all the rest. For the emperors fed the Roman people with these two things especially, games and handouts.” Sabino cited *Satire* 8.199–200 in support and Suetonius *Dom.* 4.5 for the historical background; everyone else’s explanations he blasted as *luridosas et inutiles* (“vain and useless,” in non-classical Latin). He was right for once but his text did not win out, for as Sanford (1951) 20) observed: “One must candidly admit that, aside from this passage and a few others, classical scholarship lost little by its eclipse.”

It was only with Britannicus’ edition of 1501 that *panem* and its correct interpretation slowly began to prevail, and even he kept *Pan* in his text and confined *panem* to the notes, pointing out that *pannum et circenses* would be one wish, not two (Sanford (1951) 21). As late as 1684, Desprez (Prateus) was still having to defend *panem* against *pana* and *pannum* in the popular Delphin edition, and a knock-off of this was the first edition of Juvenal printed in America (Desprez (1814)).

19.10.5 Example E: Vahlen’s defense of Juvenal 3.281 (p. 452)

Among the many dangers of the night in Rome that Umbricius plans to flee is the drunken thug who suffers a sleepless night, wailing like Achilles over the corpse of Patroclus, if he doesn’t get to punch someone (3.280–82).

cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus: 280
 somnum rixa facit. 282

He lies on his face, then on his back again.
 A fight promotes sleep.

In between the lines some helpful scribe added a line present in all our manuscripts:

[ergo non aliter poterit dormire; quibusdam] 281

Therefore not otherwise will he have been able to sleep. But for some people . . .

Heinecke (1804) 31) was the first to see it how clumsy it is. Courtney lays out all the odd features ((1975) 154; (1989) 835): “the conjunction should be *nam*, the future *poterit* is surprising; and Juvenal scans *érgō* (often), or *ergō* (9.82) but not *érgō*.” Courtney notes some characteristic features of this type of interpolator: prosaic introductory particles (*ergo*) and “a fondness for speaking about ‘certain people’” (161). Pinzger, while lopping off other verses, defended this one ((1827) I 81) as did Vahlen ((1907–8) I 236–37), on whom Housman upended the full vessel of his wrath ((1931) xxxv): “His efforts to defend vii 51–2 and iii 281 are deplorable. This last verse, of all interpolations in Juvenal, is the most ruinous and the most evident: it is triply condemned by sense, by diction, and by metre.” Vahlen’s argument, if it may be called such, was: “Those who delete this verse seem to make the sentence worse, since it is not true that ‘a fight makes for sleep,’ but that it makes for sleep only in certain people.” To which Housman replied:

It appears therefore that Mr Vahlen, by the time he arrives at u. 281, has already forgotten u. 278, and no longer remembers that the sole theme of the passage is the “*ebrius ac petulans qui nullum forte cecidit*” [“the drunk who’s angry that hasn’t had the chance to kill anybody”]. The interpolation took its rise from some less oblivious annotator, who wrote in the margin, against “*somnum rixa facit*,” the correct explanation “*non aliter poterit dormire*.” This sentence happened to be metrical, and was furnished with a head and a tail and turned into a sort of hexameter by some one who knew no more than Mr Vahlen that *érgo* in Juvenal is a trochee.

The older scholia, as ever spelling out Juvenal’s tight style, show that Housman’s scenario was right: *id est: non potest dormire sine lite* (“i.e. he can’t sleep without a fight”). For this kind of interpolation (gloss into verse) see Tarrant (1987) 290 and (1989) 131.

**19.10.6 Example F: Scholia to Juvenal Satire 6.153
mercator Iason (p. 454)**

Over the centuries, scholia and commentaries have offered a range of competing explanations of who “Merchant Jason” is at 6.153. Here is the context. In a poem full of criticisms of Roman wives for every conceivable fault, Juvenal here lambasts a demanding wife who duns her indulgent husband for lavish presents. He depicts a winter shopping spree (6.153–57):

mense quidem brumae, cum iam mercator Iason
clausus et armatis obstat casa candida nautis,
grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus
murrina, deinde adamas notissimus et Beronices
in digito factus pretiosior.

In the month of winter, when Jason the merchant is shut off from view and the gleaming booths screen his armed sailors, she’ll carry off large crystal vases, the most enormous pieces of agate too, along with a legendary diamond, its value enhanced by Berenice’s finger. (trans. Braund (2004b))

The reference to *mercator Iason* at line 153 is not the most straightforward and it has spawned some curious competing explanations. Wessner (1931) records a note that simply reports that *mercator Iason* is a “Greek trader” (*negotiatorem Gr<a>ecum*), “who couldn’t sail at that time of the year” (*qui iam navigare non posset*). Wessner also presents material from Valla separately, in which Valla airs two possibilities:

“Iason clausus” aut satyrice . . . aut quod mercator fuerit. et huius mercis negotiatorem [ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος] tamquam satis notum dixit.

“shut off Jason” either satirically . . . or because he will have been a merchant. And he mentioned the trader of this merchandise as if he were adequately known from his name.

But the key to this passage was supplied by the rediscovered scholia in *P*: the mysterious phrase *mercator Jason* refers to a painting of Jason and the Argonauts obscured by canvas booths at the Saturnalia fair. This information is at the root of the modern commentaries, including Duff (1898) and Nadeau (2011): Juvenal is referring to the street market for the sale of figurines, the traditional Saturnalia gift. This market was held on the days during December immediately preceding the Saturnalia in the Campus Martius. There, the market’s canvas booths hid a mural on Agrippa’s colonnade (*porticus Agrippae*) which depicted Jason and the Argonauts (and hence the colonnade was often also called the *porticus Argonautarum*). So the wife criticized here is

bringing home as gifts items much more expensive than the traditional earthenware figurines.

FURTHER READING

Reynolds and Wilson (1991) tell an exciting story of the loss and recovery of classical manuscripts. Reynolds (1983) is the go-to reference for the manuscript traditions of Latin authors. Cameron (2011) is a masterly revision of the literary culture of late antiquity. Clausen (1956) is still unsurpassed for a clear account of the formation of the text of Persius, as is Courtney (1975) for Juvenal. Robathan and Cranz (1976) trace the transmission and reception of Persius from antiquity to the Renaissance. Sanford (1960) does the same for Juvenal. Courtney (1989) brings the textual emendation of Juvenal down to Clausen's text of 1959.

The best complete modern commentary is Courtney (1980) accompanied by his text (1984). For the student, the best edition of all the satires is Ferguson (1979) a conservative text but with good sense in a small space. For *Satires* 1–5, the best edition is Braund (1996a), especially helpful on Juvenal's style and art of allusion. Her Loeb (2004b) permitted a reexamination of some lines and their placement.

Older books and manuscripts are increasingly being put on the web. Useful sites include:

Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections (for Leiden and others): <http://www.mmdc.nl/static/site/>

LUNA (Oxford, Bodleian Library): <http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/>.

e-codices Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/>

Manuscripta Mediaevalia for Munich and Heidelberg: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de>

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana: http://www.bml.firenze.sbn.it/index_ing.htm or go directly to <http://teca.bmlonline.it>.

A remarkable project directed by Prof. Dr. Marc-Aeilko Aris and Prof. Dr. Claudia Wiener at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich gives the reader full access to the texts of six of the principal medieval glosses and commentaries of the *B* tradition on Persius: <http://www.persius.mueze.lmu.de/ghtm/gfr.htm>

Michael Hendry (2004) has an excellent online edition of Juvenal: <http://www.curculio.org/Juvenal/>

A fuller list of the manuscripts of Persius, Juvenal, and the commentators mentioned here, with bibliography and lists of illustrations or links can be found at <http://classics.uc.edu/~parker/juvenalpersius.html>

CHAPTER TWENTY

School Texts of Persius and Juvenal

Amy Richlin

20.1 Preface

This collection of essays is aimed at a general readership, with each essay introducing its topic to readers who may or may not bring with them some prior expertise; in this, the collection itself resembles “school texts,” by which I mean texts of a single author, with ancillary matter written by scholars to help beginners. Such books often include in their front matter a *Preface* (personal remarks by the author), an *Introduction* (historical and textual background), and a *Life* of the ancient writer, followed by text and commentary, and I have structured this chapter to match. As with school texts, so here the scope of the project limits what can be shown; for one thing, many of the school editors’ comments were originally in Latin although they here appear in English, and you have only my word for it that my translations – indeed, my accounts – are accurate. This essay, like all introductory texts, hopes to lead readers onward to see for themselves.

The first commentary discussed here that originally had English notes and apparatus was produced by Edward Owen in 1786, while commentaries in Latin continue well into the 1800s; the move to vernacular notes was the subject of fierce debate (Stray (1998) 96–102). This move was at the same time a practical effort to reach a broad audience and a mark of the waning of an international system, more or less continuous back to antiquity, whereby education in the West was conducted in Latin. Vernacular publication is, then, local publication, contributing to the modern fragmentation of the world of

classical scholarship. A volume like this one marks another stage in that breakup, as academic presses commodify simplified versions of knowledge now highly specialized. At the same time, like the angel of history we look to the past: there has been a boom in scholarly work by classicists on the history of classics itself, so that we have become more conscious of our knowledge as an historical phenomenon rather than as a march toward truth. In this context, a chapter devoted to the lowly school text makes sense, although it might previously have seemed to be a minor exercise, tarred as well with the brush of pedagogy, so commonly taken to be the antithesis of scholarship. Yet the history of schooling affords a panoramic view of the history of knowledge in the West – what was thought proper to teach, who taught, who learned, and where. I came to this study myself in the course of a project aimed at understanding how people understood the Greek and Roman sex/gender systems before the 1970s, when open discussion first became acceptable in the classroom. And, I should add, I write as a beneficiary of the New Jersey public school system, and as a Latin teacher myself for thirty-three years.

On a more pleasurable note, the quest to know what went on in the classroom takes the explorer to the physical textbooks themselves, to the marked-up pages of old copies available online, or on library shelves, or from the sellers of used books. This essay can give readers only a taste of the discoveries that await the curious consumer of old books.

Like many school text writers, I have a patron, to which I would like to express my gratitude: the Loeb Classical Library Foundation. The familiar Loeb volumes, which may now appear to students as a shortcut to class preparation, began with the high-minded goal of bringing classical texts to a wider audience; as will be seen, this approach goes back to the 1600s. A parallel project is now beginning with texts in classical Arabic, the Library of Arabic Literature, marking the shift now starting in the way the West understands the world. I am also indebted to help from experts in the reception of classical learning, especially to Siobhán McElduff and Christopher Stray, although all errors here are my own. As will be seen, everything I have said so far is highly conventional.

20.2 Introduction

Persius and Juvenal are still on the (college) reading list, yet both authors are difficult, both are occasionally obscene. Why should there ever have been school texts of these writers, and why were they so often combined in a single volume? In fact these satirists, along with Horace, appear together on reading lists going back to the 800s CE, and continuing into the 1800s. Today, neither Persius nor Juvenal is generally taught in high school, and Horace's *Odes* are

much more commonly taught than his, or any, *Satires*. But from the medieval through the early modern periods both Persius and Juvenal were extremely popular, as attested by the large number of manuscripts and the countless printed editions; the habit of coupling them is very old.

All classical texts are necessarily implicated in the basic issues that have confronted Western culture since classical antiquity turned into Christendom. A Christian education should not logically incorporate pre-Christian literature, and writers from late antiquity through the nineteenth century acknowledge and express a discomfort that at times motivates wholesale dismissal. However, as laid out by Ernst Curtius ((1953) 36–61), stars like Augustine and Jerome, loath to abandon the beloved curriculum of their youth, produced elaborate justifications for its continuation, claiming that a thorough knowledge of classical rhetoric was necessary for a full appreciation of the Bible and pointing out places where St. Paul, for example, had quoted pagan writers.

So there was a long tradition of teaching satire in what would now in North America be called middle school. Elementary education was in Latin, widespread and not limited to the elite, from antiquity (with a gap from about 550–750) on through the Middle Ages, having been jump-started again by Charlemagne (Reynolds and Wilson (1991) 84–86). Just as elementary education today includes the socialization of children as one of its aims, so in earlier periods it had a strong moral flavor; in addition, in the high Middle Ages, authors were classified as belonging to various branches of philosophy (then the dominant field), and satire was placed under ethics. Thus school texts repeatedly justify their existence on moral grounds; also, because even state institutions were also Christian in Europe until very recently, the texts often argue that the satirists' teachings are consistent with Christianity. This becomes particularly noticeable in the nineteenth century, as the field of the secular begins to expand and Christian educators feel threatened. On a practical level, since one goal of education was to make students able to write and speak well, to hold their own in argument (all in Latin), or to write a sermon, satirical barbs and pithy morals became useful. And, during the long centuries when students were expected to speak Latin in school and even, for ambitious families, at home (Watson (1908) 305–24), the everyday vocabulary of satire would have been particularly handy, as in the vernacular glosses in a "utilitarian school copy" of Persius *c.* 1250 – for example, on 2.42, "*tuceta*: puddings, hagiz" (Hunt (1991) 1.61). It must be said that, especially before 1900, it is hard to classify the level of a text in an environment in which eminent scholars sometimes taught students at all stages (see the Renaissance overviews in Sanford (1948), (1960)), while university students were sometimes very young (starting university at fourteen in the Middle Ages, Courtenay (1987) 24–28; even younger in Scotland in the early 1800s, Morris (2007) 60).

Although we might expect that books themselves were rare and expensive, students were in fact required to own textbooks, and well before the revolution in private ownership of books dated by Richard Altick to the early 1800s (see Jackson (2001) 72; Rose (2010) 1) – even before printing. Robert Black traces Italian schoolboys' ownership of psalters, used as readers, to the 1200s ((2001) 38, 41 n. 52). Teaching handbooks, ubiquitous in the early modern period, recommend texts, as does John Brinsley, who in 1612 provides a list of recommended commentaries on the “higher authors,” including John Bond's Persius and Horace, then brand-new (Watson (1908) 360–61).

I pick up here, then, around 1600, roughly where Eva Sanford leaves off in her survey of Renaissance commentaries (1960); my focus on editions in English derives from my own interests, and the reader should realize that as much could be said about texts anywhere in Europe. The idea of organizing a textbook series begins with the Jesuit *Chorus poetarum classicorum* in 1616; Jesuit texts not only went everywhere the Jesuits went but were widely pirated by commentators of other creeds, as was, for example, the Juvenal/Persius edited by Joseph de Jouvençy, or Juvencius (1685). Similarly, the Delphin series, begun in the 1670s ostensibly as a set of schoolbooks for the Dauphin, became the first brand name; the Delphin Juvenal/Persius, edited by Louis Desprez, or Prateus (1684), was also widely pirated. A German series began at Göttingen in 1803, edited by Georg Ruperti, whose 1801 Juvenal reappeared there in a shorter edition (also widely pirated). By the 1850s series take their now-familiar shape, as the products of publishing houses that take their public identity from these products, with the university presses at the top of a recognized hierarchy. Among the dozens of school texts that might be considered, I will here focus on, along with Jouvençy, Desprez, and Ruperti, the voluminous early texts by Thomas Farnaby (Juvenal, 1612) and John Bond (Persius, 1614); schoolmasterly texts by John Stirling (Persius, 1736) and (probably) Vicesimus Knox (Juvenal/Persius, Anon. (1784)); text/translation combinations by Edward Owen (Juvenal/Persius, 1785) and Martin Madan (Juvenal/Persius, 1789); and texts in the form now well known to students, beginning with J.E.B. Mayor (Juvenal, 1853), and continuing with A.J. Maclean (Juvenal/Persius, 1857), John Conington (Persius, 1872), Basil Gildersleeve (Persius, 1875), Charles Pearson and Herbert Strong (Juvenal, 1887), and J.D. Duff (Juvenal, 1898, reprinted through 1970). Through all of these run the opinions of great literary critics, as for example on the “obscurity” of Persius, echoing the argument by Isaac Casaubon in 1605 against Julius Scaliger's 1561 opinion, which circulated (in England) through Dryden's 1693 essay on satire and (in France) through Boileau.

For, in the front matter of school texts, probably unnoticed by most readers, commentators have much to say about their intentions; the alert reader will

find that the connective tissue of school texts participated in the circulation of ideas through advanced scholarship and literary criticism, through translation, and, from the eighteenth century onward, through magazine culture, with its proliferation of reviews. Starting with Farnaby, commentators give their reasons for introducing Juvenal and Persius. For Farnaby, in his dedicatory epistle, they form, with Horace, the “triumvirate” of Roman satire, and Juvenal is the best of the three; Desprez, in the 1684 Delphin, points out how many great men have loved them (a much-repeated argument for all authors). For Stirling in 1736, Persius is “a Gentleman of a very plentiful Fortune,” his works “worthy the Perusal of Persons of high Birth and Distinction, for whom he chiefly design’d them,” and commentators often describe the satirists as “manly.” (So Knox describes Persius (Anon. (1784) vi); so Owen describes Juvenal ((1786) x)); while A.J. Maclean sees the commentator Carl Heinrich as “manly and sensible,” as befits Juvenal ((1857) vi). For Mayor, Juvenal is filled with the “spirit of homely manhood” ((1889) xiv). Encouraged by Dryden’s famous opinion, other commentators also rank Juvenal as the best (best post-Augustan poet, Pearson and Strong (1887) 17). A very few commentators are willing to admit they enjoy satire, or say it is funny: Martin Madan, at least, says his translation of Juvenal was an “amusement” ((1789) iv), and, pre-eminently, Georg Ruperti begins the introduction to his shorter edition with the words, “Laughing and Joking are part of human nature” ((1817) 3).

The moral value of Juvenal and Persius has unfortunately to be invoked by commentators when making excuses for these writers’ frequent patches of obscenity, and in the modern period the problem grows more acute where the spirit of education grows more self-consciously Christian. But the issue arises already, for example, in Alexander Nequam in the early 1200s (full text in Hunt (1991) 1.269–70; partial translation also in Orme (2006) 97):

Deinde satiricos et ystoriographos legat, ut uitia etiam in minori etate addiscat esse fugienda et nobilia gesta eroum desideret imitari . . . Juuenalis moralia dicta in archano pectoris reseruet et flagitium nature summopere uitare studeat . . . Placuit tamen uiris autenticis carmina amatoria cum satiris subducenda esse a manibus adolescentium.

Then let [the student] read the satirists and historians, so that he may learn even in his younger days that vices are to be shunned and so that he may yearn to emulate the noble deeds of heroes . . . Let him store up the moral sayings of Juvenal in the depths of his heart and strive above all to avoid natural sin . . . But experts have advised that amatory poetry along with satire should be kept out of the hands of young men.

Expurgation is set as a policy in the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum S.J.*, the original Jesuit teaching manual published in 1599; Jesuit teaching

dominated most of Catholic Europe and its colonies (see Brown (2008) 25–26; McDermott (2008) 39–40; Schwickerath (1904) 107–43, 564–69). Nequam’s opinion recurs in the elaborate curricular guide produced by Joseph de Jouveny in 1692, which still puts Juvenal and Persius into the school year devoted to Rhetoric – with twelve other authors; ending his list with “Juvenal, Persius, and Martial,” Jouveny observes, “Let these last Poets be provided expurgated from all obscenity, and let the other plagues and poisons of schools be kept far away” (Juvencius (1725 [1692]) 165). His curriculum was backed by his own prolific output of expurgated textbooks.

Despite such quotable dicta, in fact both views championing a whole text and those favoring expurgation (known to its opponents as “castration”) can be found in all periods; now one predominates, now the other (see further Dover (1988), and Nisbet in this volume, Chapter 21). The omission of Juvenal *Satires* 2, 6, and 9, familiar from Mayor’s very popular edition (first version, 1853), in fact goes back at least to a skimpy text published by James Pears in 1827, while Maclean in 1857 stoutly refuses to expurgate (xi, xxii):

I have not thought it right to omit any part of these Satires. The character of the writers is seen throughout, and the spirit even of the coarsest parts is manifestly that of virtue. I have had some experience of boys, and I believe that those are exceptions on whom such passages as are usually expunged are likely to have an injurious effect. Wantonness is one thing, the stern reproof of wantonness in terms it best understands is another, and few minds fail to see the difference . . . a well-regulated mind would be less offended with the entire text of Juvenal than with that of Horace.

He was headmaster of King Edward’s School in Bath, where evidently no shenanigans were allowed.

However, although in Maclean the lively spirit of the eighteenth century lasts well into the nineteenth, and Mayor stated his intention to publish a commentary on 2, 6, and 9 as late as 1889 (xv n. 2), in 1877 an association of English headmasters set school text policy: annotated (briefly) and expurgated (Stray (1998) 190). In this they were following a line of thought repeatedly expressed by evangelical Christian writers (i.e. that these pre-Christian values do not belong in our schools) – but also by hugely influential scholars like the Roman historian B.G. Niebuhr. In an essay framed as a “letter to a young man who wished to devote himself to philology” (summer 1822; translated in Winkworth (1852) 423–30), Niebuhr gives specific advice about what is and is not good to read (428): “I wish you had less pleasure in satires . . . Juvenal, . . . with the exception of a few fragments, you ought to leave absolutely untouched . . . for . . . it does harm at your age to dwell on the contemplation of vice instead of pondering noble thoughts.”

The practice of expurgation brings us to the issue of the physical layout and ingredients of school texts (see generally Gibson and Kraus (2002)). Line numbers were, in any case, a modern innovation, becoming standardized only around 1800 (Kenney (1974) 153–54): easy for editors to omit objectionable lines. Or, still inconspicuously to the student, they could rewrite the offending lines to produce something innocuous (so Knox (Anon. (1784), at Persius 1.87, *hoc, Romule, bellum?* “this, Romulus, is nice?” – for *an, Romule, ceues?* “Romulus, are you wiggling your butt?”); in desperate straits, they might omit half-lines. More commonly, lines are omitted but the line numbers are left in, or commentators simply omit notes on offensive lines, or obfuscate when glossing (Priapus is commonly identified as “the god of gardens,” possibly leading to some confusion when boys returned home from school). The Delphin series put asterisks instead of marginal notes where the text was obscene, acting as a beacon to certain readers (as Knox complains, Anon. (1784) xiv; see Figure 20.1), and some texts put obscene parts at the end of the volume; Byron’s comment in *Don Juan* is famous (Byron (2004), Canto 1, stanzas 44–45, written about 1819):

Juan was taught from out the best edition,
Expurgated by learnèd men, who place
Judiciously, from out the schoolboy’s vision,
The grosser parts, but fearful to deface
Too much their modest bard by this omission,
And pitying sore his mutilated case,
They only add them all in an appendix,
Which saves, in fact, the trouble of an index,

For there we have them all “at one fell swoop,”
Instead of being scattered through the pages.
They stand forth marshalled in a handsome troop,
To meet the ingenuous youth of future ages,
Till some less rigid editor shall stoop
To call them back into their separate cages,
Instead of standing staring all together
Like garden gods – and not so decent either.

Juvenal features in the roll-call of indecent authors in stanzas 42–43 (“I can’t help thinking Juvenal was wrong, | . . . | For speaking out so plainly in his song”). Note that Byron compares the segregated “grosser parts” with the god Priapus himself. Ruperti, earlier, had been similarly sarcastic ((1817) 31): “in [some castrated editions] the passages removed from the text are placed at the end, wrongly and foolishly, since those who feed on these dainties gobble them up eagerly.” For the most part, however, mysterious jumps in line numbers

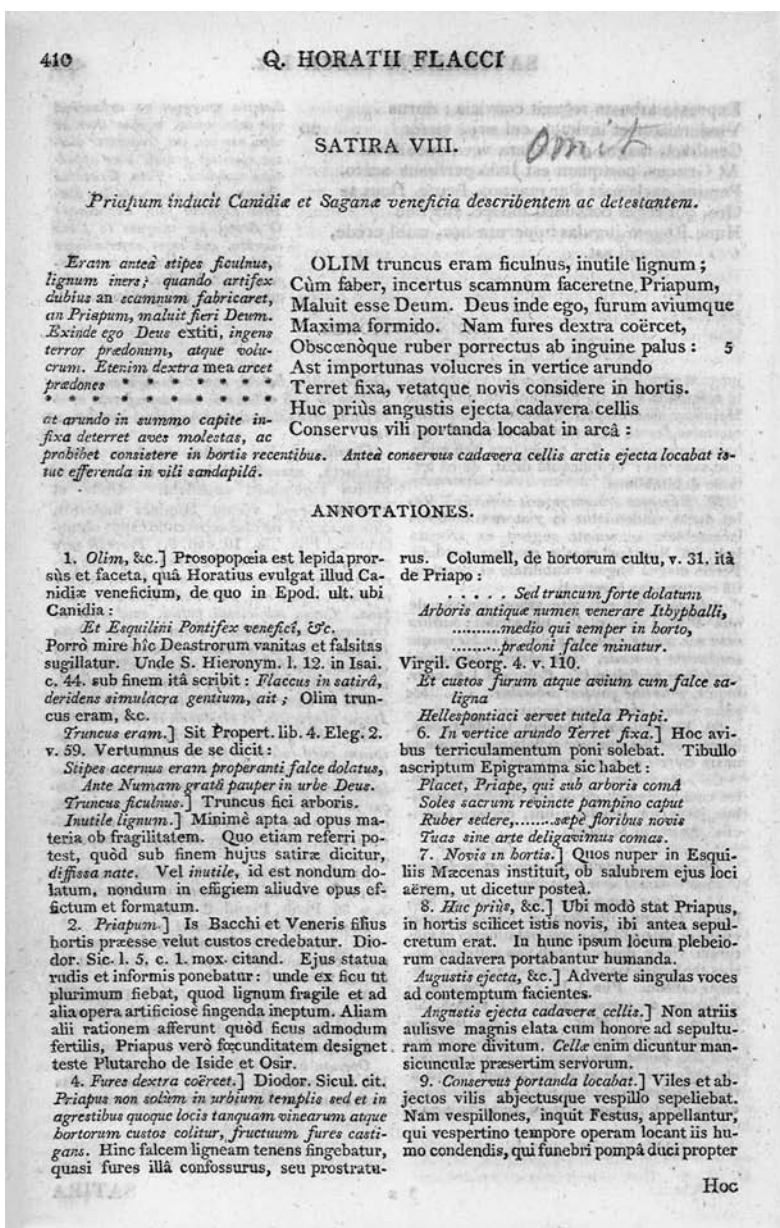


Figure 20.1 From Quinti Horatii Flacci OPERA, interpretatione et notis illustravit Ludovicus Desprez ... in usum Serenissimi Delphini ... in hac editione Americana pleraque Londiniensis errata, diligentissime animadversa, corriguntur. Philadelphia: W. Poyntell, 1804. Author's collection. This page, the opening of Horace's *Satires* 1.8, on Priapus, illustrates the Delphin layout, with marginal paraphrase, and use of asterisks for obscene lines; the omission of obscene content from the commentary below the text; the longevity of school texts through piracy; the circulation of school texts through the second-hand trade; the exclusion of obscene content through instruction.

and the rest of these tactics must have been greeted by most students with indifference – texts are full of odd numberings, while all glosses and omissions would have been viewed as so much less work to do. The bored student sitting in the back row puzzling over Horace *Epodes* 8 as the class reads the Pyrrha ode yet again is the exception, if I am anything to go by. Yet when the entire curriculum consisted of Latin and Greek literature, as it did until relatively recently, perhaps Byron was not so anomalous.

The amount of help given varies widely. Some editors believe firmly that students benefit most from having no notes at all (a belief still current at Princeton when I was an undergraduate in the 1970s); most editors do believe their job is to write notes, but notes offering help with grammar appear surprisingly late – not until the 1820s, coinciding with the arrival of notes in the vernacular. At the opposite extreme, some editors – here Stirling, Owen, Madan, and Conington – combine the original text with notes and a translation on the facing page, or at the bottom of the same page; see Stray (2007b) for this layout in Jebb's famous edition of Sophocles. Stirling also prided himself on providing a reordered Latin text along with the original, to help students construe, actually an old practice. Such generous editors say they are acting in the belief that this will not only help students but appeal to adult learners, setting this practice as a forerunner of the now-familiar Loeb Classical Library and earlier series in French dating back to the late 1600s. So Madan addresses his translation not just to “*school-boys and young beginners, but to numbers in a more advanced age, who, by having been thrown into various scenes of life, remote from classical improvement, have so far forgotten their Latin, as to render these elegant and instructive remains of antiquity almost inaccessible to their comprehension*” ((1789) v, cf. viii). Interlinear translations, on the other hand, were often suspect as “trots,” offering too much help (see Nisbet in this volume, Chapter 21).

Many school texts bear clear marks that they are commodities, meant to sell well. Title pages are always bedecked with the editor's credentials, increasingly professional as the nineteenth century wore on. Yet, until the late twentieth century, few school editors were selected as already being established experts in the author on whom they were commenting; humbler editors, instead of quoting learnedly from great critics like Casaubon and the Scaligers, just claim that the book is “based on the best authorities.” Such reasoning also structures the nineteenth-century proliferation of handbooks of classical literature, which can be divided into alpha, beta, and gamma levels: the writers of the alpha handbooks have actually read the literature they describe, the beta writers have read the alpha writers, and so on. The practice of writing a variorum commentary, one that collects the notes of all the best authorities, dates back to antiquity, continuing into print, where, for Juvenal, it is associated, for example, with Heinrich de Hennin in 1685, who amalgamates commentators

going back to the medieval tradition. Many commentators say they have used such amalgamations; the reason for their decline is illustrated by Charles Stocker, who produced in 1835 a monumentally derivative commentary in which he annotated the notes with the initials of the original annotator. His list of abbreviations itself occupies four pages of tiny type (Stocker (1835) xvii–xx).

This means that it is very hard to find a new idea in a commentary, or to track an idea to its source. Repetition of themes is a minor part of the stupendous amount of outright copying, often unattributed, that goes on (a practice dressed up for grander commentaries as “tralaticiousness” in Gibson and Kraus (2002) 11–13, 16–20, 325–26; but ideas circulate upward from school texts as well as downward to them). On a commercial level, this often amounted to piracy; the appropriation of his intellectual property was unwelcome at least to Farnaby, who applied to the crown for protection against the importation of cheap pirated editions of his books. There is, then, an ongoing tension between a view of this kind of scholarship as a joint enterprise, like Wikipedia, and a view of it as proprietary, even self-aggrandizing, through ownership of a classical author: “Mayor’s Juvenal.”

On the other hand, the cheapness of pirated editions – often cobbled together out of various old commentaries – made them available to a wider public. Along with secondhand circulation, what might be called “recycling” is a prime means by which education takes place outside the academy as well as inside it; as Jonathan Rose argues ((2010) 120–22), following Michael Thompson’s “Rubbish Theory,” commodities at first valuable experience a plunge in price before becoming collectable, so secondhand books in the nineteenth century became the mainstay of the “working-class autodidact.” The same might be said for recycled notes; after all, although Ruperti today is unknown, his observations are still interesting, often fresh. With the rise in price of academic books, university presses may face a challenge from old books available free on the internet, or reprinted cheaply by specialist printers. And, as is even more the case via the internet, piracy from the beginning of printing spread a writer’s geographical reach; many of the nineteenth-century English school texts here considered were picked up, one way or another, in Ireland and North America.

Advertising, especially during the eighteenth century print boom, could be unabashed. So Stirling’s *Persius* carries in the front matter advertisements for his other schoolbooks also sold by his publisher, with different prices for stitched or bound copies, promotional language and typography (“Lately Publish’d, in a Method entirely New, (For the Use of SCHOOLS),” and self-endorsement (Stirling (1736)):

N.B. The Encouragement the Author has met with in those already Publish’d, has determined him to go through the other Classical Authors in the same Method with

this of PERSIUS'S SATIRES; in some of which he has already made considerable Progress; so that the Publick may expect'em with all convenient Speed.

Dedications to kings in the 1600s are replaced by dedications to noble patrons in the 1700s and then by dedications to famous scholars and mentors, who were usually also clergymen: these conveyed a certain reflected glory, as do, from the late 1800s to this day, acknowledgments to famous scholars for reading the manuscript, despite the writer's professed responsibility for all errors. As seen in Stirling's Persius, school texts also often carry, usually in the back of the book, the publisher's advertising matter, with endorsements from famous scholars and favorable excerpts from book reviews and handbooks, both tactics still familiar; as is still the case, scholars who wrote school texts often themselves wrote book reviews and handbooks, so that whole social networks of backscratching and infighting can be traced.

Since scholars, especially schoolmasters, might derive a considerable part of their income from textbooks, textbook wars have also left visible scars, as in nineteenth-century Edinburgh (see Morris (2007)). But these wars go back to the rise of printing, with rival presses, for instance, in London in the 1490s (Orme (2006) 152–55). Mayor today is the best-known Victorian commentator on Juvenal, but his Macmillan editions had numerous rivals at other presses. Moreover, not everyone had a comfortable job like Mayor's at Cambridge; some editors were small-town headmasters also in charge of a local church, often with large families to feed (Maclean had ten children). Ruperti speaks feelingly (1801) of the requirements for scholarly work:

A scholar must have a life overflowing with both sweet leisure and many chances, which I completely lack. Heavy indeed is the customary state of a schoolmaster's responsibilities, so that a man who wants to do his duty and support a family at the same time is pulled apart by many and various occupations, and is forced by very necessity to give over by far the greatest part of the day to training the young, both at home and professionally, in the study of humane letters.

Maclean and Mayor both despise his scholarship.

The ever-engaging John Bond begins the epistle to the reader in his 1606 Horace commentary by basing his project precisely in the work of a schoolmaster:

Since I have sustained the responsibility of training the young (a rock I have rolled like Sisyphus for twenty years and more), it has always been my custom (Gentle Reader) to pass on certain Notes to my students, so that by putting my words down in writing they might sink the roots deeper in their brains and hang onto them more securely.

Schoolbooks belong in school and belong to students; what were Bond's students actually writing as he dictated to them? Online, the reader can easily view students' marks in the text that show what they actually read, what words they did not understand, and occasionally what their weekend plans were or the name of their current flame. The word "omit," or sets of brackets, often mark off obscene sections still in the text (Figure 20.1), and were presumably dictated by the teacher, echoing the famous line in E.M. Forster's *Maurice*, "Omit: a reference to the unspeakable vice of the Greeks" ((1971) 51).

Teachers' general approaches change with the times, as the question of what is the question changes. The punitive approach to teaching Latin has a long history (see Stray (1994a)); Matthew Prior, in the Prologue he wrote for a student production of Dryden's *Cleomenes* in 1695, has the (seven-year-old) speaker give as equally unattractive alternatives, "I'd go to school six hours on Christmas day, | or construe Persius while my comrades play" (Sargeaunt (1898) 130, 293; see Brown (2008) 17 on the collected Prologues to the Westminster School plays). A humanitarian reaction in the late 1700s informs the comments of Stirling, Knox, and Madan, who manifest a general interest in a happy classroom in which boys discuss ideas as well as grammar. This approach did not last long into the 1800s, also undermined by the common practice (widely attested in complaints) of having students read, not whole texts, but selected bits very thoroughly, with a focus on correct construing – again, a practice still common. This was made necessary by the increase in testing, particularly entrance examinations and culminating examinations (see Stray (2000)); Juvenal 2, 6, and 9 were not on the reading list for examinations, hence not in school texts aimed at preparing students for those examinations (see section 20.4.2 below on the Advanced Placement (AP) curriculum in the contemporary United States, likewise tailored to an examination that serves a gatekeeping function).

However, the AP curriculum incorporates a substantial amount of attention to ideas and interpretation, a practice which does have nineteenth-century roots. In Victorian Oxford Henry Nettleship became, Stephen Harrison argues (2007), the harbinger of modern Latin studies; his 1888 essay on Juvenal is much cited, but before that he had finished John Conington's Persius and published it as a tribute to his late friend (1872). Both were writing in an intellectual milieu much influenced by the aesthetic ideas of Walter Pater, or at least by those of Matthew Arnold. Pearson and Strong thank Nettleship for his help (Pearson and Strong (1887) 8); Duff pays tribute to him ((1898) i); Housman approves of Duff ((1905) xxix), and so in 1970 Michael Coffey endorses the whole lineage (in the 1970 edition of Duff, iv). From Duff onward, commentators follow Nettleship ((1888) 49 n. 1) in nodding to Mayor while rejecting Mayor's moral/literal reading for a literary one. Christianity is no longer in the picture. Since the Leavises we have become used to

reading authors as literature – we point out and analyze their aesthetic qualities – but this constitutes a marked departure from the attitude of the early 1800s. In Susanna Braund's introduction (1996a), twenty-nine of forty-two pages deal with literary issues.

At the same time, literary approaches in the nineteenth century jostled for attention with those based in German textual criticism, particularly in a close attention to the manuscript tradition and to textual variants and cruces; although in 1784 Knox could say that he was no Bentley and that boys are bored by the work of “a mere verbal critic” (Anon. (1784) xv–xvi), he is fighting a rearguard action. By 1857 Maclean leads his introduction with observations on the state of the text, and school texts begin to discuss manuscripts as if this would be students' main concern. My own graduate experience in the late 1970s included an examination aimed at the elucidation of “gobbets” of Juvenal, mostly textual cruces (see Beard (2008) on the gobbets approach to ancient history). Another competing approach, through social history and material culture, drew impetus from the appearance of Ludwig Friedlaender's work from the 1860s onward; by the time Duff published his commentary, Friedlaender's 1895 Juvenal had come out (definitely aimed at a scholarly audience), and the way was open for a historical or archaeological reading of Roman satire.

Indeed *Sittengeschichte*, if viewed as the gateway to the *Annales* school, opened up an entirely new way of reading. Commentaries had always incorporated, along with glosses (definitions of unusual words), explanations of objects (what is a *sambuca*?) and various social practices (What was involved in the worship of Anubis? What are those women doing standing in front of the Circus?). The idea that the material life of the past was a valuable object of study in itself was a great boost for satire as a genre, especially as the lives of ordinary people, rather than only of popes and kings, came increasingly to be of interest in the twentieth century. Even the obscene bits of satire, so long treated as problematic, came suddenly to scholars' attention as the history of sexuality began to be written in the 1970s. This new area of study within the field of history itself owed its existence to the civil rights movements of the 1960s that greatly opened up the academy to women and enabled public discussion of sexual experience, both lived and textual. It is then not surprising that, among recent school texts, there are three written by women: one by me on Juvenal 6 (Richlin (1986)), one by Susanna Braund on the whole of *Satires* 1–5 (1996a), and one by Catherine Keane on selections from a range of satirists including Juvenal and Persius (2010). All of us felt, indeed took for granted, that authors are best understood without the excision of topics. Indeed, the removal of 2, 6, and 9 does not really clean up Juvenal; both he and Persius integrate sexual themes so fully into their work as to tax the ingenuity of even Vicesimus Knox (cf. Gold in this volume, Chapter 5). Unfortunately the new, enlightened

approach has coincided with a precipitous drop in the number of students able to read Latin at all, never mind a writer as difficult as Persius.

20.3 Lives

Gilbert Highet had a theory ((1962) 240–41) that satirists are all, personally, either underdogs or extroverts; certainly the editors of Juvenal and Persius include some very remarkable people. Thomas Farnaby, for example, sailed with Drake on his voyage to the West Indies; Vicesimus Knox was a celebrity headmaster, known for his popularizing books on literature and education, and still something of a libertarian icon. Martin Madan, as a young man about town, went to hear John Wesley speak and had a conversion experience; he became chaplain to the Lock Hospital, a London home for repentant prostitutes, and a popular preacher, abruptly ruining his career with the publication of *Thelyphthora*, an argument on behalf of polygamy. His Juvenal commentary was a final project in his ensuing retirement. A.J. Macleane came from a family that left Scotland for India after the Second Jacobite Rising; his commentary shows traces of his Indian upbringing. Mayor was a prominent vegetarian activist; Conington is now known for his connection with John Addington Symonds and homophile Oxford. Perhaps the most remarkable figure of all was Charles Pearson, a lifelong radical and progressive, a journalist and world traveler who taught briefly in England before moving to Australia, where he championed women's and working-class education. At the end of his life he moved back to England and published *National Life and Character: A Forecast* (1893), a sensational prediction of a coming global power shift framed in terms now staggeringly racist. As with so many of Juvenal's series-based commentators, it is hard to see what prompted the press (in this case, Oxford) to turn to him.

In accord with arguments advanced by Christopher Stray (1998), there is a marked shift in status among school commentators, from schoolmasters (Bond in 1614 through Macleane in 1857) to professors (from Mayor onward; a transitional figure, Mayor was still teaching at Marlborough when the first version of his Juvenal came out in 1853). This shift reflects a change in the readership of Juvenal and Persius as they move from "appropriate for advanced schoolboys" to a place, ever more rarefied, on the university reading list. The school text itself, then, in this period turns into "what used to be read in schools and is now read in college." Mayor also marks a turning point as the last in a long series of clergymen. This change presages the disappearance from commentaries of the felt need to reconcile Roman satire with Christian doctrine, alongside the separation of Christian teaching from the work of a professor of classics. Through the dedications

and acknowledgments in these books a reader can often trace the networks of professional help and patronage that supplied financial support and even, for an isolated scholar like Ruperti, shipments of reference materials; a small-town schoolteacher, he was helped both by the regional superintendent of schools and by a list of scholars headed by the great Christian Heyne, who had himself had a hard life.

20.4 Commentaries

Here I will take a brief look at what various commentators did with three sets of passages: (1) Persius 1.121 and Juvenal 1.151–53, on freedom of speech; (2) Persius 1.19–21, 87, 103, Juvenal 1.37–41, and, in general, Juvenal 2, 6, and 9 – obscene matter; (3) Juvenal 3.60–66, the beginning of Juvenal’s most famous xenophobic passage. In what follows, note that Owen and Madan, and their fellow-translator William Gifford (on whom see Nisbet in this volume, Chapter 21), illustrated their translations with copious notes, of which Madan’s and Gifford’s were much appropriated by later commentators.

20.4.1 Liberty

We assume that free speech is an issue for satire and ponder Juvenal’s announcement at the end of *Satire* 1 that he will satirize the dead; both Persius and Juvenal contrast their freedom with that of Lucilius as their great satirical progenitor, and the *Vita* of Persius says explicitly that the allusion to the myth of Midas at the end of his *Satire* 1 was edited posthumously out of fear of Nero.

Before Mayor, Juvenal 1.153 (*simplicitas cuius non audeo dicere nomen*, “simplicity of which I do not dare to speak the name”) was usually punctuated *simplicitas, cuius*, and what followed *cuius* was taken to describe *simplicitas*, with a period after *nomen*; then commentators feel the need to explain what the *nomen* was, the answer being *libertas*. *Simplicitas* is glossed παρρησία (*parrhesia*, “free speech,” a word associated with Athenian democracy) going back at least to the Delphin edition, and repeatedly thereafter. But Mayor put a question mark after *simplicitas* and another after *nomen* and took *cuius* to be the start of a direct question: “Whose name do I not dare to speak?” By the time of Duff the old punctuation is forgotten, the question now being whether *cuius . . . nomen* is a quotation from Lucilius. As for liberty itself, it is sometimes praised as a good: so Madan, writing in 1789 on 154: “Lucilius feared no bad consequences of this, in those days of liberty.” Pearson, who had reported from Russia and Poland on the freeing of the serfs, devotes a section of his introduction to 1.150ff. (Pearson and Strong (1887) 29–30): “Is it difficult to understand how men just emancipated from a despotism would thrill as the word indicated by ‘simplicitas’ – the word

which it had been dangerous to pronounce, –‘libertas’ –rose instinctively to every lip?” The despotism is Domitian’s. Knox, unsurprisingly, tempers his praise, quoting Horace (Anon. (1784) on [151 – Knox has no line numbers at all]): *Sed in uitium libertas excidit* (“But liberty degenerated into a vice”) – here excerpting from Desprez’ Delphin.

As for Persius 1.121: Here texts print, *auriculas asini quis non habet?* – “Who doesn’t have ass’s ears?” – a reference to the story of what befell King Midas when his poor ear for poetry offended Apollo. The ancient *Life of Persius* remarks that Persius had intended here a direct criticism of Nero, and had originally written *auriculas asini Mida rex habet* – “King Midas has ass’s ears” – and claims that Persius’ editor made the change so that Nero would not take offense. Bond, who had in 1606 dedicated his Horace to the Prince of Wales, skirts the issue, keeping the focus on the days of the Republic and the chastisement of wicked citizens. Gildersleeve attacks the entire political reading of Persius, taking on critics back to Casaubon ((1875) xxxvi), and indeed the argument continues today over whether Roman satire has political as well as literary concerns on which see Roller in this volume, Chapter 13.

Earlier commentators, however, were also distracted by the threat of being burned alive in the arena at Juvenal 1.155–56, which they associate with Nero’s fire and the burning of Christians; so Maclean (1857) on 154, “you will be served as the Christians were”; Pearson and Strong (1887), summarizing this section, “you will be burned for a Christian.”

20.4.2 Sex

We would never expurgate a textbook today, would we? In fact the AP Catullus curriculum, before it was dropped altogether in 2009, excluded most of the obscene poems, and we might sympathize with a teacher’s problems in presenting Juvenal to a class of teenaged boys, a thing I imagine few try at all today with any high school class. Since, however, these texts were used by older students as well, while translations like Owen’s aimed at the general public, we must take seriously the effect they had on the circulation of knowledge about ancient sexual mores. My own scholarly work began as an effort to attend to Juvenal 2, 6, and 9, and it is no coincidence that this took place in the mid-1970s. I could have saved myself some trouble by making use of Farnaby or Ruperti, even Maclean; there have been times in the West when sex was not kept out of scholarship or school (see Orme (2006) 116 on sex in Tudor grammar exercises and even in the post-Reformation catechism).

Those who expurgate often tell something about how they read. Owen, exasperated that Knox (Anon. (1784)) has favorable reviews while his own 1785 edition was criticized for not expurgating *enough*, objects to Knox’s

treatment of Satires 6 and 9, “the liveliest and wittiest of Juvenal’s satires” ((1786) 2.235). He is echoed by Duff, who in the lead sentence of his Preface justifies his edition by its inclusion of (530 lines of) 6, “the most brilliant in detail.” Madan, who fiercely vows to paraphrase passages “filthy and offensive” (on Juvenal 2.12), still defends *Satire 9* against its critics, arguing that they fail to distinguish between those who write to recommend vice, like Horace and Lord Rochester, and those who write against vice (9 lead-in). The peppery Macleanne praises the force of *Satire 2*, which makes editing it “endurable,” as likewise the “power” of *Satire 9*, where Naevolus is “sufficiently amusing” (cf. his discussion at xxii–xxiii). Despite Macleanne’s protests (“This satire will not be read with any pleasure”), there is no doubt that both he and Madan felt an affinity for Juvenal’s style as suitable to the pulpit. Desprez, who expurgates very little despite the promise in his preface ((1684) viii), glosses *notissima fossa* at Juvenal 2.10: “Bilge of vices, and known to everyone by that name; nor is it permissible to interpret otherwise, nor do I want to, out of respect for innocence.” (It means “the best-known ditch,” identifying the addressee metonymically with his promiscuous anus.) Gildersleeve, of all people, says similarly of *ceues* at Persius 1.87, “‘Wag the tail’ keeps within bounds of possible translation.” Knox feels England needs expurgated editions since they already exist “in a neighboring nation, by no means celebrated for the severity of virtue” (Anon. (1784) xi), and proceeds to appropriate Jouveny and Desprez.

Unbowdlerized: In *Satire 2*, Juvenal begins by attacking men who look like manly Stoic philosophers but secretly behave like *cinaedi* (men who like other men to penetrate them sexually). In lines 9–13, he talks about *Socraticos* ... *cinaedos* and pictures an ostentatiously shaggy man having his sore, shaven anus treated by a snickering doctor. Farnaby gives these lines a lavishly full treatment, with comparisons to Lucian and Firmicus Maternus; he does not spare Socrates, and explains the swollen *mariscae* (“figs,” probably slang for “hemorrhoids”) cut from the anus of the *cinaedus* with parallels drawn from his readers’ experience with horseback riding. Bond glosses *testiculi* at Persius *Satire* 1.103: “*Testiculi*, or *Testes* (witnesses), as some think, are so called, because they are the witnesses of virility, and to this part a delicate sensitiveness is credited. Moreover this metaphor is elegant, however obscene it seems, as here the poet teaches us that many men have lost the sparks of antique manhood, or the seeds of a better nature.” Desprez happily explains that Gillo and Proculeius at Juvenal *Satire* 1.40 are “each, of course, a famous cocksman” (*stuprator*); commenting more closely on the line, Ruperti (1817), also writing in Latin, has “*Proculeius* had a small cock, and *Gillo* a big one (*male, et ... bene mentulatus*); adulterers, but unidentifiable.” Owen speculates that the vagina at Juvenal 1.39 belongs to the empress Plotina. On *fossa* (2.10), where Desprez

held back out of respect for innocence, Ruperti goes ahead and glosses *cunnus*. Macleane, despite himself, offers many useful parallels; so for *pusio* at Juvenal 6.34, “Cicero uses the word in the same filthy connexion as here (*Pro Caelio*, 15)”;¹ Madan balks at this line. On *Satire* 6.122, on the *papillis* . . . *auratis* (“gilded nipples”) of the empress Messalina, Macleane provides a long note to correct the common suggestion that these words refer to jewelry, and quotes Gifford, who volunteers that gold leaf “is used by many of the dancing-girls and privileged courtezans of the East to this day. A figure so ornamented is in the curious cabinet of R.P. Knight, Esq.” (You there in the back row! Stop that giggling!) Here we move in two easy steps from a school text to a popular translation to Payne Knight, the notorious arbiter of classical pornography. Macleane’s Enlightenment sympathies show in this link to a member of the Dilettanti, who made Greco-Roman erotica a hot topic in 1770s London (see Carabelli (1996) for eye-popping details).

Among forgotten interpretations I note the once common idea that Juvenal 2.149–52 (“that there are shades of the dead and realms below the earth, . . . not even boys believe”) meant that the cause of sexual degeneracy was atheism. This idea conveniently allowed commentators to depict *Satire* 2 as an attack on atheists: so Farnaby sums up in his introduction to *Satire* 2 (impious disbelief in the punishments of hell leads to the fall of empire); so Owen ((1786), Juvenal 2 attacks philosophers’ “gross errors . . . : Paederasty and a disbelief of a future state”); so Madan (“Which corruption of manners . . . and, more particularly, certain unnatural vices, he imputes to the atheism and infidelity which then prevailed among all ranks,” lead-in to 2; “the disbelief and contempt of religion . . . [especially in] a future state of rewards and punishments,” on 149).

Even *Satire* 9, an interview with the male prostitute Naevolus, has its early defenders. Desprez leads his headnote, “Witty indeed is this *Satire*, but particularly obscene.” He renews his vow to annotate sparingly, so as not to “besmirch chaste ears and minds,” but not before he has given a hint of what the poem contains. Charles Stocker, in his 1835 commentary, points the “lesson which it is our duty to gather from it; that a life of sin is a life of slavery”; he appends to his lead-in a little parallel from relatively recent history: “A criminal, more guilty than Virro, was beheaded in 1631, and his menials hung.” This reference to the notorious case of the Earl of Castlehaven is, to my knowledge, a unique modern instantiation in the commentaries of what Desprez calls “the unspeakable vice of those ancients.”

20.4.3 *Orientalism*

The speaker of Juvenal’s satires does not like foreigners. It has become a commonplace of reception studies that modern empire-builders have read

Rome through their own empire; the commentators do sometimes bring their own world-view to bear on, for example, Juvenal *Satire* 3. (For some reason, *Satire* 15, on Egypt, now a postcolonial theorist's dream, used to be widely dismissed as boring and inferior, hardly worth annotating.)

The long section of Juvenal 3 that begins "I cannot bear a Greek metropolis," in its opening lines (60–66) observes that some of the "dregs" entering Rome come from Syria, bringing with them their musical instruments and their women, whom they pimp outside the Circus. The speaker, poetically, says the Orontes has flowed into the Tiber. Most commentators do not go beyond paraphrasing the already xenophobic sentiments in the lines themselves, but a few go further. So Madan, on "dregs": "A fit emblem of these vile Greeks, as though they were the filth and refuse of all Greece"; on *Achaei* for "Greeks" (61), he points out that Corinth was the capital of Achaia: "the inhabitants of this city were proverbially lewd and wicked; κορινθιαζειν [*korinthiazein*] was a usual phrase to express doing acts of effeminacy, lewdness, and debauchery . . . See 1 Cor. vi. 9–11, former part." The former chaplain of the Lock Hospital also provides a very full note on the perils of "whores or bawds." Pearson and Strong, who omit line 66 altogether, comment on 62, "Rome was also being flooded with foreign slaves"; this image seems to have stuck in Pearson's head, as *National Life and Character* is filled with images of being overwhelmed, like this (Pearson (1893) 30): "When we are swamped . . . by the black and yellow races, we shall know that it has been inevitable." So it seems likely that Pearson contributed to the section of the Introduction headed "Social Condition of Rome," which portrays satirists as Rome's only defense against corruption: he deplores Rome's enslavement of more intelligent peoples, always worse than "when the enslaved race is unquestionably inferior" (49); he decries the influence of freedmen, a class "with all the vices learnt in slavery" (54); and he regrets "the decrease of genuine Italians" and their "replacement by hordes of foreigners, mongrels, slaves, and freedmen" (56).

The lines on musical instruments (63–64) tempt Macleane into a rant evidently related to his Indian upbringing: "The Orientals have little or no ear for music; and on lower ground than Umbricius takes, he might have run away from the music of Eastern flageolets, harps, and drums. They were probably such as are still in use all over Asia, and no discord is comparable to that which is there listened to with satisfaction." Further on *tympana* (64), he compares "the Indian tom-tom"; it seems likely that this note, if they read it, evoked in students who used the American knock-off of Macleane vague thoughts of *Hiawatha* (1855). In fact "tom-tom" comes into English direct from Hindustani, so Macleane is closer than most of the commentators, who, in their glossing of *gentilia tympana* (properly "native drums," "tribal tom-toms"), provide a sad example of what A.E. Housman, with characteristic unkindness, calls "that habit of treading in ruts and trooping in companies

which men share with sheep” ((1931) v). The awful translation “national tamborines” is very often given for *gentilia tympana*; where did this start? Not in the earliest English translation; Stapylton in 1644 has the quaint “country Cymballs.” Not in the second; Holyday in 1673, who complained that Stapylton stole his translation, just has “Syrian drum.” Stirling’s 1760 commentary copies Stapylton: “crooked harps with the flutes, and also their country cymbals.” The independent Madan, in 1789, produces “national timbrels,” which is picked up by *his* American imitator in 1828 with “‘national timbrels’ or ‘tamborines.’” Where did he get the tamborines? Not from Gifford, who just has “drums,” no adjective; not from Owen, who just has “timbrel,” no adjective. Somewhere between 1789 and 1828 those tamborines crept in, because by 1835 Stocker has “national tambourines,” which becomes finally nailed in place when appropriated by Lewis Evans in his widely used 1852 Bohn translation. As for Stirling’s “crooked harps,” a misleading translation of *chordas obliquas* (“diagonal strings,” 6.63–64), it stems from a truncated quotation of Dryden’s joke “their crooked Harps and Customs.”

Hostile orientalism among commentators was by no means the rule; Farnaby, commenting on 3.61–66, gratuitously adds “Moors” to Juvenal’s influx, but also gives the Syriac for “Ambubaia” (a kind of Syrian dancing girl mentioned by Horace). Most spectacularly, Ruperti provides a discussion of ancient Syria and the people of Antioch, with reference to Julian’s *Misopogon*, and parallel passages on the rise of luxury starting with Livy; on *chordas obliquas* he has a full explanation of what a sambuca is, and, for *tympana*, he provides synonyms in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkic, Berber, and Spanish, with an elaborate explanation of what a *tympanum* is and how it traveled from Asia into Spain. At last, with Duff in 1898, we have “Juvenal’s patriotism is of that narrow type which considers it a virtue to hate foreigners” (Duff (1970) xxxix), and so the reading that takes Juvenal’s xenophobia at face value becomes problematic.

20.5 Conclusion

In the 1900s, for the first time, a rise in secular culture (caused this time by the crisis in faith after World War I) resulted in a fall, not a rise, in classical reading. Christendom shows every sign of outlasting classics; without classics in schools, what will become of our knowledge of the time before Christendom? Who reads Juvenal, much less Persius, in Latin even now? Then again, this study, in tracing the oscillations of fashion in thought, shows both how dark things can get and how light has returned.

FURTHER READING

For an overview of classical scholarship firmly connected to the lives of scholars and the adventures of books, see Reynolds and Wilson (1991); pp. 164–206 deal with the period considered here. For the “Latin Middle Ages,” Curtius (1953) is still hard to beat; on schools in England from the Renaissance through the early modern period, the riveting study by Foster Watson (1908) should not be missed – astonishments in every chapter. The work of Christopher Stray is fundamental to the study of classical education in England from the 1800s onward; his *Classics Transformed* (1998) makes an excellent starting point, while two essays (1994a, 1994b) deal with textbooks – generally, as material objects, in light of educational trends – and with students’ resistance to them. On the reception of Juvenal, Gilbert Highet’s account ((1954) 180–232) has not been superseded. Many of the school texts discussed here are available online, although not always in the first printed edition; editions may vary a great deal in their contents and front matter. For a convenient link to some online versions, see: <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/hebbin/book/lookupname?key=Juvenal>.

For a scholarly catalogue of medieval and Renaissance commentaries at all levels, see Sanford (1960); Ruperti (1801) gives an annotated list of editions and a list of translations into European languages to date, including Danish and Spanish. On Italian school texts, see above all Paul Gehl’s interactive online book *Humanism for Sale*: <http://www.humanismforsale.org>. Schoolbooks must have been available everywhere in Europe, and Sanford’s lively overview (1948), while focusing mainly on Italy, does touch on Spain, Poland, and the Netherlands, but European school-level texts with vernacular notes await attention. If you were going to buy one old commentary, the most fun to read are Owen, Madan, and Macleane, full of eighteenth-century charm (Macleane is a throwback); the most valuable is Ruperti, especially in his 1803/1835 incarnation – a tour de force. Mayor has long been my chief desert island book; Juvenal condenses Rome, Mayor expands him, together an excellent encyclopedia.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Revoicing Imperial Satire

Gideon Nisbet

21.1 Introduction: Translation, Ideology, and Rhetoric

As to the translation of fuckwit, a peculiar phenomenon can be observed.
(Santaemilia (2008) 170)

This chapter takes as its subject some of the more widely disseminated translations of Persius and Juvenal into English in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, concluding with the old Loeb of Ramsay, but with occasional prolepses to the modern day. Its focus is primarily on translations published in Britain, but often these were also popular in other English-speaking markets, and the Victorian translator of Juvenal for Macmillan and Co., Alexander Leeper ((1882) iii–iv), asserts a shared British identity from as far away as Melbourne, Australia. Several distinct but interrelated contexts help make sense of the ways in which these translators plied their craft and hawked their wares. These include British literary culture's strong and distinctive tradition of "Englishing" the Latin satirists; contemporary rhetoric and practice concerning the use of Latin satire in schools and universities, including the vexed issue of expurgation (on which see also Richlin in this volume, Chapter 20); and changes in the perceived cultural use and value of published translations of Greek and Latin (and other, more recent European) classics.

A recurring concern and interpretative crux is how translators handle matter in the source text which they perceive as potentially harmful to the moral

character of their intended readership, or whose “faithful” rendition appears likely to incur official sanction from authority. The obvious example is obscenity, a perceived category with which any translator aiming at Persius and Juvenal must come to terms. Like fidelity, though, obscenity exists first and foremost in the eye of the individual beholder, who in turn is always formed within a particular receiving culture. The censorship-averse translator who renders a Latin sexual or scatological term in as literal a register as possible (for instance, *futuo* as “fuck”) writes against a tide of cultural difference which distance in time, as in space, makes inevitable. Even with translations of contemporary, non-elite texts, where the perceived cultural difference is relatively minor and the geographic distance is minimal, “fuck” can be all but untranslatable: notional lexical equivalents may carry diametrically opposite connotations (Santaemilia (2008) 168–69, addressing translations from English into Spanish and Catalan). With ancient texts the cultural gap is obviously much wider.

Obscenity is not merely a matter of particular lexical forms, though, as Juvenal’s translation history neatly illustrates. With the discovery of what purport to be additional lines from *Satire* 6, ripe with exuberant sexual content, in a single manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford at the end of the nineteenth century (on which see Parker in this volume, Chapter 7), the *Satires* immediately became a lexically much dirtier text than before – although still much less so than *communis opinio* leads one to imagine. (Adams (1982) 221, on the Latin sexual vocabulary, an important resource in tracking obscenity and double entendre, reports Juvenal’s general avoidance of lexical obscenities and preference for “bland euphemism.”) However, the great moral panics surrounding Juvenalian obscenity predate this potentially shocking find. From the 1850s onwards, publication of “obscene” matter had become unambiguously a criminal act in both England and the United States (Kalven (1960) 2–3). The term continued to resist firm definition in law, but translations of “obscene” classical texts were at the heart of the contemporary political and juristic debate. In America, the self-appointed but widely heard moral crusader Anthony Comstock was agitating for a ban on all translations of ancient pagan texts, not so much for dirty words as inadmissible notions: “To set our youth wild with passion by the lascivious products of ancient writers . . . is none the less a crime because these records of crime have outlived their day . . . The practice of spreading impure literature among the young is fast sinking them to the level of ancient heathendom.” He was particularly exercised by cheap translations which disseminated ancient authors beyond the classically trained elite (Beisel (1997) 162–64, from whom I also quote Comstock here).

In the modern era, this censorship of ideas has been a particular concern of translators who write for an intended readership of, or including, vulnerable

sub-groups. These sub-groups invariably include children, but women and the working classes are also often identified as needing protection from dangerous thoughts. (On censorship of expressions of religious skepticism and dissatisfaction with the social order, see Pedersen (2008) 310; cf. more broadly Bristow (1991).) In considering their different audiences, translators must therefore make cultural as well as lexical decisions with every word they write. Concerns about obscenity typically keep pace with the widening of non-elite access to, and potential ownership claims on, “foreign” cultural capital (in the form of translations of high-status canon texts), and increasing availability of mass-market imprints from the mid-nineteenth century onward quickly became identified by official bodies as an index of a book’s potential for social as well as individual harm (Roberts (2008) 278, 285–86; cf. Perrin (1992) 105, on bowdlerizing Shakespeare for working-men’s clubs, and especially 206–7).

For a Latin-educated elite, even the word “obscene,” whether connected etymologically with the stage (Varro *LL* 7.96) or the sinister or the filthy, invokes a visually powerful motif, expressing deep ideological disquiet at the power of the projected voice to provoke emotions and incite the mob in unpredictable ways. Taboo speech is feared as a potential catalyst for social agency. Whether one hides it, excuses it, or confronts it head-on, finding ways to disarm obscenity in a classic text thus becomes a crux not merely of the translator’s virtuosity but of large and pressing social concerns.

21.2 The Martial of Margate: Juvenal as Nineteenth-Century Moralist

Cf. Mart. i 24, iii 3, xi 47, iii 51, vii 35, iii 72, xi 75, from the four last of which passages it will appear that there were baths at Rome for the two sexes in common; and this is explicitly stated by Plin. *H.N.* xxxiii 12. I have seen something nearly as bad as this, in the present day, at Margate and Broadstairs. (Lewis (1873) 346)

In 1873, the Member of Parliament for Devonport published an edition of Juvenal which included a complete and literal translation into English. John Delaware Lewis was an Old Etonian, a Liberal, a trained lawyer, magistrate, spiritualist, and author on miscellaneous light topics. He presented his Latin text and its translation in an over-and-under page format, allowing immediate comparison; explanatory notes followed at the end of the volume. These include the example quoted above, notionally explicating a textual detail in *Satire* 6, but with rather more to say on the moral dangers of unisex public swimming-baths in the present. In these popular Kentish seaside resorts (an

easy train ride from London), as in the Rome of the second century, as seen from the perspective of a progressive politician (and successful social climber – his father was in international trade but he married the daughter of a baronet), these facilities were magnets for socially “low” types. Mixed-sex bathing structurally facilitated displays of immorality, in the form of unlicensed and potentially consequence-free sexual experimentation (in other words, heavy petting) outside the traditional framework of courtship leading to wedlock. Indeed, it practically compelled these displays, and placed them on the social “stage” as a public spectacle.

Lewis’s *Juvenalis Satirae* is now an extremely rare book, although it reached a second edition in the author’s lifetime (1882). As advertised in his Preface, his bracingly direct rendition of the Latin text eschews literary decorum and flourish in favor of “bald” lexical accuracy ((1873) iv). What this translation really is, by the author’s apparently frank admission, is a glorified crib, devoid of literary ambition, and with only the most rudimentary linguistic and historical notes for the student and general reader making a first attempt on the Latin.

We have already seen that this last claim is not strictly true: the notes exceed their brief of elucidating syntactical and lexical problems and explaining ancient custom. However, Lewis’s version of a passage from the infamous sixth *Satire*, lines 309–21 of his text, goes some way towards bearing out his other claim, of “bald” fidelity:

Here they set down their litters at night, here they make water, and bedew the effigy of the goddess with copious streams of moisture, and by turns indulge in their wanton practices, with the moon for a witness. Then they go off home; you, when daylight has returned, meet with traces of your wife, on your way to visit your great friends. Notorious are the secret rites of Bona Dea, when the pipe stimulates the loins, and the Maenades, inspired alike by the horn-instrument and by wine, whirl their locks and howl out Priapus. Oh, how great then is the sexual desire in these minds! What a voice *is theirs* with the lust dancing *within them*! What a torrent is that of old wine over their soaking legs! Saufeia, a prize being proposed, challenges the brothel-keepers’ girls, and carries off the victory in the amatory contest.

The italics (“*is theirs . . . within them!*”) are not mine, but original to Lewis. They indicate to the reader one of the quite rare occasions on which he is expanding upon what is strictly “there” in the Latin, to bring out what he takes to be its intended sense. In this instance, they usefully unpack a gnomic ablative absolute in line 318, *saltante libidine* (“with the lust dancing”). The implication is that outside the italics everything is word for word, and in the second half of the passage we accordingly find some strikingly blunt renditions. *lumbos* becomes “loins”; *ardor concubitus*, “sexual desire”; *lenonum*, “brothel-keepers.”

However, this fearless fidelity has its limits, which it chooses not to advertise. In the last line of the passage quoted, *pendentis coxae* (6.321) becomes “amatory contest.” Buried at the back of the book ((1873) 343), a terse note explains without explaining: “321: has an obscene sense, cf. Apul. *Met.* ii 32, *pendulae Veneris fructu me satiauit*, where some read *fluctu* wrongly: see next note” (which will leave you no wiser). *coxa* is the hip or haunch; *pendeo*, to hang down loosely or sag. What is clear from Juvenal’s economy of phrasing is that a particular sexual act-cum-position is meant; Adams ((1982) 193) suggests one way of putting the pieces together. Equally clear from Lewis’s note is that he has no intention of telling us what the act was, instead veiling it in the decent obscurity of a Latin familiar primarily to scholars, clerics, and medical men. (Compare his explanatory note on an earlier line in the same poem: “191: *concumbere*, ‘rem Veneream habere.’”)

Once we start digging, further instances of tacit rewriting emerge earlier in the passage. “[A]nd by turns indulge in their wanton practices” is a strikingly vague rendition of a particular and vivid image of sexual mounting and riding: *inque uices equitant ac . . . mouentur* (6.311). “[T]races” masks the biologically exact *urinam*. Brothels and loins are allowed; hips and urine are not. Sexual desire is admissible in the abstract, when phrased clinically or as a medico-legal question; but concrete, genito-urinary particulars are euphemized away.

We find similar hedging in the ninth Satire, which, like the sixth, was often omitted by nineteenth-century translators and commentary-writers. *mollis* (38) is appropriately rendered “effeminate,” which communicates opprobrium without spelling out by exactly what acts it is earned; but the passive homosexual κίναϊδος of the preceding line (admittedly distanced by Juvenal as a Greek disorder) is simply “a man of his stamp” – one of those, again with a textual note in the back which studiously avoids spelling out who they might be or what they might be getting up to. To name these acts and persons risked impressing the “stamp” of the *cinaedus* into present social reality; to define the Other was to grant him a foothold in discourse.

21.3 Translation in the Continuum of Explanation

His poetry indeed, or rather his ill-measured prose, is intolerable; no human patience can toil through a single page of it; but his notes will always be consulted with pleasure. (Gifford, “An Essay on the Roman Satirists,” on an early seventeenth-century translator of Juvenal; cited at Evans (1852) xxxi)

In exploring how the ideological disquiet inspired by Latin satire's perceived obscenity is negotiated and contained by translators, I take as my starting-point a type of publication with which translation (literary or otherwise) notionally has little in common, and which is discussed more fully by Richlin elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 20): the standard school edition. Translators come up through schools; typically they pick up their initial notions there about classical authors, integrating them at the level of the obvious. And there is no category more bound up in ideology than "the obvious." Through emphasis and omission, euphemistic gloss, decorous circumlocution, and selective appeal to scholarship, school editions and cribs acculturate their consumers to a particular view of ancient authors' character and style (two concepts often presented as inseparable to the point of tautology), and of their purposes in writing.

The resulting sense of collaborative cultural ownership is rooted in a sympathetic identification with the ancient author which is demonstrably nation- and class- and gender-specific. It underpins translations which now read as egregious misrepresentations of Juvenal and Persius, but which could in their day claim an active fidelity of spirit by striking the socially "right" balance at a particular cultural moment. This rhetoric is all the stronger for being shared. Translators, commentary-writers, and authors of popular handbooks to the classics replicate and endorse each others' pronouncements, and digging beneath the surface can reveal hidden connections and sympathies in nineteenth-century literary and educational culture. By way of an example, let us consider an edition by E.G. Hardy, published by Macmillan for use in schools.

DECIMI JUNII JUVENALIS SATURAE XIII
THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

Hardy's Juvenal, of which this is the title page (Hardy (1886) iii), is one of a flurry of Juvenal editions published in the 1880s for educational use. It does not supply an English rendition of the satirist's text: schoolboys should be learning to construe the Latin for themselves, with expert guidance (explanatory notes, word-list and appendices) but ideally without the aid of a crib. Besides, Macmillan already had on their books Leeper's perfectly good translation of these exact same Satires. Nonetheless, Hardy's title page is already engaged in translation, or rather what looks like bare-faced mistranslation. SATURAE XIII becomes, in English, *THE SATIRES* (my emphases).

Covertly censoring a poet's works by passing off a mutilated selection as his or her complete corpus was common throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth (Perrin (1992) 198–205), so few readers would have been fooled even if "XIII" had not given the game away. As it is, the young

reader can quickly check what is missing by consulting the table of contents (Hardy (1886) vii). *Satires* 2, 6, and 9, by now very much the usual suspects, have been cut, leaving behind what Leeper ((1882) iii, my emphasis) was already calling “the thirteen *Satires usually read in schools and colleges*.”

The following year, Pearson and Strong’s Clarendon Press two-volume *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* (1887) was to plough the same furrow, omitting the same three satires and, just like Hardy, expurgating enthusiastically in others. (In the first *Satire*, hardly a racy poem, they omit ten lines: 37–41 (toy-boys), 55–57 (cuckolds), 84 (naked girls), and 131 (urinating on a statue); in the third, thirteen lines; and so on.) This is not simply for the protection of minors as we would nowadays define them: universities still stood *in loco parentis* to their charges, and Pearson and Strong ((1887) I 7) were concerned to safeguard the moral climate at those “modern” institutions that taught Latin while also admitting women to read for degrees. These editors differ from Hardy in their explicit candor, but their immediate predecessor had also flagged up the bowdlerized nature of his text in terms that would be read plainly by a potential adult purchaser and probably also (by habituation) by the book’s juvenile users. To announce that an edition of a canon text was intended for school or family use was a commonly acknowledged code for wholesale expurgation, and the mid-nineteenth century in particular saw a craze for “Family Library” series by John Murray and other publishers (Perrin (1992) 22, 61–65, 178–79). With experienced translators for the juvenile market, externally imposed censorship “was not really needed: they knew what was expected of them, and translated accordingly” (Pedersen (2008) 309).

21.4 Translation, Scholarship, and Cultural Ownership

In printing the same thirteen satires, all three of these 1880s student editions follow the lead of a nationally prestigious work of scholarship. First published in 1853 and based on Otto Jahn’s new Latin text, J.E.B. Mayor’s edition of these thirteen poems conclusively asserted Britain’s ownership of the author who, along with Horace, had inspired its native tradition in verse satire. It went through numerous imprints and four editions, the last appearing in 1886. Mayor’s compendious learning now lends itself to gentle mockery (LaFleur (1984) 257), but is still valued by professional Latinists. Writers of school editions of the later nineteenth century prostrated themselves before the *ne plus ultra* of Juvenalian studies: “all that can be done for the explanation and illustration of the subject-matter has already been done by Professor Mayor in his great edition . . . that treasure of learning” (Duff (1887) 155).

The sub-scholarly responses of these textbook-editors need to be borne in mind because an identical rhetoric underpins the editorial comments of contemporary translators into English. Mayor's text and notes could hardly be improved upon, "leav[ing], indeed, little for any future editor to add," and the one translation he had essayed, of the tenth Satire – "a masterpiece in itself" – set the bar high for those who toiled in its shadow (Leeper (1882) iii–iv). Already famously imitated by Samuel Johnson in his "The Vanity of Human Wishes," this Satire had long been deemed the most English in spirit of Juvenal's works: reassertion of its cultural ownership shored up national pride. Mayor's scholarly *magnum opus* was glossed as a patriotic rebuttal of "the contemptuous silence with which German critics too often pass over English editions of the classics" (Leeper (1882) iii), a silence which was held to wound Britons deeply.

By strong implication, a definitive edition trademarked its ancient author for the vernacular reception tradition of the nation which had produced it, including translations and versions as well as original works inspired by his genius. Britain had invested very heavily in a Juvenal who was "one of us," and Mayor's monument of philology gave this superstructure an unshakeable foundation. Translation, schoolbook, crib, and commentary cited and name-checked one another assiduously, creating a discourse of consensus on Juvenal's British virtues that connected major scholarship to national literary tradition, and which disseminated the lessons of the Latin classroom to the more cheaply educated man in the street. The deliberations and pronouncements of translators' prefaces lent additional weight to the source text's claim to be regarded as a "Classic," which in turn maximized the cultural capital of the translators' own endeavors. This effect was reinforced when other purportedly scholarly features were worked into the translators' editorial apparatus, such as footnotes (Hayes (2009) 221).

The introduction to Peter Green's ((1967) 53) Penguin Classics of Juvenal, still in print, quotes a Victorian popularizer of the classics (Mackail (1895)) by way of a Victorian school edition (Duff (1898)):

J.W. Mackail wrote a paragraph [on *Satire* 3] in his *Latin Literature* which I can no more resist quoting than could Duff.

The drip of water from the aqueduct that passed over the gate from which the dusty, squalid Appian way stretched through its long suburb; the garret under the tiles, where, just as now, the pigeons sleeked themselves in the sun . . .

Green's Penguin is by now in its third edition and has undergone repeated revision, but Mackail's paragraph is still there. For readers who learn how to read ancient authors from their translators' introductions (and this includes many school and university students looking for a shortcut to

examination knowledge), a centuries-long relay race is thus perpetuated into the present day.

21.5 Juvenal for Britain! (Frequently and in Several Sizes)

Translation . . . is fundamentally ethnocentric. Most literary [translation] projects are initiated in the domestic culture, where a foreign text is selected to satisfy different tastes from those that motivated its composition and reception in its native culture. And the very function of translating is assimilation . . . presenting to domestic readers a realistic representation inflected with their own codes and ideologies as if it were an immediate encounter with a foreign text and culture. (Venuti (1998) 11–12)

For the majority of anglophone readers, Juvenal in Latin was now (and surely forever) the Juvenal of Mayor; and Mayor meant expurgation. The Cantabrigian gravitas and sheer heft of Mayor's two-volume Juvenal declared its completism, as we have already seen Duff ((1887) 155) acknowledge ("all that can be done . . ."). By strong implication, nothing could be done with the three excluded, "problem" Satires. Detailed disagreement over where to wield the scissors (e.g. Duff (1887) 154) reflected close general agreement on the need to do so. The task of the post-Mayoral exegete of Juvenal was merely to decide how to abridge and simplify what the great man had said so that not just schoolboys but, through translation, the general public could benefit from a fraction of his erudition (cf. Housman (1903) 466; Leeper (1882) iii). Mayor's own reduced version, the thoroughly expurgated *Juvenal for Schools*, appeared in four slim volumes in 1879; long out of copyright, it is still frequently reprinted to this day.

In evident contrast to the butchered school editions, notionally complete translations were appearing. One of these was that included in the eccentric production by John Delaware Lewis, discussed in section 21.2. Lewis was swimming against the tide of Mayor-worship, and knew it. His chosen response was to ignore it and hope it would go away. With perverse brio, he asserts in his Preface that he has not consulted the great man's edition because the bookshops never seem to have it in stock. In its place he has been happy to rely on a school-level commentary by the Rev. Maclean (2nd edn. 1867), "and three [other] school-books," in establishing his own text. His favourite among these is Maclean, "an editor of masculine judgement" whom he rhetorically opposes to a rival whose work is spoiled by "over-acuteness" (Lewis (1873) 5) – an enthusiasm for erudite hidden meanings. This sets up a concluding passage in which functional, learning-directed commentary is

rhetorically contrasted to Mayor's directionless and self-indulgent major edition: "a vast sea of citations and excursions" which "smother[s]" rather than reveals Juvenal's plain sense and stern intent, and thus fails the manliness test ((1873) 6).

In situating himself primarily within an explanatory context of contemporary school-level commentaries, Lewis sets out to justify his complete translation in terms of pedagogic utility. Translators with a more overtly literary focus were able to cite instead a landmark of Britain's literary tradition: William Gifford's verse translation of all sixteen satires (1802), an undeniably important work to which they typically paid explicit homage. Although he was never a professional scholar (he spent most of his career in journalism), Gifford had himself been a successful writer of topical verse satire after the manner of the Romans. English satire had already established itself as an elevated literary form and gentlemanly pursuit, and early translations of its Latin models were not seen as artistically or ideologically distinct from original composition: "the native tradition existed in a constant and complex symbiosis with the satirical writing of the ancient world" (Hopkins (2005) 218). Translations were part of elite discourse and were sometimes tweaked to intervene in contemporary politics (Combe (1989); Hopkins (2005) 229–30, 233; briefly, Hayes (2009) 100).

Since Gifford's day, too, the prestige of the translator as a source of cultural authority and arbiter of style, equally in command of both literary traditions (received and receiving), had been hotly talked up by Thomas Arnold among others. Arnold stipulated that the successful translator must first identify where the source text sits in its native literary tradition, and then find an equivalent author in the target language's own literary tradition to serve as a stylistic model. If Virgil was Rome's Chaucer, a translation of Virgil must read like Chaucer (Stark (1999) 119–20). This was a tall order, and few translators can really have possessed the bi- (or even tri-) cultural mastery to pull it off with complete conviction, but its mere presence as a transcendent aim dignified the translator's vocation.

Gifford's perceived sympathy of spirit led to him being presented as a weighty authority on the ancient satirists generally, and Juvenal in particular. Although passed over in silence in his Preface, where he is not rhetorically useful as a literary ancestor, it is to Gifford that John Lewis first turns when, for instance, he needs information on how Roman brothels were laid out internally, and how customers selected from the bill of fare ((1873) 329, on *Satire* 6.122). Only then does he deign to invoke Martial (11.45) as corroboration. Although "only" a secondary source, Gifford is considered weightier in his authority than a primary text by a frequently obscene ancient author who had toadied to the tyrant Domitian, affronting the love of Liberty which the British liked to think they shared with the "best" Roman

authors. That he was a journalist and not a professional scholar probably helped: he had made his own way in the world of men's affairs, and this lent him the authority of lived experience. More drastically, Gifford's biography of Juvenal is presented verbatim as the introduction to Arnold and Mongan's literal crib (Arnold and Mongan (1888) 5–8) in the cheap paperback series, Kelly's Keys to the Classics, prefaced only by a seven-line introductory paragraph acclaiming their predecessor's genius. Kelly's Keys was one of many such series of materially and academically thin booklets, including a second series from the same publisher (Dr Giles's Keys) which covered many of the same texts, Juvenal included. Cribes of this kind were fairly explicitly marketed as cheat-sheets for the struggling schoolboy – and perhaps also implicitly as adolescent titillation, since they promised to decipher the racier passages and poems which schoolboys knew they would never meet in class, and on which the commentaries were stubbornly silent.

Serving instead the mainstream adult market, the Rev. Lewis Evans's prose translation of Juvenal, Persius, "Sulpicia II" (a late antique literary forgery ascribed to a probably fictitious contemporary Sulpicia praised by Martial), and Lucilius first appeared in 1852, and was much reprinted (my own copy dates to 1914). Its publisher was the bookseller and entrepreneur, Henry George Bohn. His Classical (or sometimes "Classic") Library of ancient authors in translation was one of several uniform series to appear under his editorial headline, including antiquarian and scientific imprints. Although Bohn himself was later bought out, the series continued to bear his name. Handsome and durable, the Bohn Classics were well priced (if not exactly cheap) at a standard five shillings, and many copies survive. They may justly be considered the ancestor of today's Penguin Classics (Rota (1998) 219–20, with further bibliography). Evans's preface boldly asserted the literary status of his verse predecessors, particularly Dryden and Gifford, whose versions were presented as unambiguously integral to the nation's vernacular literary tradition ((1852) iii). Once again Gifford's life of Juvenal was presented verbatim, and the earlier translator's verse renditions of both Juvenal and Persius were presented in full at the end of the book, taking up over a quarter of the entire volume ((1852) 369–512).

It presumably helped that Gifford was out of copyright, and his inclusion gave Evans's volume a physical heft similar to that of other Bohn offerings, but his version is also justly hailed as "having the greatest hold on the public favour, and as being perhaps the best, because the most equal" (Evans (1852) iv) – that is to say, Gifford retained popularity by not only making a pretty rhyme but also relatively faithfully representing what Juvenal had written. (This was a common judgment: William Ramsay ((1849) 690) praised it as "faithful and scholar-like"; Hodgson (1807) i, as "uncommonly faithful and meritorious.") Through Evans, Gifford thus stayed in print well into the twentieth century,

retaining sufficient currency in anglophone literary culture that his was the version chosen (with minimal typographical updating) for the mass-market Everyman series (Gifford (1954)). By this roundabout route an 1802-vintage translation lived on in paperback into the 1990s, leapfrogging the racy and self-consciously modern Oxford World's Classics of Niall Rudd (1991; still in print), and prefaced by a sparkling new introduction by Susanna Braund (Gifford (1992)). With its loose talk of *personae*, the latter summarily dismissed every assumption about Juvenal which Gifford's and Evans's nineteenth-century readers had held dear.

21.6 Reading (Gifford Through) Evans

To raise a laugh at vice, however, (supposing it feasible,) is not the legitimate object of Satire, which is to hold up the vicious, as objects of reprobation and scorn, for the example of others, who may be deterred by their sufferings. (Gifford at Evans (1852) xxi)

The Bohn edition did not merely reproduce Gifford's translation and biography of Juvenal: it reproduced his discursive views on the whole genre of ancient Latin satire, presenting his 1802 preamble ("An Essay on the Roman Satirists") whole and verbatim by way of a substantial introduction (Evans (1852) xii–xxxviii). Well into the twentieth century, then, an essentially eighteenth-century view of the development and aims of the satiric genre (Gifford had begun his translation of Juvenal as an undergraduate student at Oxford in the early 1780s) was still being presented to a mass readership as authoritative. Gifford's views usefully justified publishing a Juvenal and Persius who were simultaneously "complete" and subtly bowdlerized.

Addressing the problem of obscenity in Juvenal also enabled Gifford to establish rhetorical clear water between the methods, aims, and life circumstances of the two imperial Latin satirists. Viewed through the prism of biography, the fact that Persius and Juvenal were both sometimes obscene could now be used to prove that they had little or nothing in common – a paradox, but one of considerable convenience when Juvenal was "our" poet and Persius was not. This rhetorical sleight of hand assigned very different stylistic and moral meaning to the two authors. Juvenal's obscenities were outbursts of indignation at the vices he saw around him, and made him the prototypical English gentleman, dedicated to a characteristically English and gentlemanly ideal of Liberty (Wahrmann (1999) 4).

Conversely, Persius' childish fixation on much the same set of dirty words revealed his immaturity and lack of life experience. They also pigeonholed him

as part of a morally unsavory foreign and frequently “enemy” literary tradition, the French. That the French reading public was already being stereotyped as “somewhat Neronian in taste” – prurient and sensationalist – chimed perfectly with Persius’ secure dating as a contemporary of the original Nero (Roberts (2008) 294). Gildersleeve ((1875) xviii) dismissively concedes that Persius may barely be worth reading, “if only as a problem of [modern] literary taste,” because of his influence on a predominantly French list of authors headed by Rabelais.

That the French had chosen the wrong stylistic model reflected their defective national character, but also damned Persius by association and made him ethically problematic as a prospect for translation into English. French style and content proverbially made a text particularly dangerous for youthful and non-elite readers – post-Revolution, one only had to look to France’s recent history to see the chaos their radical ideas could bring about (Pedersen (2008) 309). A translator keen on euphemism or loose paraphrase could use the Nero connection for leverage, specifically attaching the vices described in Persius’ text to the first-century Antichrist and thus justifying the drawing of a discreet veil. As the documented sins of a hideous historical one-off, these acts had no applicability to the morals of the present day (Frost (1968) 84).

By contrast, Juvenal’s obscenity was justified (in his time) because it directly expressed his manly decency. A man of experience who saw the world clearly for what it was, he was inevitably provoked to outrage by the sins of pagan Rome. His aim was to castigate transgressions, particularly of “natural” gendered behaviour (Depravity, thy name is woman):

When we consider the unnatural vices at which Juvenal directs his indignation . . . [and] when I find that his views are to render depravity loathsome; that every thing which can alarm and disgust is directed at her [*sic*] in his terrible page, I forget the grossness of the execution in the excellence of the design; and pay my involuntary homage to that integrity, which fearlessly calling in strong description to the aid of virtue, attempts to purify the passions, at the hazard of wounding delicacy and offending taste. (Gifford at Evans (1852) xxx–xxx)

Persius, on the other hand, lacked manly character. This pale bookworm had lacked the moral backbone to acknowledge the real depravities occurring beyond the Stoic cloister:

while he grew pale over the pages of Zeno, and Cleanthes, and Chrysippus; while he imbibed, with all the ardour of a youthful mind, the paradoxes of those great masters, together with their principles, the foundations of civil society were crumbling around him, and soliciting his attention in vain. (Gifford at Evans (1852) xxii)

Back to his school let moral Persius fly,
 And vainly preach the Stoic's apathy;
 The world's great master trembles on his throne
 At lofty Juvenal's undaunted tone.
 No dogmas of the porch his bosom guide,
 No grave Cornutus lectures at his side . . .

(Hodgson (1807) Prologue, xxxviii)

By this reckoning Persius was no true satirist at all, and his obscenity (which Gifford actually does not address) could only be excused with regret, however much it might superficially resemble Juvenal's own. Subsequent translators and commentators amplified Gifford's rhetoric, tying an increasingly boyish Persius ever more firmly to the maternal apron-strings. (Cf. in this volume Richlin, page 472, on textbook-editors' rhetorical cordoning-off of obscenity in Horace as an identifying trait of his juvenilia.) Indeed, British schoolboys (of whatever age) would immediately have recognized his over-mothered, sick-bed piety as a stereotype of the juvenile fiction written about and for them, and particularly Thomas Arnold's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (on which see Bristow (1991) 61–64). Juvenal is a physically robust and morally steadfast Tom Brown, impatient of cant and nonsense; Persius is a George Arthur, a pale and over-sensitive consumptive who prays constantly and for whom adolescence is the end of the line. For all his hectic pallor, he was slow to die: translators' prefaces would not let him. To this day, the Persius of the Penguin Classics retains "a very gentle disposition and a young girl's modesty," spends his short life in the philosophical cloister, and is "devoted to his female relatives" (Rudd (1973) 15). Morally tinged qualities such as gender – and sometimes also ethnicity (Gildersleeve (1875) viii blames Persius' loose morals on his Etruscan blood) – thus map onto notionally stylistic qualities including complexity and register; and vice versa.

The practical upshot is successively winnowed and vagued-up translations. At the start of the nineteenth century, and despite his protestations of decorum, Gifford can render a notorious problem passage in Persius 4 (37–41, on genital depilation) with exuberant enthusiasm. His verse scheme enforces a loose translation strategy, which creates space for creative naughtiness (my emphases in both these passages):

Why, while the beard is nurst with every art,
 Those anxious pains to bare *the shameful part?*
 In vain: – should five athletic knaves essay
 To pluck, with ceaseless care, the weeds away,
 Still the rank fern, congenial to the soil,
 Would spread luxuriant, and defeat their toil!

Evans, exactly a half-century on and in prose, is lexically closer to Persius' Latin until obscenity emerges:

While you comb the perfumed hair on your cheeks, why are you closely shorn *elsewhere*? when, though five wrestlers pluck out the weeds, the rank fern will yield to no amount of toil.

"Perfumed hair" gets a nine-line explanatory footnote, unpacking the Latin and presenting Greek parallels; "elsewhere" is left unglossed. The shift into misdirecting vagueness makes the immediately ensuing talk of wrestlers and ferns very hard to figure out . . . except that it doesn't, because Evans's Bohn has packed in Gifford at the back, and "the shameful part" makes the meaning plain as day, while also delivering a little bonus to those readers who did have a classical education (recalling the Greek euphemism for genitalia, τό αἰδοῖον).

Throughout the Bohn translation's very long commercial shelf-life, its readers could thus compare and contrast "old" and "new" English versions, much as more Latinate readers might check an English translation against the classic text, to see what had changed between "then" and "now." Through a show of (what could be passed off as) irreproachable deference to Gifford as an English literary classic, Evans teased his readers, giving them the tools to look back (some of the way) past his own tactically prudent modern vagueness. One could even call the "Evans" of the Bohn a self-deconstructing *persona* . . . much like the "Juvenal" of Juvenal's *Satires*, as read by theory-aware Latinists since the 1990s (the classic formulation being Braund (1989a)).

21.7 Manly Vigour and Gentlemanly Decorum

That the poet execrated the crime here exposed, none can hesitate to believe who read the satire in the original, where he has had recourse to the most bare and revolting exposure; a course to which, in translating, we have necessarily adopted the opposite. (Badham (1837) 134, on the ninth Satire)

The Persius of Victorian rhetoric was not a real satirist, not a real Roman, not a real man; not "one of us." Translators and commentary-writers unite in constructing him as the antithesis to Juvenal, the virile prototype of British satire, whose strong language always expressed sound morals – "even in his most repulsive pictures . . . he depicts vice only to scourge it." Unlike Persius, who hid from the world in the niceties of Stoic doctrine, this Juvenal looked to Rome's ancient *mos maiorum* to regenerate a race which, had he but known it, was already predestined to decline and fall (Hardy (1886) xvi–xvii). (Mildly

secularized, this angry and despairing prophet lives on in the Penguin Classics (Green (1967) 63, and cf. 33–35): “when his minatory voice dies away there is nothing left but to sit in silence, and listen to Gibbon’s great rhetorical epitaph on a nation that sold its soul.”)

As the examples cited by Frost ((1968) 80–1) entertainingly illustrate, translators saw nothing wrong in altering the sense of Persius’ text to include explicit references to Stoic teachings, where none existed in the Latin. Reared on the school textbooks’ hackneyed explanations of Persius’ un-Juvenal-like purpose – themselves largely derived from the pronouncements of his eminent early translator, Dryden (see Osgood and Braund in this volume, Chapter 18) – they came to the text expecting a clear religio-philosophic agenda, whose doctrine they faithfully (if from our point of view entirely fictitiously) unpacked in appropriate detail so that the modern reader would get the point (Hopkins (2005) 228–29). Readers who then came to Persius through these translations found an ancient author whose frequent and explicit references to Stoic doctrine were exactly what they had been led to expect, whether by their own school studies or from reading translators’ prefaces which delivered more of the same.

Stoicism had been replaced by a better doctrine (Christianity), so a technically minded Persius had nothing to teach the present day – unlike Juvenal, whose view of morals and the social good was held to be common-sensical (always a marker of ideological pressure) and thus timeless (likewise). Where bookish Persius was artificial and “obscure” (a familiar theme of translators’ and commentary-writers’ prefaces, set in stone by the hugely influential Dryden), Juvenal spoke the plain truth in plain words. The style was the man (and still is, for Green (1967) 43). A fellow-traveler to Christianity although too conventionally “good” a Roman to fall for the new cult from the East (Pearson and Strong (1887) I 22–23, 27), he hated the sin, not the sinner:

It is the grim earnest of the teacher, determined that what is trivial and grotesque shall be lashed, before a heavier scourge descends upon what is wicked. (Pearson and Strong (1887) I 19)

Where Persius was “toothless,” Juvenal’s satiric scourge had real bite. (This long-lived rhetorical opposition (I quote Highet (1949a) 311) further naturalized the Romans within English satirical tradition; “biting” and “toothless” evoke the terminology of the late Elizabethan satirists, Joseph Hall and John Marston (on whom see Hooley and Gillespie in this volume, Chapters 15 and 17).

At the same time, the strands of this whip could not be delineated in every detail. The classical past was a foreign country, with some peculiar customs, and the occasional rude word did not disqualify the most British of the Romans

from honorary membership in “our” literary tradition. After all, Chaucer swore too (a point made by Gifford at Evans (1852) xxxiv, additionally blaming Roman potty-mouths on antique ritual and failure to invent trousers). Chaucer too was reckoned to need the help of a translator to address modern readers intelligibly. That Dryden had translated both Chaucer and Juvenal helped embed the Roman author in English literary tradition, alongside his other pet authors, Ovid, Homer, Lucretius, and Virgil (Tomlinson (2003) 3, and cf. discussion by Roberts (2008) 282). Clearly these Roman and antique British authors had not been improper by the standards of their own times. Since then, however, standards of lexical propriety had grown more exacting:

but shame and sorrow on the head of him, who presumes to transfer [Juvenal’s] grossness into the vernacular tongue! . . . Though the poet be given entire, I have endeavoured to make him speak as he would probably have spoken if he had lived among us; when, refined with the age, he would have fulminated against impurity in terms, to which, though delicacy might disavow them, manly decency might listen without offence. (Gifford at Evans (1852) xxxiv–xxxv)

Purifying Juvenal through translation was thus presented as a service to the author – indeed, as the best and only fidelity. The vehemence of his obscenity proved (however paradoxically) that Roman Juvenal had been outstandingly manly and decent by the standards of his own time; therefore (and piling paradox upon paradox) the only way to translate him faithfully was to omit or euphemize that same obscenity. Purification preserved intact the elevated register and tone assigned by modernity to Juvenal’s Latin, a task at which a more strictly literal translation was bound to fail. (An interesting counter-example is Dryden, whose translations celebrate and amplify the clash of registers he perceives in Juvenal’s Latin text: Selden (1973) 483–84.)

This essentially Drydenesque view of the translator’s calling (Stark (1999); on the translation controversy in earlier centuries see Selden (1973) 31–32) faithfully transposed Juvenal’s social status from Roman to English gentleman, making only those adjustments necessary to accommodate him to the equivalent of *mos maiorum* in the modern age, when swearing was a habit of the lower social orders. Since Juvenal was now stereotyped as an ancient moralist, a loose and euphemistic translation was faithful to his original intent; it allowed him to continue his mission in the present day, by assigning him a clear moral-cum-social identity. Translators’ rhetoric presented literal translation of ancient obscenity as socially dangerous: the dirty-mouthed working classes might mistakenly see the ancient author as “one of them,” misattributing to his text the capacity to articulate their own grievances (Roberts (2008) 289–90 (on Petronius), 296 (on Martial)).

Since Juvenal in particular had been the model of Britain's own satirical tradition, it could thus be presented as obvious common sense to translate both him and Persius after the manner of their own latter-day imitators in English. Translators made a rhetorical point of assuming responsibility, on behalf of their culture, for finding approximate modern-day equivalents to the particular persons, social groups, and deviant behaviors being targeted in the original. This demonstrated their own virtuosity as adapters, as well as freeing the reader from the labor of puzzling out obscure references to ancient custom. It was also an act of fidelity: Juvenal had set out to be topical, declaring at the start of *Satire* 1 (1–14) his detestation for antiquarian allusion which dodged present-day social concerns. (“[Latin] satire furnishes arguments for adaptive translation”: Hayes (2009) 79.) Free adaptation enabled his virile spirit to speak the same simple and unchanging moral message to his fellow men of the modern age – and this, after all, was the whole point of satire.

Gifford's definition of “entire” is therefore immediately qualified:

Where vice, of whatever nature, formed the immediate object of reprobation, it has not been spared in the translation; but I have sometimes taken the liberty of omitting an exceptionable line, when it had no apparent connexion with the subject of the Satire. *Some acquaintance with the original* will be necessary to discover these lacunae. (Gifford at Evans (1852) xxxv, my emphasis)

As Latin's old cultural ubiquity receded, however, and the market for translations broadened with the rise of the middle class and the availability of increasingly affordable imprints (beginning with the Bohn series and getting cheaper by the decade: Rota (1998) 221–25), “acquaintance with the original” became increasingly small. Translators were therefore all the more at liberty to create an idiom for Persius and Juvenal which chimed with the rhetoric of their prefaces – a rhetoric which they shared with the other active stakeholders in the vernacular reception of the Roman satirists, and which marked out Juvenal (in contrast to Persius) as an English classic.

21.8 Juvenal, Horace . . . and Persius

A rhetorically implicit consequence of his Neronian date is that Persius is “late.” Particularly in the mass culture of the late nineteenth century, but continuing well into the twentieth, Nero figuratively embodies the complete and final moral collapse of imperial Rome. Everyone's favourite Antichrist, he stands at the end-point of the Empire's progressive decline from its brief golden age under Augustus: he is a harbinger, announcing the destined and imminent coming of the new Christian dispensation.

Dryden studiously misdirects to imply that Persius is “late” – and that Juvenal is not. Instead Juvenal should be placed with Horace in period, as in the correctness of his style:

Then, as [Persius’] Verse is scabrous and hobbling, and his Words not every where well chosen, *the purity of Latin being more corrupted, than in the time of Juvenal, and consequently of Horace, who writ when the language was in the height of its perfection*; so his diction is hard; his Figures are generally too bold and daring; and his Tropes, particularly his Metaphors, insufferably strain’d. (Chambers and Frost (1974) 51, my emphasis)

Persius’ case is not helped by the brevity of his text, which is much too short to justify the publication of a dedicated mass-market translation. The simplest solution is to pair him with a second author, the obvious candidates being Horace or Juvenal. Because of his declared inferiority, Persius almost always becomes . . . “and Persius,” second fiddle to Horace or Juvenal interchangeably, regardless of relative chronology.

In this way, successive translations tacitly reinforce the reading public’s impression of Persius as a degenerate latecomer to the satiric party, simply by the order in which they name and present their authors. Thus the current Penguin by Niall Rudd is *The Satires of Horace and Persius* (1973). Horace predates Persius, so this seems fair enough, but successive Loeb’s have taken the title Juvenal and Persius, as have Gifford’s much-reprinted translation and numerous others. Translators almost always tuck Persius away at the back of the book. An intriguing exception is the current Loeb by Braund, who differs from Ramsay in presenting Persius first in her text, like Clausen in his Oxford Classical Text – but Ramsay’s old title is retained, at the publisher’s insistence.

An established set of rhetorical oppositions keeps Persius subordinate within these volumes. We have seen how Persius is established as an inferior Other to Juvenal – feminized where the later poet is virile, “toothless” where Juvenal is biting, and so on. Similar oppositions place him as a second-rate successor to Horace. Persius imitates, where Horace created original art; Horace rose from humble origins through talent, but Persius is a wealthy and privileged dabbler; Persius is over-earnest, Horace is playful. However, this ludic character does not make Horace at all inferior to Juvenal: instead it creates a necessary balance to his moral seriousness. Like Juvenal, Horace was deeply embedded in the British satirical tradition – Jonson in particular was famously Horatian (Moul (2010)) – and this rhetoric of the two authors’ ancient complementarity has their future career as English literary models firmly in mind. Where Juvenal is “savage,” Horace is “smiling”: his moderate personality rounds out and humanizes Latin satire’s moral message, ready for

us to inherit and update. The humane Horace of Rudd's Penguin ((1973) 13), semi-explicitly opposed to Juvenal the serious reformer, is a case in point. (On the typical terminology see Hopkins (2005) 219.)

Persius does however come out ahead from "... and Persius" in one important way. The practice generates a lot of Persius translations. Put at its simplest, one "Juvenal and Persius" plus one "Horace and Persius" adds up to one Juvenal, one Horace, and two Persiuses. The reality is not quite so simple: Juvenal is "big" enough in every sense to be translated solo (e.g. Rudd's 1991 Oxford World's Classics), and Horace's range of published works can be combined in various ways to make up the weight of a full volume (often the *Satires* are paired with the *Epistles*). Nonetheless, and however begrudging the implicit rhetoric of ranking may be (as typically also in the explicit rhetoric of translators' introductions), Persius' purported marginalization has long been given the lie. Judged purely by the relative numbers of translations being published, he has never noticeably lagged behind the genre's alleged leading pair (Frost (1968) 77–78 and 83; Rudd (1973) 14–15).

21.9 Ramsay's Loeb

The greatest satirist, and one of the greatest moralists, of the world ... [Juvenal] grapples with the real things of life. (Ramsay (1918) v, xxxii)

After all, most of what occurs when an amateur reads a Latin author is the taking over of meanings established by learned commentators. (Mason (1963) 94, citing the example of Ramsay)

The old Loeb of Juvenal and Persius by George Ramsay (1918), now superseded by Braund (2004b), encapsulates many of these rhetorical traits. This facing-text version by a reputable scholar of the early twentieth century demonstrates with unusual clarity the modern translator's continuity of discourse with that of previous generations of reception history. In Ramsay's admittedly atypical case, the rhetorical characterizations of Juvenal and Persius are additionally a family affair (Ramsay (1918) vi). An emeritus Professor of Humanity (Glasgow's established Chair in Latin), Ramsay worked up his introduction from lecture notes he had inherited along with his uncle William's Chair in 1863. In turn, Ramsay Senior would appear to have recycled a set of rhetorical commonplaces familiar from Gifford, in or out of Evans's Bohn. During his long tenure of the Chair of Humanity Ramsay summed up these hand-me-down views in an entry on Juvenal for *Smith's Classical Dictionary*. Ramsay Senior's Juvenal, a moralist of "uncompromising sternness" who launched "energetic ... attacks upon

vice,” was best read in Charles Badham’s translation – “at least [in its] second edition, published in Valpy’s *Family Classical Library*,” an edition which in introducing the sixth Satire had insisted that ladies should come no nearer Juvenal than Dr. Johnson’s imitations, for the sake of their reputations (Ramsay (1849) 689, my emphasis; Badham (1837) 79).

Digging further into the Ramsay family saga turns up connections with several of the publishing projects we have met over the course of this chapter, revealing a network of translators-cum-commentators who were all singing from the same hymn-sheet, figuratively and at times pretty much literally. Herbert Strong (of Pearson and Strong’s 1887 school-edition double act) was Ramsay Junior’s professorial assistant at Glasgow from 1866 to 1871 before relocating to Melbourne in 1872. There he teamed up with Alexander Leeper, a lay canon of Saint Paul’s Cathedral, whose silent partner he became in the 1882 translation of Juvenal that appeared under the latter’s name, anonymously helping to translate the same poems on which he would co-author a properly credited commentary five years later.

Bolstered by this supportive social network, the Ramsays’ Juvenal is an old-fashioned Roman moralist, “an ardent admirer of the simple and hardy virtues of ancient Rome,” who unflinchingly records the wickedness of his age in accurate detail ((1918) xxxiii–xxxiv, xxxv). In making a stern example of “the seamy side” of ancient life, he crafts a series of timeless ethical lessons equally applicable to our modern age ((1918) xxxvi). Sometimes the satirist is compelled to use strong language to excoriate vice, and there is no denying his staunch moral intent in doing so, for all that the translator is obliged to tone it down ((1918) vi–vii). Indeed, some of the vices described by Juvenal cannot even be named in the English of the modern exegete. Ramsay takes a standard nineteenth-century commentator’s view, for instance, of the ninth Satire: it “deals with a disgusting offence, one of the main sources of corruption in the ancient world.” The wording here is very close to, for instance, Maclean ((1867) 216). Since to unpack “disgusting” would be disgusting, Ramsay’s plot-summary of *Satire 9* is compelled to brevity, especially when compared to the ten pages lavished on the wife-bashing sixth Satire ((1918) lii–lxii, cf. lxiv). Ramsay is an earnest advocate of *Satire 6*’s importance and “merits,” and again follows mid-Victorian precedent (Maclean ((1867) 106) in detecting topical moral applicability as well as literary quality. (We recall Lewis (1873) on unisex pools; commenting on 6.511–41, too, he warns that modern women are just as susceptible to “rites and priests and the *modus operandi* of the priests themselves” as those of Juvenal’s day.)

The Ramsays’ Persius, in contrast, is “a student, a recluse, full of youthful enthusiasm, living in a retired atmosphere under the shelter of loving female relatives, and with no knowledge of the outside life of the world beyond

what could be gathered from the lectures of his Stoic instructors. His world is not the living world of Rome, but the world of books" ((1918) xxxiii). The pious, sickly, over-mothered juvenile ("a poet of the closet") who knows nothing of the world beyond his books of Stoic doctrine – all the familiar tropes are here, including Persius' servile imitation of Horace's manly originality.

Like some previous translators, Ramsay Junior gives us Juvenal and Persius "as a whole" – but "whole" turns out to mean censored, as so often before, and we are assured that even the Latin text is only given in its entirety because the format of the series requires it ((1918) vi). In translating the Latin, Ramsay has bowdlerized some lines and omitted others entirely, but this is not presented as a matter of personal choice or of subjective social concern – instead the rhetoric is of objective necessity, again foregrounding the ideology of the obvious. Certain lines incontrovertibly "*have* to be omitted or toned down to meet modern taste" ((1918) vi, my emphasis). (A later holder of Ramsay's chair, C.W. Fordyce, famously attempted to justify a bowdlerized Catullus for the Oxford Reds series in similar terms; the rhetoric carried less weight by 1961.)

Ramsay promises a twofold approach: omissions of content, and adjustments of tone. The latter can be hard to spot. Ramsay is expert in camouflaging lexical obscenity in the Latin with euphemistic vagueness, as some comparisons with Braund's new Loeb make plain. Where the old Loeb translation of Juvenal's sixth Satire offered "their very loves are carried on," which suggests the passing of billets-doux, the modern colloquial version comes ingeniously close to the Latin *concumbunt* (6.191): "they get laid." Ramsay's rendering of *adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine uoluae* (6.129), "with passion still raging hot within," successfully obscured the sense of *tentigo*, *uulua*, and *rigidus* – the majority of the Latin. Braund's version, "still burning with her clitoris hot and stiff," sticks it to the older Loeb good and hard.

Translating *uulua* as "clitoris" makes excellent lexical sense of what Juvenal has written (Adams (1982) 103–4) while also working with the contemporary sexual knowledge of the receiving culture. Ramsay's paraphrase of *uulua* – "within" – addresses a very different cultural encyclopedia. It hints from a shared male perspective at the mysteries of the female body, alluring but also frightening ("within" is a chaos of tubes and fluids); and it assigns rational self-control exclusively to the male. Like Lewis's exclamatory supplement to 6.318, "within them!" it responds viscerally to female sexuality run amuck. Ramsay accurately and explicitly places his Messalina in a brothel, just as in Juvenal's Latin – but then makes her blaze inside, like Virgil's tragic Dido (*uriturfelixa Dido* ("unlucky Dido blazes"), at *Aeneid* 4.69, part of an extended description). This packs in a new subtext, and one highly appropriate to nineteenth-century conceptions of Nero's reign as

apocalyptic. Like Dido in *Aeneid* 4, Messalina cannot escape punishment for her sinful sexual choices (*culpa*, *Aen.* 4.19 and 172); her natural feminine excess of sensibility dooms her to destroy herself.

To hammer the point home, *recessit* (6.130) becomes “went *sorrowfully* away” (my emphasis). This recalls the *infelix* Dido of *Aeneid* 4, but also echoes the familiar Latin literary motif of the dead spirit in the Underworld as a *tristis imago*. (Cf. e.g. *Aen.* 6.695; Ovid *Her.* 6.70; *Met.* 11.427, 15.785; the dim shade of Dido is *infelix* in death as in life, *Aen.* 6.456.) Ramsay’s moralizing spin is also sophisticated literary play. *recessit* is the exact verb-form used by Virgil to describe Dido’s death after her abandonment by Aeneas – *dilapsus calor, atque in uentos uita recessit* (*Aen.* 4.705). Ramsay’s translation implicitly tags Juvenal’s word-choice as a deliberate Virgilian allusion, not previously identified by the major commentators in English. (Macleane does not comment on the line except to say that one editor omits it; Mayor excludes *Satire* 6.)

Actual omissions are a different matter. Because of the peculiar character of the Loeb series, omission can easily rebound on a translator who wishes to direct the reader’s attention away from the rude bits in the original. These robust and affordable volumes have always been popular at universities, and most of the purchasers of a “red” Loeb will have some Latin already (just as purchasers of a “green” Loeb will have some Greek). The facing-text format encourages the student to compare the English version with the classical original, and gaps on the right-hand page draw attention to indecencies on the left. Another early translator of a “problem” text for the Loeb Classical Library, Walter Ker, simply did not translate poems of Martial that he considered immoral, while the merely indecorous verses went into Italian – a time-honored solution (Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 113). This made Martial’s naughty bits extremely easy to find. In a continuous text the omissions can be harder to spot, but there is obviously something salacious going on, for instance, at Persius 4.35 and following: Ramsay’s translation presents an ellipsis (...) where there is none in the Latin (*penemque arcanaque lumbi | runcantem populo marcentis pandere uulvas*, and more in the same vein).

The eye quickly learns to home in on the ellipses, without the necessity of reading the surrounding, non-obscene text. Taking as an example Juvenal’s *Satire* 9, we know there must be something juicy somewhere in the Latin at the foot of page 182, again a few lines later on page 184, and more again early on page 186 – although basic competence in Latin is needed to work out how much is missing in each instance. Even the fairly skilled Latin student of Ramsay’s era, though, might well have given up before figuring out what it all meant. We have seen that Ramsay’s introduction gives no explicit clue, citing only an “offence” too “disgusting” to name in decent

English. An explanatory heading inserted at the start of the poem, “The Sorrows of a Reprobate,” strikes a stern moral tone; but “reprobate” (one whose behavior has earned reproof) could mean almost anything.

Keener students could of course look up the Latin, but the dictionaries commonly available at the time stonewalled them on key terms. Concise dictionaries for school and undergraduate use simply did not have entries for most of these words. *Smith’s Smaller Latin–English Dictionary* (new edn. 1869), for instance, has no entry for *futuo*, *irrumo*, *paedico*, or *tribas*. In *Satire* 6 Ramsay had already translated *cinaedus* (6.O 3) as simply “cinaedus,” maintaining the cultural Otherness of the lexically obscene. (The “O” passage had not of course been a problem for previous translators – not for reasons of censorship, but because it had only been rediscovered a few years previously.) Even Lewis and Short, for a long time the standard large Latin–English dictionary, prioritizes moral denunciation over lexical definition: *paedico* is “to practise unnatural vice,” an *irrumator*, “one who practises beastly obscenity.” (Lewis and Short is now enjoying a new lease on life as the basis of the popular Latin dictionary app Lexidium, so “beastly obscenity” lives on, on smartphones around the world.) The vocabulary of obfuscation was highly conservative. Almost every available dictionary (Smith, Lewis and Short, Cassell) penned in the *cinaedus* with the same two words: “unnatural lust.”

The other large omission in Juvenal’s *Satire* 9, lines 74–78, is not lexically obscene at all: it is conceptually dangerous. By stating the manner in which Juvenal’s speaker Naevolus has given the poem’s patron an heir – getting his wife pregnant, as a favor and at his own request – the passage helps clarify the nature of the latter’s “disgusting offence” as a sexually receptive homosexual. Prior to this passage Ramsay has done his best to disguise this, notably by misleadingly vague translation. *moechus* (25) becomes “gallant,” a euphemism implying traditional forms of high-status heterosexual courtship. Elsewhere Ramsay uses it as a euphemistic but fairly faithful translation of *adulter* ((1918) 217; *OED* B3 “Gallant”). Here it is deployed with a view to muddying the sense and misleading the reader. *mollis* (38) becomes “debauchee.”

In the omitted passage, however, Juvenal’s register is already decorous, and draws a discreet veil: *amplexu rapui* (75), *testis mihi lectulus* (77). (Again, see Adams (1982) 221.) He is much blunter a few lines earlier, where he plainly states that if it had not been for his intervention, *uxor tua uirgo maneret* (72) – which Ramsay translates faithfully as “your wife would still be a maid,” closely echoing the phrasing of Evans’s Bohn ((1852) 98), and indeed Gifford’s older version in verse (Gifford at Evans (1852) 440). The sense of lines 71–72 comes across fairly clearly: Naevolus has sexually serviced the wife as part of his duty as the patron’s *deuotus cliens* (“devoted client” 72). Line 83 subsequently establishes that this sex act has

resulted in the hoped-for pregnancy, and again Ramsay does not hide this. So why miss out lines 74–78?

What is really concealed by omitting lines 74–78 is not the act of sex between Naevolus and the wife, or the resulting pregnancy, but the divorce which it barely averted. This is initiated by the wife, on the grounds of the failure of Naevolus' patron to consummate their union, and with a view to starting over again with a new husband. I quote Braund's translation:

Your bride was actually walking out on you when I grabbed her and embraced her. She'd even destroyed the contract and was already in the process of making a new arrangement.

Gifford had translated all this, loosely but explicitly and with gusto:

Oft in my arms the flying fair I'd caught,
And back to your cold bed, reluctant, brought,
Even when she'd cancelled all her former vows,
And now was signing to another spouse.

So too had Evans, following Juvenal's Latin a little more closely and adding a footnote which explained how it related to Roman divorce practice as reflected in other authors ((1852) 98). For Ramsay, though, the idea that a woman might be within her rights to instigate divorce proceedings and end an unsatisfactory marriage was obscene. Conversely, the idea of a client impregnating his patron's wife as part of their transactionally based relationship of *amicitia* was not obscene, because it was not liable to cause social harm in the present – we do not live in a world of Roman patrons and clients. The Britain of 1918 was, however, a society in which a series of Parliamentary bills, implementing the suggestions of the 1912 Gorrell Commission, had suddenly made divorce practicable for ordinary people in intolerable marriages. An ensuing moral panic addressed exactly those concerns of social class and access to knowledge that we have seen to go hand in hand with literary censorship: if divorce “were allowed to spread amongst the lower orders there would be a disintegration of the family life” (Cornish and Clark (1989) 493–94).

21.10 Conclusion

First you tell the lie, then you make it true. (Perrin (1992) 229)

It is a truism of modern translation studies that what translators say about their principles of practice may not always be what they do as they work through the text (Hayes (2009) 214). Similarly, what they – or commentators, or textual

scholars – report about the literary register, style, or tone of an ancient author may have little to no bearing on the formal qualities of his or her text. (Powell (1999) is both entertaining and revealing on Juvenal’s “style,” as construed on the slenderest of grounds by twentieth-century academia.) However, this makes their presentational rhetoric all the more interesting, as an index of the translator’s felt need to accommodate the source text to the values and preconceptions of the local receiving culture. In the case of a Greek or Latin classic these accommodations can be particularly revealing. The ancient work’s precise status as a literary “classic” is shaped at a local level, by how a particular nation-state situates itself against the template(s) of a transnationally shared “classical” Greco-Roman past.

Valuable though it is, recent scholarship on translation between modern languages tends to assume that the reader of a translation cannot also read the original – that the translator of a work is also the gatekeeper to its unspeakable secrets, able to exercise self-censorship invisibly and to present his or her intended readership with what appears to be a seamless whole (Santaemilia (2008) 164; Guincho (2008) 279; Roberts (2008) 291). There was a time when this was emphatically not the case for translations of Latin authors into English. For centuries, Latinity played a large part in defining the cultural competence (and thus, the status entitlement) of European elites. Latin was an international gentleman’s club, its linguistic rigor underwriting the reliability of character which enabled problem texts to be read without endangering the individual or his society (see Stray (1998)).

Within this elite homosocial reading constituency, accustomed to translating from the classical language into the vernacular and back again, publishing a literary translation of a Latin author was a performance before one’s peers – a staged act of virtuoso cultural transposition and modulation. The “classic” status of the ancient text reliably excused its translation, while in return the translation serviced the ancient text’s “classic” status (Roberts (2008) 285–86). It mattered that these acts of transposition were iterative – not just performances, but constituent parts of a local performance tradition, which (as we have seen) worked to naturalize specified classical authors within the cultural patrimony of the modern nation-state.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the emergence of a mass reading public became central to the social role of translation. As classical scholarship began to professionalize as a discipline, and its stock of ancient authors became increasingly accessible to non-elite audiences, anxieties about mass access to cultural capital generated a rich figurative rhetoric of misdirection which aimed at containing the subversive ideological potential of canon texts. The new explanatory discourse for the masses drew on established scholarly and educational uses of these texts within the local receiving culture – Mayor’s Juvenal (also a source of patriotic pride), or the

editions produced for use at the educational institutions which promised to disseminate the mysterious benefits of a “timeless” elite skill-set, within a world of increasing social mobility driven by commerce (see again Stray, in Further Reading). By setting up non-classically educated readers to approach the text from a predetermined angle, and asserting the timelessness of local contemporary ideology, this discourse both helped and justified translators in (to quote Venuti (1998) 12) “masking the inscription of domestic values” within their work.

FURTHER READING

As a starting point for exploring the issues in translation and censorship relating to classical authors, Deborah Roberts’s chapter (2008) is invaluable. Perrin (1992), not currently in print but easily found as a used buy, is enjoyable and informative on the history of expurgation in England and America; Beisel (1997) looks more deeply into an episode in American censorship and points towards underlying causes.

Dror Wahrmann’s long article in the journal *Representations* (1999) is well worth seeking out. It brilliantly demonstrates that translations of a Latin author can be studied and compared without reference to the original, especially if the translations in question are trying their hardest not to be about the original at all.

Seruya and Moniz (2008) collect the papers from a conference on translation and censorship; the focus is mostly on Spain but the contributors raise widely applicable concerns. The edited volumes by Gillespie and Hopkins (2005) and France and Haynes (2006) are part of a major Oxford project on literary translation into English and are well worth browsing for illuminating context and historic background.

Chris Stray (1998) is fundamental to studying the uses of classics in English culture during this period, and the changes that were under way: he is prolific as an author and editor on related topics and Googles well. I take this opportunity to thank Chris and the editors of the present volume for their many helpful suggestions on this chapter in draft. Waquet’s focus (2001) on Latin in a European context complements Stray’s work well. Both authors are highly recommended. Also on the European context, Hayes (2009) is a useful first step for readers keen to explore the controversies and one-upmanship which characterized the rival French and British translation traditions, a major topic to which the scope of the present chapter can no more do justice than can the expertise of its author.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Persius and Juvenal in the Media Age

Martin M. Winkler

When Henry Kissinger was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973, American satirist-songwriter Tom Lehrer concluded that the end of satire had come: “I’ve said that political satire became obsolete when Henry Kissinger was awarded the Nobel Prize . . . It was just a remark about political satire, because it was true. Not literally, but everything is so weird in politics that it’s very hard to be funny about it, I think” (Thompson (2000)). Is political satire dead? Are other kinds of satire still possible? If modern satire is ailing, what does that mean for pre-modern or ancient satire? Are Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal only dead white European males, their works the literary equivalents of museum pieces?

The present chapter will attempt to show that condolences on the demise of satire are premature. Satire, understood both in the Romans’ own sense and in our looser sense, is alive and well. And Persius and Juvenal can still appeal to us because they anticipate certain aspects of modern media phenomena. The pre-modern world of imperial Roman satire and our modern or post-modern world have more in common than a superficial glance at both may reveal. This chapter will therefore focus on twentieth-century representations, adaptations, and parallels, with occasional recourse to older examples. In this, I cannot be comprehensive; rather, I hope that readers on their own will take what I discuss further. For instance, my treatment of, and focus on, Persius’ obscurity rather than aspects of content or style that I could have included are meant to make readers think about this side of Persius’ reception in connection with what they have already encountered in preceding chapters of this book – not least in regard to the familiar fact that apparent or actual obscurity is a noteworthy feature of modern or avant-garde

poetry (Pound, Eliot), prose (Kafka, see below; Beckett, Joyce), painting (Picasso, Mondrian, Pollock), music (Cage, Stockhausen), and other art forms that can cause “the shock of the new” (Hughes (1991)). My examination of the corporate-media aspect of literary publication in connection with Persius and the cinematic nature of his and especially of Juvenal’s style will, I hope, be able to deepen our appreciation of both authors’ importance for today. Even Tom Lehrer might change his mind.

Quintilian correctly claims that the poetic form which Romans called *satura* came into existence in Rome and had no prior equivalent in Greece: “Satire is entirely our own” (*Inst.* 10.1.93; here and throughout, translations from Latin are mine except where indicated). Still, Quintilian, educated Romans, and the poets of *satura* were familiar with the Greek satiric spirit: the freedom to expose to ridicule the apparently good, the bad, the ugly, and the powerful. As a result, satire as literary genre and as expression, in word or image, of a sometimes benign but more often sarcastic or aggressive outlook on all aspects of life has played a major part in the history of Western civilization. But the republican Roman satirists Ennius and Lucilius, the Augustan Horace, and the Neronian Persius have all been overshadowed in their influence by Juvenal, the last and greatest of the authors of *satura*. Together, however, they represent such an impressive development in literary sophistication that Roman satire may be regarded as the foundation of all later satire in any language, form, or medium of artistic expression down to modern mass media like cartoons, television, and the cinema. If the original form of satire as verse composition has by now fallen largely into disuse, the satiric spirit as it manifested itself in ancient Rome is still going strong. Persius and Juvenal, the two satiric poets of imperial Rome, are disparate witnesses to the influence of Roman satire in the modern era.

This chapter will apply the strategy by which satirists have always proceeded: force of example rather than systematic argument – what Persius called his *sartago* (“hodge-podge,” 1.80) and Juvenal his *farrago* (“mish-mash,” 1.86). Theory-minded readers who have a problem with this may wish to remember Juvenal’s programmatic statement that “whatever people do . . . is the stuffing of my little book” (1.85–86) – the very justification for his equal-opportunity attacks on the multitudes of vice and folly. *sequor hunc*, as Horace (*Sat.* 2.1.34) had said about Lucilius: “I follow his example.”

22.1 The Satirists’ Camera Eye

Persius and Juvenal attack vice, crime, and folly with a kind of scattershot approach. This circumstance is more noticeable in Juvenal because his body of work is considerably larger than the slim *oeuvre* of Persius. To be successful in this, a satiric poet has to make his targets as vivid as possible, even to the point

of describing criminal and unethical behavior in details that may be disturbing to some. For this reason poetic satire approaches the pictorial satire that we are familiar with: political and other kinds of cartoons, fake television news and interviews, satiric TV series and feature films. To ancient Greeks and Romans, text and image were related and mutually supportive means of artistic expression (Winkler (2009a) 22–34). Persius' and Juvenal's satires are highly visual in their scenes depicting Roman life and manners. Literary authors and visual artists enhance their works with detailed embellishment and description. Both work toward *evidentia* and *repraesentatio*, the Latin synonyms for the Greek term *enargeia* ("vivid description"; literally, "clearness, vividness, clear view"; Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.61). As Quintilian says: "It is a great achievement to express the things we talk about clearly and in such a way that they appear to be seen" (8.3.62). With such a procedure, he continues a little later, "we will achieve . . . that things are plain and clear [*manifesta*] if they resemble the truth, and it will even be permissible falsely to invent additional details that usually happen" (8.3.70). Vignettes characterized by *enargeia* or *evidentia* occur throughout Roman satire. Quintilian, following Cicero, also calls this a "process of placing something directly under someone's eyes" (*sub oculos subiectio*): "something is not referred to as merely having happened but is being shown in the way in which it happened, and not as a whole but in its individual parts" (9.2.40; cf. 4.2.63–65 and Cicero *De or.* 3.202). The example Quintilian adduces, the destruction of a city in war (8.3.67–69), incontrovertibly proves his point. All this reads like a recipe equally for satirists with their vivid hyperboles and for filmmakers.

Russian filmmaker and theoretician Dziga Vertov in 1923 memorably described a modern equivalent of *evidentia* and its uses and effects. In what he called the "kino-eye" (cinema eye, i.e. the camera), we can see an analogy to our poets' verbal strategies if we subtract the twentieth-century aspects:

The main and essential thing is:

The sensory exploration of the world through film . . .

Now and forever, I [the kino-eye] free myself from human immobility, I am in constant motion, I draw near, then away from objects, I crawl under, I climb onto them. I move apace with the muzzle of a galloping horse, I plunge full speed into a crowd, I outstrip running soldiers, I fall on my back, I ascend with an airplane, I plunge and soar together with plunging and soaring bodies. Now I, a camera, fling myself along their resultant, maneuvering in the chaos of movement, recording movement, starting with movements composed of the most complex combinations . . .

My path leads to the creation of a fresh perception of the world. I decipher in a new way a world unknown to you. (Vertov (1984) 14 and 17–18)

A telling example occurs in Persius' and Juvenal's opening satires, which serve programmatic purposes. Both take their readers to poetic recitals, combining something primarily verbal (and aural) with visual descriptions (Persius 1.13–43, Juvenal 1.1–14). In effect, they turn inherently static scenes of reciters performing and audiences listening into “mini movies.” Persius, in whose satire “decadence in literary taste is directly related to . . . decadence in morals” (Rudd (2005) 137), takes us from composition (13–14) to performance (15–30) to hearers' response (30–31) and to a sequel: another abbreviated performance (32–37) and response (38). Throughout, Persius provides visual markers: *tunc* . . . *uideas* (19; well rendered by Rudd (2005) 138, as “Then, what a sight!”), *en* and *ecce* (“Look!,” 26 and 30), and a moment of excitement: *digito monstrari* (“to be pointed at,” 28). A long-shot from the listeners' point of view on the reciter standing on a platform (*sede* . . . *celsa*, 17) is enclosed by several close-ups on his appearance (15–18): hair, toga, ring, throat, eyes. In a nearly surrealistic touch, Persius even manages to add to the scene an X-rated close-up: as if animated, the words recited enter the listener's groin and titillatingly tickle his privates (*carmina lumbum intrant, scalpuntur . . . intima*; 20–21). The *tunc* . . . *uideas* already mentioned prepares us for the emphatic staccato in the reprise, corresponding to rapid editing in film, of *nunc* (“now”), which appears no fewer than four times in as many lines (36–39). That Persius had a filmmaker's eye is perhaps best shown by an almost throw-away observation at the opening of *Satire 3*. The kind of clear light (*clarum*) that comes through and appears to widen the spaces (*rimae*) between window slats (3.1–2) can be seen repeatedly in Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972).

Juvenal begins his *Satire 1* by placing his readers at awful public recitals of wretched epic poetry, but his scene is much more condensed than Persius'. Humorous hyperbole, however, makes up for its brevity and adds *evidentia*. Marble walls and columns, as if suffering from what they are subjected to overhearing, shake and break (12–13). Readers today will be reminded of animated cartoons. Juvenal's recourse to what modern scholars term *the pathetic fallacy* – inanimate objects react to or reflect a situation just as humans would – is effective because it conjures up farcical images. A parallel case of slapstick occurs when, in another satire, Statius recites from his *Thebaid* (7.82–87) and “causes seats to collapse with his verse”: the shock-cut, as it were, that the Latin expresses in three terse words (*fregit subsellia uersu*, 86) is inimitable in English. When he introduced himself or his satiric mouthpiece in *Satire 1* (1.63–64), Juvenal emphasized his visual approach. Standing at a busy intersection (*medio* . . . *quadriui*) in downtown Rome with his wax tablets, he watches whatever people do and writes it all down. The observer of the dissolute Romans on the extreme left of Thomas Couture's gigantic painting *The Romans of the Decadence* (1847) is just

such a witness, if in a different situation and without taking notes. Two lines from Juvenal accompanied the painting “by way of clarification” (Boime (1980) 161) and were quoted in the catalogue for the Paris Salon in which the painting was first exhibited:

Now we are suffering from the evils of prolonged peace, and luxury more destructive than war’s weapons has fallen upon us and is avenging the world we conquered. (6.292–93)

Couture’s canvas “received more public attention [in France] than any other painting in the nineteenth century” (Boime (1980) 131). Later in the same century Aubrey Beardsley, the pictorial Swinburne-Wilde-Juvenal, gave some decadent new life to Juvenal’s *Satire* 6 with several images of Empress Messalina (cf. 6.115–32) and with one of the satirist himself (“Juvenal Scourging Woman,” 1896).

German poet and essayist Durs Grünbein, a writer with such a strong interest in Juvenal that he has called him “Brother Juvenal” (Grünbein (2010)), has summarized the visual nature of Juvenal’s satires in connection with his contemporary Martial, author of short and vivid epigrams:

If it seems to us sometimes today as if we had watched, some time or other, a documentary with scenes from the social life of ancient Rome, then we owe our sense of *déjà vu* first and foremost to the descriptions of Juvenal and his poetic accomplice Martial. What the former, in his meandering verse satires, expanded into veritable tracking shots with a camera, the latter condensed in his epigrams into a sequence of precise snapshots . . . Some of the streets and squares are so clearly marked in their texts that they stand before our eyes like motifs for tourist attractions on postcards. It seems as if we could visit them any time and, with some luck, could still meet there the usual suspects. In the satires we have the kind of records and files that preserve them all on their *Wanted* posters [or] in the detailed screenplay for their scenes in a period film entitled *Sleepless in Rome*. (Grünbein (2005b) 336–37; my translation)

The phrase *Sleepless in Rome*, which furnishes Grünbein with the title of this essay, refers to Juvenal’s *Satire* 3 but also to a once popular Hollywood film (*Sleepless in Seattle*, 1993).

The visual nature of Juvenalian satire is evident throughout (cf. in this volume Kenney (Chapter 6) on 3.203–7), but one particularly striking example occurs in *Satire* 10. The effect that Juvenal here achieves by his sensory exploration of the world, to use Vertov’s expression, has revealing parallels in the cinema. The first of the foolish things humans wish for that Juvenal lists in this satire is riches. We all want more wealth, but money can easily make us victims of those who want to relieve us of it: “No poison is ever

drunk from clay cups,” observes the satirist about people of modest means; “that sort of thing you have to fear only when you take up a chalice studded with gems and when wine from Setia blazes forth [*Setinum ardebit*] in a broad golden cup” (10.25–27; Setia was a town famous for its superior and expensive wines). Juvenal’s verb carries a double meaning: *ardere* (“to burn”) anticipates the painful effect of the poisoned wine on the drinker’s innards, but primarily it has a visual aspect: this red wine emits a burning glow. Its very light expresses its deadliness. Luminous objects or appearances are an important aspect of Juvenal’s style (Schmitz (2000) 138–42).

Just such a cup filled with poisoned drink, although not wine, is being served in Alfred Hitchcock’s *Suspicion* (1941), a thriller adapted from Francis Iles’s psychological crime novel *Before the Fact* (1932). A reckless and dissolute bounder, none the less lethal for his irresistible charm, marries a wealthy young woman above his station. He stands to gain substantially from her death and eventually kills her with poison, administered in a glass of milk. The film’s most famous shot shows the husband, played by Cary Grant, ascending the stairs to his wife’s bedroom in subdued light. Hitchcock milks the moment for maximum effect in his black-and-white film, for the glass the husband is carrying on a tray radiates a nearly supernatural shine (Figure 22.1). How was such an ingenious effect possible? As Hitchcock later explained: “I put a light right inside the glass because I wanted it to



Figure 22.1 Alfred Hitchcock’s *Suspicion*. The glowing glass of milk. RKO. Warner Home Video.

be luminous ... everyone's attention had to be focused on that glass" (Truffaut (1984) 143). The hypnotic power that this moment exerts on its viewers makes the film's happy ending an utter absurdity. The studio forced Hitchcock to change the ending he intended because Cary Grant could not play a cold-blooded killer. The ending as filmed leaves the glass of milk untouched; in retrospect, it also makes the milk perfectly safe. (On Hitchcock's intended ending see Auiler (1999) 62–95 and McGilligan (2003) 287–90.) Hitchcock was not a reader of Juvenal, but the creative impulse of both in bringing home, on the page and on the screen, a deadly danger is nearly identical. A comparison of Iles's literary and Hitchcock's visual rendering of the moment with yet a third version – an in-between one: a screenplay – is instructive. American novelist and screenwriter Nathanael West co-wrote an unpublished and unproduced adaptation of *Before the Fact* with fellow screenwriter Boris Ingster. Their script (published in West (1997) 621–744), changed the novel through a major plot twist before Hitchcock and his collaborators rewrote it completely. Ingster and West kept the glass of poison, which is to appear in close-up (West (1997) 740–42), but it is the murderous husband and not the wife who ends up dead. For all fans of Iles and Hitchcock – and Juvenal! – this little known version is quite instructive.

What readers of Juvenal – and of Ingster and West – see with their mind's eyes, Hitchcock's viewers see on the screen. Juvenal would have appreciated Hitchcock's visual ingenuity, while Hitchcock would have understood the mental image which Juvenal conjures up with just one word. Equally, Juvenal would have understood why the poster for Douglas Sirk's thriller *Sleep, My Love* (1948), in which a husband attempts to drug his wife with poisoned wine and cognac to drive her to insanity and suicide, prominently featured an image of the wife looking at the husband's hand holding a large and menacing cognac snifter (Figure 22.2). To somewhat surrealistic effect, a lobby card advertising the film as it was playing in theaters even placed the wife's detached head inside this glass.

Color films, of course, can show Juvenal's lethal red directly. The appealing apple that poisons its eater in the animated Disney film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) is an effective example. Poisoned apple and poisoned milk are parallel instances of a deadly or near-deadly object being made unforgettable in the adaptation of a text to the screen. But even when not poisoned, the red color of drink may indicate death by foreshadowing, as it does in Thomas Mann's novella *Death in Venice* (1912): "Aschenbach sat on the balustrade, cooling his lips now and then with a mixture of pomegranate juice and soda which glowed ruby-red in his glass in front of him" (Mann (1970) 77). To those familiar with antiquity – that is to say, to the majority of Mann's original readers – the



Figure 22.2 Poster for Douglas Sirk's *Sleep, My Love* with the drugged glass of cognac. Triangle Production. Author's collection.

well-known association of the pomegranate with Persephone or Proserpina, queen of the Underworld, only reinforces the point. It is restated, if less emphatically, in the "strawberries, soft and overly ripe" that Aschenbach eats later (Mann (1970) 94). Luchino Visconti's film of *Death in*

Venice (1971), in color and widescreen, preserves the drink and the fruit but does not bring out their symbolic meaning.

A comparison of Juvenal's emphasis on the detail of the poisoned wine cup with the treatment the same kind of object receives in a near-contemporary account is instructive. The historian Tacitus reports (*Ann.* 4.7–11) that Emperor Tiberius' son Drusus was murdered by poison in 23 CE. Tacitus mentions the manner in which the poison was rumored to have been administered after reporting Drusus' death, thus de-emphasizing the specific detail that it was handed to its victim in a drinking cup (4.10.2–3). He does so because the rumor about how the cup reached its victim sprang up only after the deed. Tacitus' procedure is appropriate in its context. He mentions the poison cup after the fact. Juvenal describes the poison cup before the fact. The historian tells. The satirist shows.

In passing, we may remember the cinematic echo of another famous Juvenalian detail. The Egyptian dandy Crispinus shows off his heavy gold ring studded with a jewel (1.26–29), but this is only his "summer ring." Imagine what his heavy winter jewelry might look like! In Mae West's saucy comedy *She Done Him Wrong* (1933), directed by Lowell Sherman, an admirer of her jewels asks Lady Lou, a gold-digging floozy chantoozy played by West: "So all this is your famous collection, eh?" Without missing a beat she retorts: "No. This is just my summer jewelry. You ought to see my winter stuff." After this, how can romance not blossom between them?

More biting is the satire in Alexander Mackendrick's *Sweet Smell of Success* (1957), written by Ernest Lehman and Clifford Odets. Slimy sycophant Sidney Falco, lickspittle of powerful gossip columnist J.J. Hunsecker (who is modeled on Walter Winchell), may be the closest modern reincarnation of the over-eager "Greekling" (*Graeculus*) from Juvenal's third Satire (3.58–125). Falco is a "press agent on the make and . . . Hunsecker's lapdog – he'll do anything to stay in the columnist's good graces: lie, cheat, pimp his girlfriend, and finally destroy" the young man with whom Hunsecker's sister is in love but whom Hunsecker wants to get rid of "by libeling him as a pot-smoking Communist . . . When Hunsecker says to Falco, 'I'd hate to take a bite out of you, Sidney, you're a cookie full of arsenic,' Falco just smiles." His creed: "Hunsecker is a golden ladder to the places I want to get. Way up high . . . where it's always balmy and no one snaps his fingers and says, 'Hey, shrimp, rack the balls!' . . . from now on . . . the best of everything is good enough for me" (quoted from Kashner and MacNair (2002) 219 and 231).

Rather than looking – in close-ups on the text, as it were – for more such thematic or stylistic parallels between Juvenal and the cinema, let us widen our focus and turn to larger issues. Grotesque exaggeration, in itself highly visual for its effects, is a central feature of Juvenal's approach to his exposés of

vice. The grotesque often borders on the surrealistic, and in the cinema there is no greater surrealist than Spanish filmmaker Luis Buñuel, a spirit kindred to Juvenal's. Buñuel's short film *The Golden Age* (1930), made in collaboration with Salvador Dalí and featuring Surrealism and Dada pioneer Max Ernst in its cast, is a scathing and, for its time, shocking satire of bourgeois society and the Catholic Church. Buñuel's last three films – *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie* (1972), *The Phantom of Liberty* (1974), and *That Obscure Object of Desire* (1977) – are somewhat milder. (Only *La grande bouffe*, Marco Ferreri's pitch-black 1973 satire of a bourgeoisie without any charm, discreet or otherwise, manages to out-Buñuel the master.) All these films proceed as Juvenal did, by presenting a series of thematically linked but loosely connected vignettes that cumulatively make the author's case in text or film. Buñuel's *Tristana* (1970), based on the 1892 novel by Benito Pérez Galdós, can serve as an indication of their satiric affinities, even if Buñuel may not have been aware of them. A critic's capsule review summarizes the nature of the film:

The old master, Luis Buñuel, has made one of his finest, most delicately controlled studies of the perversity of human nature. It is . . . about a lecherous old lay-about . . . who insists on making the young orphan [the titular *Tristana*] who is his ward . . . into his mistress and how, once introduced to depravity, she comes to enjoy it far more than her teacher. In the end, she completely reverses their roles, turning the old man into her more or less abject slave, while she turns into a monster more chilling than he (or we) could ever have imagined anyone becoming – let alone a sweet and innocent little blonde from the convent. Buñuel has squeezed every inch of melodrama out of his story; he tells it dryly . . . Similarly, his cinematic style is austere, formal, even classic . . . Buñuel is a master moralist and ironist who, out of his withering contempt for the hypocrisies by which we all try to live (especially those of a political or religious nature), has constructed one of the truly formidable bodies of artistic work that this century has to offer. To it, *Tristana* is a major addition. (Schickel (1970) 11)

Tristana is a grotesque but haunting tale of bizarre love (or lust) and revenge that comes close to the spirit of Juvenal at his darkest. The plot of *Tristana* proceeds from a greatly elaborated variation on one of Juvenal's earliest spotlights on vice, expressed in no more than three angry (as the spitting alliterations indicate) words: *spoliator* | *pupilli prostantis* (1.46–47): a squandering despoiler forces his now destitute male ward into prostitution. The old lecher of the film brings to mind Juvenal's senile sex maniac (10.204–9), although, unlike the ancient Roman, the modern Spaniard is anything but impotent. Juvenal and Buñuel are masters of portraying lustful male decrepitude. And unstoppable female vengeance. In Juvenal, manic mothers and wild

wives poison their children, stepchildren, and husbands (6.610–61); in Buñuel, Tristana eventually poisons her guardian – cups of chocolate and, yes, glasses of milk are on prominent display at the film’s climax – or conclusively appears to do so. I use this inconclusively indeterminate phrase with conclusive determination, for Buñuel leaves his film’s ending ambiguous.

Documentary films are generally considered to be unambiguous: truthful accounts of their subjects based on facts. But this is a naïve assumption. Documentaries, while not abandoning the truth, especially when they incorporate earlier and independently shot footage, are nevertheless shaped by their makers’ conceptions of what to show, what to exclude, and how to emphasize the points they wish to make. To varying degrees all cinema, all literature, all creative endeavors in all media of expression are subjective. Impassioned satirists like Juvenal or Buñuel may more readily be found in fictional or fictionalized contexts, but documentary realism can still be their means of exposure. The best example is American satirist and documentary filmmaker Michael Moore, a Juvenal of our time.

Moore, best-known for the Oscar-winning *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004, winner of the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival), *Sicko* (2007, another Oscar winner), and *Capitalism: A Love Story* (2009), is America’s most prominent and most controversial satirist. He exposes the incompetence, cynicism, and corruption of those in economic and political power and lets them condemn themselves in their own words. Like the Roman satirists, Moore proceeds to make his cases by amassing enough examples to convince or at least temporarily to persuade his viewers. Many believe that he is one-sided or goes too far, just like Juvenal’s Umbricius in *Satire* 3 and the speaker of *Satire* 6. (In Winkler (1983) I have argued that this is an intentional strategy of Juvenalian satire.) And like the speaker of Juvenal’s *Satire* 1, Moore is often found on the street, engaging politicians or corporate executives. (Figure 22.3) Unlike Juvenal, however, Moore does not merely observe; he interferes. Still, his preference for non-fiction over fiction is reminiscent of Juvenal’s stance against trite mythology in epic and in favor of realism in satire (Winkler (1989)). Moore’s *persona*, as we may call it, is carefully cultivated. He is vastly overweight and dresses like a slob in worn-out blue jeans, a T-shirt or plaid shirt whose tails are hanging out over the back of his pants, or a cheap windbreaker. His hair and beard are unkempt and unruly. His ubiquitous baseball cap is the most obvious sign of his folksiness. He manages to look almost absurd when he appears in a tuxedo.

Moore has been under constant attack from the political right. He has also repeatedly run into problems with corporate power brokers. But his biggest enemy has been the American government. The first President Bush called him a “slimeball” (Bachrach (2005) 256) in connection with



Figure 22.3 Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11*. Michael Moore accosting, *medio quadrivio*, a member of the US Congress on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC. Columbia Pictures-Tristar Home Video.

Fahrenheit 9/11. Moore's work has elicited criticism and divergent opinions across the social and political spectrum. A commentator in the *New Yorker*, who is a member of the Harvard Medical School, described *Sicko* as "an outrage machine," a phrase pointing us back to Juvenal, and characterizes its maker in these terms: "Moore has more than a few insufferable traits. He is manipulative, smug, and self-righteous. He has no interest in complexity. And he mocks the weak as well as the powerful" – again echoes of Juvenal. Nevertheless, the same writer continued, *Sicko* is "a revelation . . . The movie is so effective in depicting the inhumanity [of the American health-care system] that it makes our failure to act seem baffling" (Gawande (2007) 21).

22.2 Persius: Fade to Dark

Grünbein's expression "Brother Juvenal" is an apt tribute by one poet to another across the centuries. Grünbein mentions Persius, Juvenal's immediate predecessor in the genre, only comparatively briefly (Grünbein (2010) 16, with mention of filmic techniques observable in Persius' satires). And Grünbein nowhere calls Persius his brother. In this, Grünbein is not alone, for Persius' influence is comparatively small. Even Juvenal, who refers to Lucilius and Horace, is silent about Persius, although he clearly knew his work (Reckford (2009) 161–79 and 216–17).

Quis leget haec? (“Who’ll be reading this?” 1.2): the anonymous interlocutor who at the outset of Persius’ first Satire asks the question puts his finger right onto the crucial aspect of Persius’ work. This young Stoic poet has been among the least-read authors in surviving Roman literature during the modern era. The charge of *obscuritas* – that style and imagery, if not necessarily the content of the Satires, are too murky or cryptic for the general reader – has been leveled at Persius since the early sixth century (Johannes Lydus, *On the Magistracies of the Roman State* 1.41; Nikitinski (2002) 285–356 collects numerous testimonia from the fifteenth century on). And it has stuck, although Persius has found a handful of brave defenders whose attempts to bring light into the darkness have not been without success. The most detailed and eloquent verdict on Persius in the history of English letters is that by John Dryden in his *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*, the epistle dedicatory of his 1693 translations of Juvenal and Persius. This work is easily accessible, so I turn instead to three extreme but especially vivid verdicts on Persius from Germany (in my translations).

Johann Albert Fabricius (Faber), an eminent classical scholar and bibliographer, wrote (in Latin) in his *Bibliotheca Latina* of 1697 that Persius’ book of satires was “learned and sagacious but both full of bitter salt [i.e. wit] and so dark [*obscurus*] that some people thought it should simply be thrown away” (Nikitinski (2002) 312). Philosopher, critic, and poet Johann Gottfried von Herder, a pre-eminent figure of the Enlightenment, wrote in his treatise concerning why good taste has been lowered among the peoples where it had previously blossomed (*Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks bei den verschiednen Völkern, da er geblühet*) that Persius “cloaks himself in hell’s darkness” (*in ein Höllendunkel hüllet*; Nikitinski (2002) 325). And classical scholar Johannes Karl Otto Ribbeck, best remembered today for an idiosyncratic book about Juvenal (Ribbeck (1865)), judged in his book on the history of Roman poetry (Ribbeck (1892)) that Persius had nothing new to say: “For all his straining after originality, the eggshells of his schooling are still sticking to him . . . Persius is a virtuoso of his own kind, but his power over language resembles despotism” (Nikitinski (2002) 341). Small wonder, then, that Barten Holyday, the first and highly literal if not as highly literate translator of all of Persius’ Satires into English (*Aulus Persius Flaccus His Satires Translated*, 1616) and later the second translator of all of Juvenal, was himself charged with being too obscure by Dryden: “by the help of his Learned Notes and Illustrations . . . his own Verses might be understood” (ed. Kinsley (1958) 668). (Not that Dryden was above borrowing from Holyday.) Contrast this with the fulsome praise or rather the *Graeculus*-like sycophancy accorded Dryden by William Congreve:

Persius before in small esteem was had,
 Unless what to antiquity is paid . . .
 Till you, Apollo's darling priest, thought fit
 To place it in the poet's sacred writ . . .
 Old Stoic virtue, clad in rugged lines,
 Polished by you in modern brilliant shines;
 And as before for Persius our esteem
 To his antiquity was paid, not him,
 So now, whatever praise from us is due,
 Belongs not to old Persius, but the new.
 For still obscure, to us no light he gives,
 Dead in himself, in you alone he lives.

The quotation is from Congreve's commendatory poem ("To Mr Dryden, On his Translation of Persius," 19–20, 23–24, and 31–38; quoted from Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 371–72). Dryden receives all the praise; Persius cannot win. Congreve himself translated Homer, Horace, Ovid, and, for Dryden, Juvenal's *Satire* 11. Was he intimidated by Persius?

A balanced summary of Persius' achievement was voiced by one of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century's most eminent scholars. In his "Lecture on the History of Roman Literature" (1832) Friedrich August Wolf, most famous today for his work on Homer, called Persius "the most difficult poet in Latin" and observed:

[His satires] are full of genuine wisdom and of the most noble principles, full of eagerness for virtue and contempt of vice. Throughout, they exhibit a gloomy and melancholic coating and not at all the laughing manner of Horace. Persius is more a teacher and a moderate, Horace a mocking man of the world. The abundance of thought which he [Persius] puts on view all over spreads darkness, to which, however, the taste of his time contributed its share. But in this regard we should also be aware that he becomes so difficult at least in part because we possess so little by him. Other obscurities derive from allusions; but the main reason for his obscurity lies in his diversity and in his own taste. Sometimes audacious figures of speech and the most audacious metaphors lead to his poetry becoming most wretched. (quoted, in my translation, from Nikitinski (2002) 330)

Persius was both dark and also dedicated to his Stoic mission to enlighten his (few) readers, paradoxically – and paradox is a key Stoic concept – by means of this very *obscuritas*. We might coin a new phrase to be set alongside the traditional one of a *Persius obscurus*, that of a *Persius audere trux* (after Silius Italicus, *Punica* 13.220): a "defiant Persius who dares" to be absolutely committed to the excellence and purity of his métier. Still: *quis leget haec?*

“Who will read this?” What does this make of Persius’ influence, especially in the modern world? His is hardly a household name, but he, or rather his approach to writing, is still to be reckoned with. The dilemma inherent in *quis leget haec?* can be traced in satire even now.

American satirist Richard Nason published *A Modern Dunciad* in 1978. His title pays homage to the great Augustan British satirist Alexander Pope, who “may be Persius’s last, best reader among major British poets,” for Persius made his “last great appearance in English literature” in Pope’s “Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot” (Reckford (2009) 129 and 128). Pope’s satiric masterpiece is *The Dunciad*, a mock-epic poem published in three versions between 1728 and 1743. *Dunciad* means “Fools’ Epic” or “Epic of Dunces.” The word is a witty coinage after the title of Homer’s *Iliad*, the founding epic of Western literature, which Pope had translated between 1715 and 1720. *The Dunciad* deals with one of Juvenal’s major themes, that of the unendurably poor quality of contemporary literature. In *The Dunciad* the Goddess Dullness is the “inspiration” of scribblers and poetasters and presides over their execrable outpourings.

A Modern Dunciad is the latest such-named mock-epic. Like Pope’s, if considerably shorter, Nason’s is composed in heroic couplets, the meter that replaced the hexameter of Roman satire in English. Nason’s comments on his poetic situation and the book’s bibliographical information are revealing. *A Modern Dunciad* appeared in New York under the imprint of The Smith, a small independent publishing venue owned and operated by one Harry Smith. As a result, Nason’s is a rare and little-known book. (The online catalogue WorldCat lists only about 200 libraries with a copy.) In the Prologue Nason contrasts the wider reach of Pope with his own:

When Pope in Twickenham once pushed his quills,
The Wits would know it soon at shops like Will’s [a London café],
For even as he scratched, he was so near,
They say his feather tickled every ear;
While we today are scattered everywhere,
And though our presses gnash and bite the air,
The Goddess Dullness in her wide intent
By satellite controls the continent;
So we must quietly feed our Press this way
As if it were a fire on Guy Fawkes Day,
And trust the world to know the work we’ve done
As Dullness leaves the hilltops one by one . . .
You, Harry, whose idea this challenge was,
Must be my whole support and half my cause.

(Nason (1978) 17–18)

I am emphasizing the outsider status of a modern satirist like Nason because it is instructive for how satire works today. A relatively benign satirist in the Horatian mold, one who “tells the truth with a smile” (the famous *ridentem dicere uerum*; *Sat.* 1.1.24), is safe and can be integrated into his society far more easily than his Persianic or Juvenalian counterpart. Modern grumblers and grouches have only limited possibilities in a world largely run by corporations and media conglomerates, which look primarily at the bottom line. One of their choices is a kind of self-imposed exile like that of Nason, who published his satiric attacks in a tiny press. While this preserves his independence and avoids compromises, it puts him on the intellectual and literary margins, looking askance at society and becoming ineffectual. Persius and such misanthropes as Shakespeare’s Timon of Athens or Swift’s Gulliver may be earlier models. Nason exemplifies a long tradition in American letters: “American writers have tended to see themselves as outcasts and isolates, prophets crying in the wilderness. So they have been, as a rule: *American* Jeremiahs, simultaneously lamenting a declension and celebrating a national dream” (Bercovitch (1978) 180).

Then there is the other side of the coin: the fate of the American satirist who forges ahead with his attacks in the media. Here is a timeless description of what might or probably would happen to him:

If another Juvenal or Swift could rise up among us to-morrow, he would be hunted down. If you have any knowledge of our literature, and can give me the name of any man, American born and bred, who has anatomised our follies as a people, and not as this or that party; and who has escaped the foulest and most brutal slander, the most inveterate hatred and intolerant pursuit; it will be a strange name in my ears, believe me. In some cases I could name to you, where a native writer has ventured on the most harmless and good-humoured illustrations of our vices or defects, it has been found necessary to announce, that in a second edition the passage has been expunged, or altered, or explained away, or patched into praise.

The speaker, an “American gentleman,” is addressing the eponymous hero of Charles Dickens’s *Martin Chuzzlewit*, first published in serial form in 1843–44 (here quoted from Dickens (1968) 339–40). Martin is a young Englishman newly arrived on American shores. He finds himself utterly bewildered by what he sees. The American’s words reflect Dickens’s own attitude, resulting from his disillusionment with the United States during his first visit in 1842. In spite of the time that has passed between Dickens and Nason, we can well imagine the latter in agreement with the former. Ironically, Dickens himself exemplifies the American gentleman’s – i.e. really his own – assessment of what happens to a satirist in print. When his views of America caused a stir, Dickens was careful to soften the effect of his satire in

his prefaces to the book editions of 1850 and 1867 – the latter reprinted a year later with an additional postscript which takes up the same issue – and to appease “the good-humoured people of the United States.” Can we imagine Nason or Persius back-pedaling in such a way?

Then there is that other modern American verse form – if it is one, as Bradley and DuBois (2010) now argue: rap or hip-hop. Certainly as a racial, social, counter-cultural, literary (some may say, sub-literary), or young-vs.-old phenomenon, rap has demonstrated its importance across America and beyond. Traditionalists may have thought that the often explicit attacks on society and women and the threats of physical and sexual violence that are routinely uttered in gangsta rap lyrics – and the violent deaths of several famous rappers – should have prevented this form of expression from becoming respectable or even acceptable. Not so. The rappers’ CDs that go gold or platinum tell a different story. We could imagine Nason sharpening his pen for a new *Dunciad*. Dan Chiasson, as award-winning poet, Harvard PhD, and teacher at prestigious Ivy League institutions, a fully integrated member of the cultural establishment, has summarized the contradiction inherent in criticism and commercialism that characterizes the genre; appropriately, he refers us to imperial Roman and Augustan British satire:

rappers, bound to the wheel of commerce by their very defiance of it, have a choice: ignore the problem or rap about it . . . Even as rap undermines its whole demented code of money, cars, ho’s, and hustlers, it markets it, markets itself . . . It makes rap in some ways the savviest and wittiest critique of the business of art ever conducted from inside of art-works, but the critique doesn’t undermine the business: it is the business. You have to go back to Juvenal or Pope to find anything this scathing and self-promoting in poetry. (Chiasson (2011) 45)

Chiasson does not mention Persius, but then Persius was anything but self-promoting. Rather, a comparison of him to Kafka, first advanced in Germany in 1948 (Seel (1974) 119 gives reference and quotation), seems closer to the mark. In 1950, classicist Otto Seel commented in the epilogue (*Nachwort*) of his edition and German translation of Persius:

Kafka’s name is, as everybody knows, about to become a sign for the latest existentialist self-understanding; equally, justified skepticism has raised its voice, warning that nothing obscure, abstruse, or intricately ornate is now spared comparison with Kafka. The justice or injustice of such comparisons may be set aside, and the question whether it is sufficient to point out that both were ill and threatened by an early death of which they knew and that both were pressed in their innermost being by a foreignness of blood [*Fremdheit des Blutes*] which

never completely vanished – the Etruscan writing in Latin and the Jew writing in German – and whether the special inclination to and genius for religion, cult, prophecy that they shared, linked to extreme sensitivity and analytical acuity and to a gifted ability of artistic appropriation and dependence could create a viable character connection between the one and the other essence – all this may be left unasked. I only intend to indicate a certain measure of the possibility of our taking this seriously. (Seel (1974) 119–20; my translation)

Style and structure of the original are even more convoluted and obscure. Seel shares the skepticism he refers to, but a few pages later he characterizes, perhaps unconsciously, the aura of Persius' poetry in terms fully applicable to Kafka:

A zone of the uncanny and vibrating settles itself around the familiar everyday world; darkness becomes surmisable [*ahnbar*] in the light as the latter's back-and-underground; death crouches within what is most alive, putridly steams from within and can gambol out as a macabre Pulcinella at any moment. (Seel (1974) 123–24; my translation)

Seel's passion for Persius is palpable on every page of his essay, so it may be left unasked if his Kafkaesque (or Persiesque) manner of expression is likely to win his author new friends. Clearly, and just like Kafka, Seel's Persius is not for everyone. But then Persius himself had gone on record in no uncertain terms about whom he did and did not want for a reader (1.123–34). So, by and large, the only place in which an idiosyncratic and difficult Roman poet like Persius seems to thrive today is the Ivory Tower of the Academy: "ein Stückchen Literaturhistorie für Spezialisten" (Seel (1974) 115: "a small piece of literary history for specialists"). As John William Mackail observed about Persius in 1895, "the involved and obscure style . . . has made him the paradise of commentators." Mackail was right, but he cannot have known *how* right he was.

In 1990 German classicist Walter Kissel published his edition, translation, and commentary of Persius in a gigantic volume of no fewer than 884 closely printed pages. Persius' Latin text, a total of 664 lines, takes up twenty-three pages, the commentary 798 – nearly thirty-five times more. What might Callimachus, who took a dim view of big tomes, have said about such a thing? Kissel begins his Introduction by pointing to "the appearance of a practically grotesque disproportion" arising from a comparison of these numbers, an incongruity "which must not remain unsubstantiated" (Kissel (1990) 1; my translations). And how does he proceed to substantiate it? By turning to Persius' obscurity as the basis of the general view about the poet after antiquity. As Kissel shows, the ancients themselves had no such problem reading the satires (Kissel (1990) 1–10). Kissel later edited a separate slim volume of

Persius' text, with introduction (in Latin, as has been the custom for such works) and critical apparatus (Kissel (2007)).

22.3 Juvenal: Themes and Variations

In contrast to Persius, Juvenal has cast his shadow over the entire history of satire in Europe and the New World. His subject matter transcends time and place; hence much of his undying appeal. In the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries, for example, the description of the unexpected fall from power of Sejanus, the Praetorian Prefect under Tiberius and that emperor's closest and most influential advisor, told with concision, sarcasm, and vividness (10.58–64), parallels the fate of several modern dictators. Sejanus' huge bronze statues were pulled down with ropes and hacked to pieces. The same happened to the bombastic statues of Lenin and Stalin after the fall of the Soviet Union. In today's Russia broken-up statues of Lenin, Stalin, and others could or can be seen in abandoned air bases or other deserted places. The James Bond film *GoldenEye* of 1995 shows such a graveyard to eerie effect, albeit one created as a set. Downright haunting, however, is Theodoros Angelopoulos's *Ulysses' Gaze* of the same year, in which a huge granite Lenin, cut into several parts, is seen traveling on a river barge. The film as a whole, and this long sequence in particular, is a melancholic meditation on the decline of European civilization. The statue of Saddam Hussein that was pulled down on Baghdad's Firdos Square in 2003 presents an illuminating case of how and why modern media are now essential to turn what could have remained a minor incident into a world-wide news event that created its own historical and political myth. The remembrance of an American officer involved in the toppling of the statue is revealing:

I realized this was a big deal. You've got all the press out there and everybody is liquored up on the moment . . . I remember thinking, The media is watching the Iraqis trying to topple this icon of Saddam Hussein. Let's give them a hand . . . What would that moment have been if we hadn't? It would have been some B reel of Iraqis banging away at this thing [with a sledgehammer] and eventually losing interest and going home. There was a momentum, there was a feeling, this atmosphere of liberation . . . That was the attitude – keep the momentum going. (Maass (2011) 47)

Sejanus had been melted down into pots and pans and chamber pots, an indignity indicating his moral and personal puniness but regrettably not visited on his modern successors. Earlier, the 1890 painting "The Sack of Rome by the

Visigoths on 24 August 410” by French painter Joseph Noël Sylvestre (used on the cover of this volume), in which a huge marble statue is about to be pulled down by ropes, had illustrated such occurrences from a Juvenalian perspective. And Juvenal can tell modern writers who live in totalitarian regimes a thing or two about how to deal with those in absolute power. Authors critical of a political regime can attack the powerful and remain safe as long as they maintain “plausible deniability,” as CIA director Allen Dulles once put it in connection with the Bay of Pigs invasion. Successful satiric attack or exposé is indirect rather than direct, ambiguous rather than obvious, but still evident to all who can read between the lines. Juvenal’s *Satire* 4, in which a lowly fisherman ridicules a savage and bloodthirsty tyrant with double-edged flattery and gets away with it, is the best illustration.

By contrast, how *not* to proceed becomes apparent from Osip Mandelstam’s “Epigram against Stalin,” also called, in reference to Stalin’s rustic origin in the mountains of Georgia, “The Kremlin Highlander.” As a scholar has recently put it: “The poem had cost Mandelstam his life; writing it [and in 1934 reciting it to others who promptly denounced him] was an act of incredible recklessness, bravery, or artistic integrity” (Prieto (2010) 68; for *or* we might as well read *and*; see further McHugh (2004) 404). Mandelstam’s later “Ode to Stalin” (1937) could not undo the harm his epigram had caused. He was deported to the gulag and died there in 1938. Mandelstam’s satiric attack may have been formally more in the manner of Martial (so Prieto (2010) 68), but its content links it more closely to Juvenal. Both authors expose the savagery of an all-powerful and blood-soaked tyrant and the resulting “banalization of government” (Prieto (2010) 71) in connection with a dictator’s counselors, the *consilium principis* in Domitian’s case and the “rabble of scrawny-necked chieftains” and “homunculi” (so Mandelstam in his “Epigram”) in Stalin’s. Juvenal had compared Domitian to an animal of prey (cf. Winkler (1991) 28–32 on Juvenal’s verb *lacerare* (“to tear apart”) in line 37), and so does Mandelstam: Stalin “prowls thunderously among them [his courtiers], showering them with scorn.” Juvenal’s Domitian, however, went Mandelstam’s Stalin one better by outright hatred for those around him (4.73). While Juvenal wrote safely after Domitian’s death, Mandelstam was in a far more precarious situation. But he “understood precisely the type of individual . . . who surrounded the dictator, as well as the way he toyed with and dominated them” (Prieto (2010) 70). Moscow writer and critic Benedikt (or Benedict) Sarnov, who had to weigh what he wanted to publish against what the Soviet censors would allow him to publish, once observed that “Stalin knew perfectly well that the opinion future generations would have of him depended to a large degree on what the poets wrote about him” (quoted from Prieto (2010) 70). This applies even more to Juvenal and Domitian, for Juvenal’s portrait of the “times of savagery”

(4.151) under a despot dripping with his victims' blood (4.154, the satire's last line) have determined the modern view of Domitian more than Pliny the Younger's denunciation in his *Panegyric* to Trajan, Domitian's successor, or Suetonius' biography of Domitian have done. It is mainly scholars who have been reading Suetonius and Pliny, but it seems that poets have always been reading Juvenal.

The Juvenalian strategy of not saying directly what you mean can, under the right circumstances, even contribute to bringing down those apparently unassailable. This seems to have been the case for the *Ancien Régime* in pre-Revolutionary France. Charles Théveneau de Morande, a debauched – to put it mildly – former cavalry officer, published a slanderous work called *Le gazetier cuirassé* (“The Armor-Plated Gazetteer”) from his London exile in 1771. It was a savage attack on the government of Louis XV, combined with titillating – to put it even more mildly – gossip about aristocratic vice, corruption, sexual deviation, and much more. The Gazetteer “shocks [its readers] by slandering the great, and it amuses them by hiding the slander in allusions that have to be puzzled out” (Darnton (2009) 11). Had Morande read Juvenal? His Gazetteer and a deluge of similar literary masterpieces penned by others, ranging in size from mere scraps of paper to several volumes, “stayed within the registers of classical eloquence, just the thing to fire the passions of Frenchmen raised on Juvenal and Horace” (Darnton (2010) 60). And the writers proceeded in Juvenalian fashion: attack by strings of examples. The French *historiettes* and the vignettes in Juvenal – think especially of *Satires* 3, 6, and 10 – apply the same technique to the same goal: to overwhelm by piling it on and to challenge readers to read against the grain. The literary underground was a more significant cause for the French Revolution than has long been assumed (cumulative evidence in Darnton (1982), (1995), and (2010)).

Concise and pithy sayings (*sententiae*) applicable to each and any situation are one of Juvenal's stylistic hallmarks, making him the most quotable and quoted of all satirists. (On *sententiae* see Kenney in this volume, Chapter 6.) The following two instances are meant as illustrative modern examples. “Who'll guard the guardians?” (6.O 31–32; originally in a domestic erotic context) seems to be universally applicable to a world in which surveillance that makes Orwell's Big Brother look like an amateur is firmly in place. Its pervasive and intrusive nature can best be gauged by the files of the German Democratic Republic's Stasi – colloquial for *Staatssicherheitsdienst*: “State Security Service” – that were opened for inspection after that country's fall. *The Lives of Others* (2006), a German film written and directed by Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck, presents a gripping tale of a Stasi surveillance agent becoming entangled in the lives of those he secretly watches and ending up as one of the watched. The actor who plays the observer reported

that he had himself been spied and reported on by his former wife when both were living in the GDR.

A year later, Juvenal's *sententia* could be heard on screen in an unexpected context. Doug Lefler's epic *The Last Legion* tells the story of how Romulus (nicknamed Augustulus, "the little Augustus"), the last ruler of the Western Roman Empire, became the father of King Arthur. (The film is not a history lesson.) At one point, little Romulus is to be taken into the custody of Nestor, a high-ranking courtier from Byzantium, who is to take the emperor home with him for safe-keeping because savage Germans are causing the fall of Rome. The Byzantine diplomat's name evokes Homer's Nestor, the sage and reliable old counselor who appears in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. So when the film's Nestor is given a literal translation of Juvenal's *sed quis custodiet ipsos | custodes* ("But who'll guard the guardians?"), knowledgeable viewers may believe this circumspet Nestor to be the right choice for his political mission. But this particular guardian soon reveals himself to be a cold-blooded traitor, who is planning the assassination of his young charge. His despicable machinations are foiled, however, and the villain comes to a sticky end. Poetic justice and cinematic justice have equally been served.

In 1974, Francis Ford Coppola's *The Conversation* had told the story of a surveillance expert who realizes that he has himself come under surveillance; when he is unable to discover the bug in his apartment, a kind of last refuge to him, he retreats into a state of mental apathy. The potentially endless spiral of watchers being watched is made evident in the title of a short novel by Swiss author Friedrich Dürrenmatt. In *The Assignment, or, On the Observing of the Observer of the Observers* (1988), a filmmaker – she is only called F.: shades of Kafka – investigates a murder and gets entangled in her investigation. That Juvenal's question is really unanswerable, however, was made evident most effectively in Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw* (1898). A governess, the guardian of two young children, has become unguarded and may have caused the death of one of her charges. James famously leaves the matter ambiguous and unresolved.

The Turn of the Screw is a ghost story and delivers the thrills readers expect from Gothic fiction. The echo of another famous Juvenalian saying – "Nobody has ever become utterly depraved in a moment" (2.83) – provided the climax of a gruesome real-life horror story that occurred in eighteenth-century America:

Barnett Davenport . . . was hanged in 1780, at the age of nineteen . . . His life of crime began when, at the age of twelve, he stole some watermelons from a neighbor's garden. More than once, he was caught . . . He fought in the revolution and then deserted. He went to live in the house of a man named Caleb Mallery . . . On February 3, 1780 . . . Davenport killed Mallery, Mallery's

wife, and their seven-year-old grand-daughter, beating their heads in with a pestle and a rifle. Next, he pried open the family's money chest and took from it a pile of bills and a handful of coins. Then he set the house on fire, leaving inside two more children, ages six and four. He was captured, and swiftly hanged.

In a confession made a week before his execution Davenport said: "No man becomes a devil in a minute" (quotations from Lepore (2009) 83). Was he quoting, if only loosely, Juvenal? Probably not, but the closeness of the sentiment only bears out Juvenal's insight into human nature. "Whatever people do . . .": Juvenal's motto was right on the mark.

22.4 Juvenal's Rome

The most famous because most sustained example of Juvenal's visual quality is his portrait of the city of Rome in *Satire* 3. With its realistic details, although exaggerated and distorted, Juvenal's – rather, his speaker Umbricius' – love-hate declamation about the "savage city" (3.8–9) is an eerie foreshadowing of the problems facing the modern megalopolis. Juvenal's Rome inspired a famous update in Samuel Johnson's "London: A Poem in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal" (1738, revised 1748). John Oldham had been the first to turn Juvenal's Rome into London (and Juvenal's Greeks into Frenchmen) in "A Satyr, in Imitation of the Third of Juvenal" (1683). Twentieth-century British poet and Oxford professor John Holloway published an abbreviated tribute in 1965: "London, Greater London (After Juvenal, *Satire III*)" (Holloway (1965)). American poet Estelle Gilson then brought Juvenal to the New World in "New York (After Juvenal and Johnson)" (in Winkler (2001) 467–77). And Federico Fellini's *Roma* (1972) is a nearly Juvenalian film about modern Rome. It has an episodic structure reminiscent of Juvenal's, some of the film's sequences take place at night (including a striking one underground), and satiric vignettes exposing intellectual pretentiousness or the pomp and circumstance of a powerful hierarchy, in this case the Catholic Church, abound. Who could ever forget the Vatican fashion show? Rome, especially its dark underside, plays a major part in virtually all of Fellini's work, from his early neorealist days (*I vitelloni*, 1953) to *Nights of Cabiria* (1957), *La dolce vita* (1960), *8½* (1963), and, in a comparable surrealist ancient setting outside Rome itself, *Fellini Satyricon* (1969). His baroque imagination makes Fellini the heir of Petronius, Martial, and Juvenal.

More serious than Fellini's is the portrayal of modern Rome in Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Accatone!* (1961) and *Mamma Roma* (1962) and in Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Grim Reaper* (1962), based on a story by Pasolini and

co-written by him. In 1975 Pasolini was killed in one of the *borgate*, the slums on the periphery of Rome that may be regarded as the modern equivalent of the Subura in ancient Rome (Schwartz (1992) 17–90). A recreation of the ancient Subura, the setting of several passages in Juvenal, is now on view in the television series *Rome* (2007 and 2009). The large-scale set effectively communicates to viewers what this overcrowded, disreputable, sleazy, and dangerous slum may have looked like, even if the film's plot predates Juvenal's time. But it was not the first film to do so. Richard Lester's *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966), adapted from a hit Broadway musical, had shown the way. In the director's words:

I became very interested in the sordid quality of Rome and started reading Carcopino [whose book *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (2003) was and is a popular classic] and examining life and behaviour in Rome from a historical point of view and so built the set, filled it with vegetables and fruit and left them to rot for two weeks so that all the flies and wasps got into it. I brought peasants down from the hills and little villages . . . and made them live in the sets. (quoted from Sinyard (2010) 51)

Ironically, Lester had intended to use the magnificent set of the Roman Forum that had been built for *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964; on this Winkler (2009b) 215–20). The set had been left standing because producer Samuel Bronston could not bear striking it. But it had begun to disintegrate, and the costs of repairing it were prohibitive. And the set, symbol of Roman cultural and civilizational greatness that it was, would have been wrong for Lester, anyway: “in this parody, of all places, we get to observe the probably most realistic picture of everyday Roman life that has ever been put on screen” (Junkelmann (2004) 111; my translation).

Juvenal founded a whole tradition of satiric-critical exposés of the modern metropolis by literary and visual artists. His readers will immediately recognize the Juvenalian spirit, whether imitated consciously or preserved unintentionally, in the fetid and decadent atmosphere of Weimar and Nazi-era Berlin as it appears in the paintings of George Grosz (whom we might call the visual heir of William Hogarth), in *The Three-Penny Opera* by Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill (1928, based on the 1728 *Beggar's Opera* by John Gay), in *The Berlin Stories* (1935 and 1939) of Christopher Isherwood and in the hypocrisy and *bizarrierie* of mega-metropolis Tinseltown – Hollywood to the uninitiated – as depicted in Nathanael West's *The Day of the Locust* (1939), Evelyn Waugh's *The Loved One: An Anglo-American Tragedy* (1948), Kenneth Anger's book *Hollywood Babylon* (1965), a feverish and bizarre attack by an avant-garde filmmaker, and Michael Tolkin's *The Player* (1988). All of the works named have been filmed. Juvenal could easily



Figure 22.4 *Durs Grünbein liest Juvenal*. The German poet reading from *Satire 3*, with the Colosseum in the background. Typee Film.

recognize the underlying essence of these two and several other such cities despite their (to him) futuristic appearances. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. A case in point is the down-on-his-luck vaudevillian Harry Greener in *The Day of the Locust*, a veritable *Graeculus esuriens rediniuus*, as we might call him. Just compare, *mutatis mutandis*, lines 60–80 of Juvenal's *Satire 3* with Chapter 11 of the novel (West (1997) 277–89)!

Juvenal's satire readily lends itself to modern visual media. Morley (2003) is an amusing intellectual game demonstrating this, with the Umbricius of *Satire 3*, among other non-Juvenalian characters, appearing in the transcript of an invented television documentary. In David Jeffcock's British television film *Laughter and Loathing* (1995), actor and writer Stephen Fry, often an outrageous satirist himself, played Juvenal dressed in a toga. As a modern Umbricius, Durs Grünbein, too, donned Juvenal's mantle, as it were, if not his toga. In *Durs Grünbein liest Juvenal* (2010), directed by experimental German filmmaker Klaus Wyborny and filmed in Rome, Grünbein, with his translation of *Satire 3* in his hand, pays homage to the Roman satirist (Figure 22.4). Grünbein describes the film as follows:

The principle was quite simple. As declaimer I simply stood in the street and recited passage for passage in different locations in Rome. The whole thing has the effect of a kind of crazy CNN report, at least a bit. One wonders what may actually have happened, seeing this bespectacled reporter yelling his message

so energetically into the camera ... We greatly enjoyed working on this ... The film was made in the middle of August, 2009, in Rome ... you see the author (me) reciting parts of Juvenal's Third Satire in various public places of Rome, always frontally into the camera, a little like a CNN journalist who is reporting about some clashes from the streetscape of Islamabad. (e-mail correspondence of September, 2009; my translation)

Additional scenes were shot the following year in Athens. But Grünbein is not yelling as loudly as he says he is. Juvenal might have been amused about the time of the original filming, for "poets reciting in August" (3.9) are the sarcastic climax to a brief list of the dangers in the metropolis even before Umbricius lets fly at the city. Were Grünbein and Wyborny aware of this serendipitous circumstance? In any case, Grünbein-as-Juvenal demonstrates what Isherwood had the autobiographical narrator of *Goodbye to Berlin* put in memorable words as he looks out from his window along "the deep solemn massive street": "I am a camera with its shutter open, quite passive, recording, not thinking ... Some day, all this will have to be developed, carefully printed, fixed" ("A Berlin Diary," 1; in Isherwood (1954)).

22.5 From Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis to Gaius Arrius Nurus

If Grünbein is like a modern brother of Juvenal's, Juvenal was as good as reincarnated in classical scholar, translator, and Latin poet Harry C. Schnur, a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany to the United States. Writing under the impeccably tripartite Roman pen name C. (= Gaius) Arrius (for *Harry*) Nurus (Latin for "daughter-in-law," an archaic meaning of *Schnur*), Schnur-Nurus completed Juvenal's last Satire, which breaks off in mid-sentence on line 60, in impeccable Latin hexameters. (Schnur won several prizes for his Latin verse compositions.) As an intellectual joke he pretended to have discovered the authentic and hitherto missing lines of Juvenal's satire: *Iuuenalis saturae XVI fragmentum nuperrime repertum*. Schnur first published his fragment in 1969 and reprinted it three times. He provided a prose translation and notes together with his Latin lines in his annotated German translation of Juvenal (Schnur (1969) 221–30). This modern *Satire* 16 has never appeared in English. Since the military, Juvenal's subject, is of topical interest today, I here give the fragment in my translation.

The original is addressed to one Gallius, unknown to us; sustained irony is its chief characteristic. How great it is to be a soldier, the speaker informs Gallius, for as a member of a privileged brotherhood you can take liberties and get away with things few others can. The brief vignette in *Satire* 3 about the insolence of

soldiers to civilians – a drunken bully will bash your teeth in as likely as not if you have the misfortune to meet him in the streets of Rome after dark (3.278–301) – had, as it were, prepared us for the detailed treatment, unique in Roman poetry, of the army and the Praetorian Guard. No civilian, Gallius is told, will dare beat up a soldier or take one to court; if he did, he would suffer unpleasant consequences. And no civilian has a soldier's privileges regarding last wills and testaments. It is in the commander's best interest that his brave men should receive their just rewards and rejoice in their medals. Here, at line 60, the text breaks off, but Schnur seamlessly continues Juvenal's sentence:

his soldiers and officers should walk about displaying their decorations. For he who commands brave men will be regarded as brave himself, worthy to take over the palace guard and to function as His Majesty's bodyguard. Nowadays, of course, you receive rewards for military service according to your merits: no actor, no dancer hands out a commander's post, nor is it necessary to win over pretty Antinous with money.

Consider further that a civilian's fate is uncertain. The rich and famous close their ears and money chests to their clients: even if you dedicate yourself to literary studies and know how to write satires – what, poor fool, is in store for you but an old age in poverty and rags? What, by contrast, offers more security than the army?

“But lots of soldiers march out on campaigns and to battles never to be seen again, don't they?” True enough; appropriate tribute is paid to blood-soaked Mars, but more people perish in the streets of Rome when houses collapse or the roof caves in right onto your head. But when the trumpet sounds and the standards clash with those of the enemy, your dice are cast in just one moment either way. But if your life is spared, you, the winner of war, reap a golden harvest, for plunder and loot are the laws of war.

If, in the course of time, you carry out your orders like a good soldier, achieve higher ranks, and are promoted with honor, you'll eventually be dismissed with a pension. A good many tribunes have been granted equestrian rank; indeed, many a one has worn the broad senatorial stripe on his chest after being a common soldier: so great is the emperor's goodness.

Now all power resides with the men at arms. Any crime is allowed; no soldier is bound by law. What would bring exile on a desert island or work in the mines if a civilian did it; what all of us, dressed in civilian clothes, would have to pay for with a rope or on a pyre – *he* commits it with impunity. Burnt-down temples attest to this, the gold plundered from allied tribes, a weeping province, the household goods stolen from impoverished huts, the farmer driven from his native field, the virgin violated. Believe me, I speak from experience, for I've seen these monstrous things with my own eyes when, as a young man, I was serving in the army and commanding the First Dalmatian Cohort.

But what hope remains when excellence in war has left our young men unfit for war and Italy flabby and soft? In the past, Roman armies kept the Germans, the Carthaginians, and the king of Epirus [Pyrrhus] away from our borders; once “Marsian band, Paelignian cohort, Vestinian men’s strength” [Ennius, *Annals* 229 Skutsch] had valiantly fought against us, but all were of Italic stock. Italian youths, fierce in war, back then became the empire’s firmest mainstay: victorious, they advanced our standards to the ends of the earth. But who is carrying the eagles these days? Basques and Persians, trousered Gauls and blond Germans have already learned to command Roman regiments:

Romans want only the circus, barbarians look after weapons.

The standard bearer now is a shaggy Spaniard, while the savage Scythian has thrown off his pelts and taken up breastplate and sword.

Go now and wonder why the Latin language has long fled the Roman army camp and general’s tent and why hoarse barbarian dialects now violate our ears. When a Goth wields a centurion’s knotty staff and shouts his “Hails!” and “Drinkan!” [*sic* in the Latin lines], a Roman army is soon bound to raise Germanic war cries.

Didn’t you, poor poet [Ovid], whose fate is pretty similar to mine, compose poems in Gothic when, under a cruel emperor [Augustus], you had to live on the far-away Don? Since the Dacian Danube has been flowing into the Tiber, why not do away with Latin altogether? Let’s all grunt in Sarmatian!

Don’t even pray to the gods in Latin, since now every soldier has come to worship foreign divinities and not the gods of Rome. You certainly don’t want to insult, do you, Nile-born Osiris or offend Mithras, whose language is Persian, with the Roman tongue? The soldiers worship a tramp of a god: the “Unconquered Sun” [cult name for the Sun god, derived from Mithraism] dwells in his secret caves and has his own mystery cult. As you’re squatting in the hidden cave, you’ll become an initiate when you get drenched all over with a bull’s blood; then you’ll achieve the level of a “lion,” a “raven,” and finally a “warrior.” The initiates stick together like glue, and your advancement in rank is the more assured the more often you partake of their mystical love-feasts.

The best chance, though, that promises greatest gain, is when the throne is vacant. Long ago, in the city of Rome, a soldier in his own unbridled judgment had pulled a descendant of Aeneas from his hiding place and raised him, trembling with fear, to the throne [Claudius, in 41 CE]. Afterwards, the might of the legions had raised three emperors to the purple [Galba, Otho, and Vitellius in 68], although the legions had remained faithful to their oaths of allegiance. But now that you can buy anything and everything in Rome – as you, Jugurtha, had rightly observed way back when [in 108 BCE] – what would happen, Caesar [Hadrian], when long after your time, during which the whole world rejoices in happiness, there were no longer a ruler like you, worthy like you?

I see it already: the ranks of the Praetorians arrayed in close lines, their commander exclaiming: “Let’s now have the auction! Come, all you nobles and hallowed senators; you, too, who once, as imported goods from Asia, entered this city on feet whitened with chalk [i.e. as a slave], a domestic slave bought from the seller’s platform; for money, they say, doesn’t smell [Emperor Vespasian’s quip], no matter who pays. Crowd around more closely; everybody come! The crown’s for sale!” Now, buyer, you can bid with your finger raised or nodding your head until a Roman emperor has emerged.

But where has the Romans’ great glory and fame fled? If the Attic historian [Thucydides] can be trusted, Sparta wasn’t defended by walls or palisades; brave boldness kept the ferocious enemies at bay and scared them off. We, however, protect the empire’s borders everywhere with wall or ditch; tattooed Brigants [in northern Britain] and savage Chatti [in Germany] close ranks around our frontiers and forts – or rather around our men, for the audacious foes break through while we sell off the conduct of war to mercenaries [*cauponamur*; an allusion to King Pyrrhus’ refusal to do just that as reported in Ennius, *Annals* 184 Skutsch] and are foolish enough to settle the barbarians on our lands. Is this how one billy-goat protects a garden from another? We don’t drive out a fever with fever, do we? But surely this is how one German will turn another away from Italy, isn’t it?

In any case, I’ve shown you the enormous advantages of military service. So, Gallius, if a little son of yours or a bastard is playing in your back yard, a bit slow on the uptake although you’re still crazy about him, then let him choose the military, provided he’s strong enough for it. If then Fortune smiles on him in his lucky hour, he’ll never lack a legacy hunter or a heap of money.

It is astonishing how effectively Schnur catches Juvenal’s style and idiosyncrasies. He cleverly borrows and adapts famous expressions by Juvenal himself, as when *magna inter molles concordia* – “the queens stick together like glue” (2.47, about passive homosexuals) – becomes *magna inter mystas concordia* (about the initiates of the Sun cult). Or the billy-goats in the garden, a variation on the guardians from *Satire* 6. Only the praise of the earliest times rings a bit false. Schnur also is intentionally anachronistic: the auction of the Roman Empire is a historical fact, although it did not happen before or during Juvenal’s lifetime but only in 193 CE. Schnur has turned his Juvenal into a kind of satiric prophet, and why not? Selling off the conduct of war, at least in part, is a contemporary phenomenon. Just think of the private American businesses hired to provide security personnel in the Iraq war.

22.6 A Scamp and a Shooting Star

I close this chapter – to which, as Umbricius says (3.315), “I could add a lot of other arguments” – with a little-known curio about Juvenal and,

indirectly, about Persius. In Finnish novelist Mikal Waltari's *The Roman* (originally published 1964; English translation in 1966), a now-forgotten potboiler about the early days of Christianity, Juvenal, "that unwashed scamp" with "the gift of a swift tongue" but also a "spark of genuine poetry," has become semi-fictional. This Juvenal has a tendency not only to "foolish drinking" but also to "transforming night to day" and to an "endless plucking out Egyptian tunes." His "unwarranted language and insolent verses have caused offense." The narrator, a senator and former consul, predicts: "If I am sure of anything, then I am sure Juvenal's indecent verses will not survive. I have seen so many more brilliant stars flare up and be extinguished" (quotations from Waltari (1966) 514). What Waltari's narrator says about Juvenal contains echoes of Petronius (turning night to day: Tacitus *Ann.* 16.18.1) and Persius (the shooting-star image). Waltari here indulges in a bit of an intellectual game, for he knew that his narrator was wrong about Juvenal's survival.

Not Persius, not even Horace, but Juvenal is the "prince of satirists," as Sir Robert Stapylton, the first English translator of all of Juvenal, once called him. Although satire in the Roman sense – the kind of literature familiar to Quintilian, whom Juvenal mentions four times (6.75, 280; 7.186, 189) – was not completely Juvenal's, satire in everybody else's sense almost completely is. And Juvenal's satiric perspective has become completely ours.

FURTHER READING

Persius

The chief modern champions of Persius in English are Reckford (1962, rpt. in Plaza (2009) 17–56); Nisbet (1963); Anderson (1966) = Anderson (1982) 169–93; Dessen (1968); Bramble (1974); Ramage (1974b); Colton (1976) = Colton (1996) 64–70; Morford (1984); Sullivan (1985) 74–114; Coffey (1989) 98–118, 234–41, and 276–77; Hooley (1997); Behr (2009); Reckford (2009); and Miller (2010). The text of Dryden's *Discourse* is in Kinsley (1958) 601–70; Dryden's Persius is now in Hammond and Hopkins (2000a) 138–202. Modern commentaries on Persius are Kissel (1990) and Nikitinski (2002). Ramelli (2008) integrates Persius (and Juvenal) into the wider context of Roman Stoicism. My discussion of Richard Nason is condensed from Winkler (2010) 264–66.

Juvenal

On safe criticism of the powerful in antiquity see Ahl (1984b) and the essays collected in Sluiter and Rosen (2004). On Juvenal's strategy of indirection see Baldwin (1967), Wiesen (1973) on *Satire* 7, and Sweet (1979); on *Satire* 4

and Juvenal as anti-imperialist Winkler (1995) and (2009d). On Tacitus' affinity with Juvenal see Syme (1958a), II 500, and Furneaux (1896) 36–37 (“satire . . . was the chief literary force of the age” [36]). Winkler (2001) 209–35 reprints Samuel Johnson’s “London,” “The Vanity of Human Wishes,” and other, shorter, Juvenalian works by Johnson. On Juvenal, pictorial satire, and the grotesque see Winkler (1991) and (2001) xlix–lii; brief comments on the image of the modern megalopolis after Juvenal are at Winkler (2001) lii–liii. On slander in the *Ancien Régime* of France see Burrows (2010); on Couture’s painting, sometimes regarded as satire, Boime (1980) 131–88 and 625–31. Dickens’s prefaces and postscript to *Martin Chuzzlewit* are included in Dickens (1968) 37–42 and 919–20. Prieto (2010) 68 prints a new English translation of Mandelstam’s “Epigram against Stalin.” On *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* see Sinyard (2010) 50–57 and Malamud (2001) 201–7, followed by Beard (2003) ix–xii; for its literary antecedents, Martín Rodríguez (2005). On Buñuel see especially Baxter (1994) and Buñuel (1983), the director’s autobiography. Shumate (2006) 19–54 and 160–65 examines Juvenal’s *Satire 3* from a *them and us* perspective and connects it with, of all things, Nazi cinema. My discussion of Michael Moore is condensed from Winkler (2010) 270–73, with additional references; see further Toplin (2006), Kellner (2009) 132–62 (chapter entitled “Michael Moore’s Provocations”), and Saunders (2010) 206–23 (chapter entitled “*Sicko* (2007): Michael Moore, Documentary Superstar”). On television satire see Gray, Jones, and Thompson (2009). On Durs Grünbein as disciple of Juvenal see Fuhrmann (1999) and (2002) and Ziolkowski (2006). Kirsch (2010) is a brief English introduction, with mention of Grünbein’s “Oblivion City,” a modern variation on the Juvenalian theme of the metropolis; cf. Grünbein (2005a) on Los Angeles. Pender (2002) examines Australian writer Christina Stead as satirist and frequently refers to Juvenal. Cook and Tatum (2010) 261–309 and 406–11 (chapter entitled “It Is Impossible Not to Write Satire” – changed from Juvenal’s *difficile*: “difficult,” 1.30) provide a Juvenalian perspective on black American literature; they observe: “African American satirists confront . . . a patent illogic and lack of social justice in White America that would make even the excesses of Juvenal’s Rome seem tame” (262).

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